f
BR 290
B321
1720

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION AND OTHER Eccleſiaſtical Tranſactions

IN and ABOUT the

LOW-COUNTRIES,

From the Beginning of the *Eighth Century*,

Down to the Famous Synod of DORT, inclusive.

In which all the Revolutions that happen'd in CHURCH and STATE, on Account of the Diviſions between

The PROTESTANTS and PAPISTS, } The ARMINIANS and CALVINISTS,

Are fairly and fully repreſented

By the Reverend and Learned Mr. GERARD BRANDT, late Profeſſor of Divinity, and Miniſter to the Proteſtant Remonſtrants at *Amſterdam*.

Faithfully Tranſlated from the Original LOW-DUTCH, by Mr. J. Chamberlayne.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed by *T. Wood*, for TIMOTHY CHILDE, at the *White Hart* at the Weſt End of St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard. MDCCXX.

PREFACE

TO THE

ENGLISH READER.

THE following History of the REFORMATION in the LOW-COUNTRIES, *and of all the moſt curious* Circumſtances *and* Conſequences *of it, is indeed a Great and Noble Work; and will, I doubt not, be in a peculiar manner acceptable to the* Engliſh Reader, *as the greater Part of the moſt Remarkable Particulars of it are not yet known, unleſs to a very few, in our Nation.*

It was written in the Dutch *Language by* GERARD BRANDT, *a Miniſter of the* Arminian, *or* Remonſtrant, *Perſuaſion; and firſt Printed in the Year* 1671.

The Reputation of the Author, *as an* Hiſtorian, *and of* this *Work of his in particular, is ſo great, that there is no Gentleman, who has converſed with the Men of figure in* Holland, *and underſtands the Language of that Country, who does not know what*

what an uncommon Value is there *put upon this* Hiſtory; *and with how much Juſtice the greateſt Encomiums are beſtowed both upon the Impartiality and Curioſity of it.*

I ſhall only ſay, what the Reader *will find to be true, That it is a* Work *which may be of the Greateſt Benefit, as well as Entertainment, in a* Proteſtant Country, *both as it will ſhew Us, in the moſt ſenſible manner, the One Uniform Spirit of* Popery, *in all its Shapes and Colours, as truly as Any* Hiſtory *ever did; and as it will lead all Perſons of a Curious and Inquiſitive Genius into the Knowledge of a Multitude of moſt Important and Remarkable Facts, (as well as of their Springs and Motives) which They will not find in Any other Book extant in the* Engliſh Language.

A LIST OF THE Nobility and Gentry, SUBSCRIBERS *For Promoting this WORK.*

His Royal Highneſs the PRINCE. } *Large Paper.*
Her Royal Highneſs the PRINCESS. }

His Highneſs Prince FREDERICK [*Large Paper.*] *Her Highneſs the Princeſs* ANNE [*Large Paper.*]
His Highneſs the Duke of YORK [*Large Paper.*]

A.

HIS *Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. [*Large Paper*]
His Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of York. [*Large Paper*]
Her Grace the Ducheſs of St. Albans, *Groom of the Stole to Her Royal Highneſs.* [*Large Paper*]
Her Grace the Ducheſs of Argyle. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Marquis of Annandale *Keeper of the Privy Seal in* Scotland. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Hon. the Earl of Albemarle.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Abercorn.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of St Aſaph.
The Right Honourable the Lord Aſhburnham.
The Right Honourable John Aiſlabie *Eſq*; *One of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.*
Sir Henry Aſhurſt, *Bar.*
Sir John Anſtruther.
Sir Robert Auſten, *Bart. of* Hall-Place *in the County of* Kent.
John Armſtrong, *Eſq*; *Chief Engineer.*
The Reverend Mr. D'Aubrie *of* Wolverhampton
The Reverend Mr. Iſrael-Anthony Aufrere, *Miniſter of the* French *Church in the* Savoy.
The Reverend Mr. John Allen, *Fellow of* Merton *College*, Oxon.
The Reverend Dr. Timothy Aubrey, *of* Stanton, *in* Oxfordſhire.
Anthony Allen, *of* Guildford, Surrey, *Eſq*;
Robert Auſten, *Eſq*; *of* Hernden *in* Kent.

B.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford.
Her Grace the Ducheſs Dowager of Bedford [*La. Paper*]
His Grace the Duke of Buckingham.
Her Grace the Ducheſs of Bolton.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Berkſhire.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Bridgwater.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Bute.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Bangor.
The Right Honourable the Lord Bernard.
The Right Honourable the Lord Bingley.
The Right Honourable the Lord Binny.
His Excellency Count Bothmar.
The Right Honourable the Lord Chief Baron Bury.
The Right Honourable Mr. Baillie, *One of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.*
The Right Honourable William Bromley *Eſq*; *Secretary of State, and Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the late Reign.*
Mr. Bonet, *the King of* Pruſſia's *Miniſter.*
His Excellency Mr. Borſele, *Envoy from the States.*
The Honourable William Bentinck, *Eſq*; [*Large Paper*]
The Honourable Henry Booth, *Eſq*;
Sir William Baird, *of* Neubaith.
Sir Humphry Briggs *Bar. of* Haughton, Shropſhire.
Sir Brian Broughton *Bar. of* Broughton *in* Staffordſhire.
The Reverend Dr Harry Barker, *Prebendary of* Weſtm.
The Reverend Dr Baker, *Warden of* Wadham *College in* Oxford.
Dr. Burſcough, *Chaplain to His Royal Highneſs.*
The Reverend Mr Burnet, *Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majeſty.*
Henry Barker, *Eſq*;
John Barrington, *Eſq*;
Tho. Bates, *Eſq*; *Surgeon to his Majeſty's Houſhold.*
John Billerbeck, *Eſq*;
The Honourable Martin Bladen, *Eſq*; *One of the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations.*
The Reverend Dr Bray.
The Reverend Mr. Henry Bilton.
William Burnet, *Eſq*; *Comptroler General of the Cuſtoms.*
Whitlock Bulſtrode, *Eſq*;
The Reverend Mr. Samuel Baker, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty
Samuel Buckley, *Eſq*;
Brigadier General Bowles. [*Large Paper*]
The Reverend Mr Bull, *Rector of* Braſted *in* Kent.
The Reverend Mr. Bailly, *Miniſter of* Inverneſs.
William Brockman, *Eſq*;
Francis Beuzling, *Eſq*;
John Byde, *of* Lincoln's-Inn, *Eſq*;

Mr. John

A LIST of the SUBSCRIBERS.

Mr. John Boſwel *of* St. James's, Weſtminſter.
The Reverend Mr. Boehm, *one of the King's* German *Chaplains of St* James's.
The Reverend Dr. Bowers, *Prebendary of* Canterbury.
The Reverend Mr. Bean, *one of the Proctors of the Clergy for the Dioceſe of* Canterbury.
Mr. John Browne, *Surgeon.*
John Budgen, *M. D.*
The Reverend Mr J. Burnet.
Mr. Buſſiere.
Mr. Boſcheyden, *Miniſter at* Leyden.
Mr. Martin Bedwell.

C.

His Grace the Duke of Chandos. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Carliſle, *Conſtable of the Tower.*
The Right Honourable the Earl Cholmondeley, *Treaſurer of His Majeſty's Houſhold.*
The Right Honourable the Earl of Coningsby.
The Right Honourable the Earl Cadogan, *His Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the* Emperor.
The Right Honourable the Lord Carteret, *His Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the King of* Sweden.
The Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount Caſtlemain.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Chicheſter.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Cheſter.
The Right Honourable the Lord Carleton.
The Right Honourable the Lord Mark Carr.
The Right Honourable the Lady Chetwind.
The Right Honourable James Craggs, *Eſq; One of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.* [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable Spencer Compton, *Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.* [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable Mr Connoly, *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in* Ireland. [*Large Paper*]
The Honourable Colonel James Campbell.
Sir Clement Cottrel, *Maſter of the Ceremonies.*
The Right Honourable William Clayton, *Eſq; One of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.*
The Honourable Sir Charles Cook, *One of the Lords Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations.*
The Right Honourable Monſieur le Coc, *Miniſter from the King of* Poland.
Sir Thomas Clark, *Bar. of* Hertfordſhire.
Thomas Coke *of* Norfolk, *Eſq;* [*Large Paper*]
The Lady Cairnes.
Trinity College, Cambridge, *for their Library.*
Corpus Chriſti College, Cambridge, *for their Library.*
Caius College, Cambridge, *for their Library.*
Emanuel College, Cambridge, *for their Library.*
The Reverend Mr. Michael Clagget, *Fellow of* Queens College, Cambridge.
John Charlton, *Eſq;*
John Conduit, *Eſq;*
The Reverend Dr. Samuel Clarke.
The Reverend Mr. Curteis, *Rector of* Wrotham *in* Kent.
Mr. George Chalmers, *Principal of the College of* Aberdeen
Chriſtopher Crow, *Eſq;*
William-George Creſſet, *Eſq;*
Thomas Clutterbuck, *Eſq;*
Mr Ephraim Crow.
.... Coningham, *Eſq;*
Samuel Carter, *Eſq; of* Haſely, Oxfordſhire.
Thomas Cartwright, *Eſq; of* Aino, Northamptonſhire.
Dr. Cattemburgh, *Profeſſor of the Remonſtrants at* Amſterdam
The Reverend Mr. Chetam *of* Etwell, Derbyſhire.
Anthony Collins *Eſq;*
Mr. Cleveland, *Son to Commiſſioner* Cleveland.

D.

His Grace the Duke of Devonſhire [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Dorſet *and* Middleſex.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Dundonnel. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Dunmore.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of St. Davids.
The Right Honourable the Lord Digby.
The Honourable the Lady Dalrymple. [*Large Paper*]
Sir Matthew Dacres *his Lady.*
Sir Baſil Dixwell, *Bar.*
Sir Thomas D'Aeth, *Bar.*
Sir Peter Delmé.
Edmund Dunch, *Eſq; Maſter of the Houſhold.* [*Large Paper*]
George Delaval, *Eſq; Admiral.*
Charles Dalton, *Eſq;*
Paul Docminique, *Eſq;*
Archibald Douglas *Eſq; of* Cavers *in* Scotland.
Robert Dillon, *Eſq;*
Thomas Dacres, *Eſq;*
The Reverend Gilbert Dalrymple, *D. D.*
The Reverend Mr. Debat, *A. M.*
The Revereud Mr. John Deffroy.
The Library of the Cathedral Church of Durham.

E.

The Honourable and Reverend Will. Egerton, *L. L. D. Rector of* Penſehurſt *in* Kent, *and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majeſty.*
The Lady Eyles.
The Honourable General Erle.
The Honourable Colonel John Ereskine *of* Cairnock.
Thomas Edwards, *of* Thiſtleworth, *Eſq;*
John Ellis, *Eſq;*
Joſeph Eyles, *Eſq;*

F.

The Right Hon. the Lord Foley *his Lady.* [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Lord Forreſter.
The Honourable Sir John Forteſcue-Aland, *One of the Juſtices of the King's Bench.*
Sir Robert Furneſe, *Bar.*
Monſ. Fabrice, *Chambellain in the Court of* Hanover.
The Reverend Mr. Fleetwood, *Son to the Lord Biſhop of* Ely.
Ralph Freeman *Eſq; of* Hertfordſhire.
The Reverend Dr. Finney.
William Forſter, *Eſq;*
James Fraſer, *Eſq;*
Major Foubert.
Mr. Fonvive.
The Reverend Mr. Fage, *Rector of* Hempton, *in* Kent.
Thomas Fawkener *of* Lincoln's-Inn, *Eſq;*

G.

Her Grace the Ducheſs of Grafton. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Lord Godolphin [*Large Paper*]
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Gloceſter, *Lord Almoner.*
The Honourable Sir William Gordon, *One of the Commiſſioners of the Army Accompts.*
The Reverend Dr. Grandorge, *Prebendary of* Canterbury.
Harry Grey, *Eſq;*
John Gumley, *Eſq;*
Thomas Greene *of* Weſtminſter, *Eſq;*
John Gore, *Eſq; One of the Directors of the* South-Sea *Company, his Lady.*
Robert Gibbon, *Eſq; of* Hole *in* Kent.
The Reverend Dr. Thomas Green *of St.* Martin's Weſtminſter.

H.

Her Grace the Ducheſs of Hamilton. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Hertford.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Holderneſs.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Halifax [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Hadington. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Lord Herbert *of* Cherbury.
The Right Honourable the Lord How.
The Right Honourable the Lord Harley. [*Large Paper*]
The Honourable Richard Hambden, *Eſq; Treaſurer of the Navy.* [*Large Paper*]
The Honourable Lieutenant General Hamerſteine *of* Hanover.
The Honourable Monſieur Harenburg, *Grand Marſhal of* Hanover
Monſieur Hopmann, *Counſellor to the Duke of* Wolfembuttel, *and Miniſter Reſident of the Duke of* Holſteine.
Sir James Hall *of* Dunglaſs.
The Right Honourable Mr. Hill.

Monſ.

A LIST of the SUBSCRIBERS.

Monſ. Hattorf, *Secretary at War to the Troops of* Hanover
Sir Guſtavus Hume, *Bar.*
Sir Richard Houblon, *Bar.*
Sir Richard How, *Bar.*
George Harriſon, *Eſq;*
Edward Harriſon, *Eſq;*
Colonel Horſey.
Robert Hales, *Eſq; Clerk of the Council.*
Colonel Hunter, *Governour of* New York, *&c.*
The Library of the Cathedral of Hereford.
Henry Hoare, Eſq;
Henry Haſtings, *Eſq;*
Mr. Thomas Herne, *Fellow of* Merton *College*, Oxon.
John Hanger *Eſq; Governor of the Bank.*
Dr. Hale *the Phyſician's Lady.* [*Large Paper*]
The Reverend Mr. Herbert, *Miniſter of the New Chappel*, Weſtminſter.
The Reverend Mr. Hicks *of* St. James's Weſtminſter.
William Hamilton *Eſq; of* Lincoln's-Inn.
Thomas Hutton, *Eſq; at* Somerſet-Houſe.
Mr. Richard Harris, *Merchant.*
The Reverend Mr. Humphry Hammond, *Rector of* Eaſt-Guildford *in* Suſſex.
Mr. John Hall, *of* Horten-Hall, Bucks, *his Wife.* [*Large Paper*]
Hugh Henry, *Eſq;*
William Hucks, *Eſq;*
Mr. Peter Hyde, *Hatton-Garden.*

I.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Ila.
The Right Honourable the Lord Jedbrugh.
The Right Honourable the Lady Irwin.
The Right Honourable Sir Joſeph Jekyl, *Maſter of the* Rolls.
The Honourable James Johnſton, *Eſq;* [*Large Paper*]
The Honourable Sir John Jennings *his Lady.*
Evert Jollivet, *Eſq; One of the Commiſſioners of the* Salt-Office.
. . . . James, *Eſq; at* Thiſtleworth.
Arthur Ingram, *Eſq;*
The Reverend Benjamin Ibbot, *D. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majeſty.*
Mr. Jacob, *in* Lothbury.

K.

His Grace the Duke of Kent, *Lord Privy Seal.* [*Large Paper*]
His Grace the Duke of Kingſton, *Lord Preſident of the Council.* [*Large Paper*]
Her Grace the Dutcheſs of Kendal. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Counteſs of Kennoul
The Right Honourable the Counteſs of Kilmanſeck.
The Right Honourable the Lord Chief Juſtice King.
Sir Godf. Kneller *Bar. his Lady.*
Francis Keck, *Eſq; of* Great Tew *in* Oxfordſhire [*Large Paper*]
The Honourable Colonel Ker.

L.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Leiceſter, *One of the Lords of the Bedchamber.* [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Lincoln, *One of the Lords of the Bedchamber.*
The Right Honourable the Earl of Lowden.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Lincoln.
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Litchfield *and* Coventry.
The Right Honourable the Lord Lucas.
The Right Honourable the Lord Lovatt.
The Right Honourable the Lord Limerick.
The Right Honourable Nicholas Lechmere, *Eſq; Chancellor of the Duchy of* Lancaſter, *and Attorney-General.*
Sir Samuel Lennard, *Bar.*
The Reverend Mr. Lewis, *Vicar of* Minſter *in the* Iſle *of* Thanet.
The Reverend Mr. Lulin, *of* Geneva.
Mrs Lyttelton *of* Windſor.
The Reverend Mr Samuel Lydiat *of* Writtle.
Thomas Luck, *Eſq; of* Cambridgeſhire.
The Reverend Mr. Lemuel Latham, *M. A.*
The Reverend Mr. Samuel Leach, *Rector of* Overſtanden, Bedfordſhire.
The Reverend Mr. John Leach.

M.

His Grace the Duke of Marlborough.
His Grace the Duke of Montagu.
His Grace the Duke of Montros.
His Grace the Duke of Mancheſter. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Marchimont.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Mortoun.
The Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount Montjoy, *Maſter of the Ordnance in* Irelnad, *&c.*
The Right Honourable the Lord Morpeth. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Lord Moleſworth.
The Honourable John Moleſworth, *Eſq;*
The Honourable Dr Montague, *Dean of* Durham.
Sir Humphry Mackworth.
Sir Harcourt Maſter.
Sir Philip Meadows.
Colonel Morton.
Richard Mead, M. D. [*Large Paper*]
Samuel Mead, *Eſq; Barriſter at Law.*
John Meller, *Eſq; Maſter in Chancery.*
John Merrill, *Eſq;*
Franklyn Miller, *Eſq;*
The Library *of* Merton *College*, Oxon.
The Honourable Benjamin Mildmay, *Eſq; One of the Commiſſioners of the* Salt-Office.
David Mitchel, *Eſq; in* Panton-Square.
The Reverend Dr. Morgan, *Canon Reſidentiary of* Hereford.
The Honourable Mr. Grey Maynard, *of* Lincoln's-Inn.
Sir George Markham, *Bar.*
James Moneypenny, *of* Rolvendon *in* Kent, *Eſq;*
The Honourable Colonel John Michel.
Carmino Michel, *Eſq;*
Robert Marſhal, *Eſq;*
The Reverend Robert Maxwell, *D. D.*
The Reverend Mr. John Maxwell.
The Reverend Mr. John Mairs.
The Reverend Mr. Mayo.

N.

His Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle, *Lord Chamberlain* [*Large Paper*]
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Norwich.
The Right Honourable the Lord Newburgh.
The Honourable Sir Iſaac Newton, *Preſident of the Royal Society*, &c.
Grey Nevil, *Eſq;*

O.

The Right Hon. the Counteſs of Orkney [*Large Paper*]
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Oxford.
Sir Adolphus Oughton, *Bar.*
Arthur Onſlow, *Eſq;* [*Large Paper*]
Ralph Ord, *Eſq;*
Mrs Ogilby *of St* James's *Square.*
John Ormsby, *Eſq;*

P.

The Moſt Honourable the Lord Parker, *Lord High-Chancellor.* [*Large Paper*]
His Grace the Duke of Portland. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Peterborough.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Portmore. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Peterborough.
The Right Honourable the Lord Percival. [*Large Paper*]
The Honourable Mr. Baron Price.
Sir Gregory Page, *Bar.*
The Honourable Thomas Pulteney, *Eſq;* [*Large Paper*]
The Honourable Daniel Pulteney, *Eſq; One of the Lords Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations.*
The Rt Honourable William Pulteney, *Eſq;*
Sir John Philips, *Bar.*
Sir John Pringle *of* Stitchell.
The Honourable Sir Charles Peers, *Alderman of* London, *and one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms.*
David Polhill, *Eſq;*
Henry Plumptre, *M. D.*
Fitz-Williams Plumptre, *Eſq;*

John

A LIST of the SUBSCRIBERS.

John Plumptre, *Esq*;
Archibald Palmer, *Esq*; *of* Wanlip, *in* Leicestershire.
The Reverend Mr Postlethwaite.
The Reverend Dr. Philips, *Canon Residentiary of* Hereford.
John Pratt, *Esq*; *Son to the Lord Cheif-Justice of the* King's-Bench.
The Royal College of Physicians, London.
The Reverend Mr. Pead, *of* Clerkenwel.
Mr. Pearce *at* Kingston.
George Pitt, *Esq*; *Knight of the Shire for* Hampshire.

Q.

Her Grace the Duchess of Queensberry. [*Large Paper*]

R.

His Grace the Duke of Roxborough, *One of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.* [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Countess of Rochetter. [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Rothes.
The Right Honourable the Lord Ranelagh.
The Right Honourable the Lady Russel [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Lord Ross.
Sir John Rushyte, *Bar.*
Colonel Hugh Raymond.
Mr Riddel, *Jun. of* Riddel.
The Reverend Mr. Rival, *A. M. One of the Chaplains of His Majesty's* French *Chapel at* St. James's.
The Reverend Mr. Rundle.
Richard Rigby, *Esq*; *of* Essex.
Edward Richard, *Esq*;
The Reverend Mr. John Russel, *One of the Prebends of* Peterborough.
Mr. Isaac Rand.

S.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland, *Groom of the Stole to His Majesty.* [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl Stanhope, *One of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.* [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Sussex [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Stamford.
The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Salisbury.
The Right Honourable Edward Southwell, *Esq*; *Secretary of State for the Kingdom of* Ireland.
His Excellency Sir Robert Sutton, *His Majesty's Ambassador to the Court of* France.
The Reverend Dr Sydall, *Prebendary of* Canterbury.
The Honourable Sir John Stanley, *Bar. One of the Commissioners of the Customs.*
The Hon. Colonel Stanley.
The Honourable Colonel John Stewart *of* Stewart-Field.
The Right Honourable John Smith, *Esq*;
Sir Hans Sloane, *Bar.*
Sir Edward Smith, *Bar.*
Sir William Scawen.
Sir James Stuart, *Bar.*
Stephen Stanley, *Esq*;
Charles Stanhope, *Esq*; *Secretary of the Treasury.*
His Excellency the Baron de Sohlenthal, *Envoy from the King of* Denmark. [*Large Paper*]
His Excellency Baron Sparre, *Envoy Extraordinary from the King of* Sweden.
Sir Thomas Scawen.
Thomas Stewart, *Esq*;
Benjamin Sweete, *Esq*;
Thomas Stonor *of* Stonor *Esq*;
The Reverend Mr. Richard Streat, *Fellow of* Merton *College* Oxon.
The Reverend Mr. Smedley, *Dean of* Killala *in* Ireland.
Samuel Sanders, *Esq*;
William Sloper, *Esq*;
The Reverend Dr Smalbroke, *Canon Residentiary of* Hereford.
The Reverend Mr. Henry Shute, *M. A. Lecturer of* Whitechapel.
Oliver St John, *of* Ballimore *in the Kingdom of* Ireland, *Esq*;
The Reverend Mr. Arthur-Ashley Sykes.
John Strachey, *Esq*; *of* Somersetshire.
Mr. Smart, *Cheapside.*

T.

His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Tuam.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Tankerville.
The Right Honourable the Lord Tireconnel.
The Right Honourable the Lord Terrard.
The Honourable Sir William Thompson, *Sollicitor General.*
William Tillard, *Esq*;
The Reverend Dr. Tenison, *Archdeacon of* Carmarthen.
The Reverend Dr. Tanner, *Chancellor of* Norwich.
The Reverend Mr. Talbot.
Lewis de Tudert, *Esq*;
John Trenchard, *Esq*;
Cholmley Turner, *Esq*;
Richard Thompson, *Esq*; *of* Berks.
William Tempest, *Esq*; *of* Shepherds *in* Kent.
Mr. William Taylor, *Bookseller in* London.

V.

The Rt Hon. the Earl of Uxbridge *his Lady.* [*Large Paper.*]
John Upton, *Esq*; *of* Great Marlborough-*street.*
. . . . . Vanduput *of* Twickenham, *Esq*;
The Reverend Mr. William Veil.

W.

The Right Honourable the Marchioness of Winchester.
The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Winchester, *Prelate of the Garter.* [*Large Paper*]
The Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick.
The Rt Honourable the Earl of Westmorland.
The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester.
The Right Honourable Mr. Wallop, *One of the Commissioners of the Treasury.* [*Large Paper*]
His Excellency Charles Whitworth, *Esq*; *Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Congress of* Brunswick.
The Right Honourable Robert Walpole, *Esq*;
Sir Robert Worsely, *Bar.*
The Reverend Sir George Wheeler.
The Honourable General Wade.
The Reverend Dr Wadington, *Rector of* Alhallows the Great, London.
The Reverend Dr Watson, *Prebendary of* Westminster.
The Reverend Dr. Wilcocks, *Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty.*
Sir Charles Wager.
Edward Wortley, *Esq*;
Richard Warburton, *Esq*; *of* Timbertown *in the Kingdom of* Ireland.
The Reverend William Watts, *B. D. Archdeacon of* Landaff.
Mr. Tho. Watts, *Master of the Accomptants Office in* Little Tower-street.
Mr Nathaniel Watson.
Dr. Isaac Warquin.
Thomas Westby, *Esq*; *of* Yorkshire.
Gilbert Walmsley, *Esq*; *of* Litchfield.
The Reverend Dr. Worth, *Archdeacon of* Worcester.
William Whitmore *Esq*; *of* Shropshire.
Mr. John Warner, *Goldsmith.*
Mr. Thomas Woolley, *of the* East-India *House.*
The Reverend Mr. Peter Wigget.
Mr. Richard Wilkin, *Bookseller*, London.

Y.

The Reverend Mr. Alexander Young.

THE

THE
Author's Dedication.

To the Honoured and Learned GENTLEMAN,

Mr. *CORNELIUS CLOOK*,

Formerly SCHEPEN

[*Or one of the Magiſtrates*] *of the City of* Amſterdam.

SIR,

THE glorious Dawn of the Reformation, and the Succeſs with which it pleaſed God to bleſs the Arms of this State, have produced a great Good, and delivered us from a great Evil. The *Holy Scripture* (the only Rule of Faith and Manners) which Popery with-held from the People, is reſtored to us, and the *Violation* of *Conſcience* is driven from us. Hanging, Quartering, Burning, Drowning for Religion, are now no more.

We may now read the Goſpel, purſue the dictates of our own Conſciences, and with ſafety declare what we think moſt conducing to the welfare of the Church of Chriſt, without fearing any unlawful Force. For this we are beholden, after God, to the righteous Government of our Sovereigns.

Thus is the Light ſet on the Candleſtick, and the uſe of it freely allowed to all.

But what has been the Conſequence? Have we not ſhut our eyes againſt that Light which ſhone full in them? Have we allowed a place to Love or Charity, the Soul of true Religion? Or have we put it in practice?

Let every man ask his own heart, whether it be not conſcious of this: or let him conſult experience, and he will preſently diſcover, that the True and Pure Religion which ſprung up and flouriſh'd under the preſſure of Perſecution, has loſt ground, falling from bad to worſe.

People have choſen the Tree of Knowledge, as they did in the beginning, before the Tree of Life. Piety yields to ſubtil Learning, a virtue very different from it. Innocence, Meekneſs, Humility and Love, are beaten off our Theatre: Wickedneſs, Perſecution, Hatred, Envy and Self-love ſucceed. Every one accommodates the Word of Salvation to his own Prejudices; every one makes a Goſpel for himſelf.

Every body is for throwing away the weeds of Popery, and every body rejects them after his own way: many endeavour to root them out, but by the ſame means by which they grew and prevailed. They ſeek for help from the Secular arm; they Proſelyte men by force. On the contrary, 'tis the Sword of the Spirit, 'tis the Word of God, 'tis good Preaching and Living, that are the moſt proper methods for extirpating the evil doctrines of Popery.

Many have ſo ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*, upon account of what was bad in it, as to reject the remaining good, or at leaſt that in which there was no harm. *But hitherto I have not been able to diſcover* (ſays *Conſtantine Huygens*, Lord of *Zuilichem*, and a principal Member of the Reformed Church of *Holland* *) *that any thing which is good or innocent in itſelf, ſhould be reputed evil or hurtful, only becauſe it is uſed, or even abuſed, by ſuch as are engaged in errors of greater or leſs importance.* And ſpeaking of a cuſtom in the Church of *England*, where certain Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are employed in reading the Word of God, in repeating excellent Forms of Prayer, and ſinging Hymns and Anthems to the Organ, he ſubjoins; *Whether it ſmells of Popery or no, is it more preferrable to ſtand idle, than to imitate the good of our enemies? O Chriſtians! you whoſe minds are illuminated! you that are members of the ſame houſhold of faith! for the Lord's ſake in whom we believe, let us once drive out of our hearts this childiſh ſpite, which I fear may hinder much good from coming in.* This partiality was very diſpleaſing to *Charles* I. King of *Great Britain*, a Prince of pious memory; who ſpake thus to a certain *Scottiſh* Miniſter †; *To ſay that an Argument is naught, becauſe the Papiſts make uſe of it; or that a Thing is good, becauſe it is practiſed by ſome of the Reformed Churches, does not carry any conviction at all with it, in my mind; nor will it ever, until you can demonſtrate either that the latter are infallible, or that the former maintain no truths at all.*

* In his Diſcourſe of the Abuſe of Organs, *p.* 50.

† *Les Cahiers de la Conferen. à* Newcaſtle, *p.* 18.

Some are of opinion, not only that they are in poſſeſſion of the Truth, but even that they alone poſſeſs her; yea, that all others are obliged to ſubmit to what they call the Truth. When men are poſſeſſed of worldly honour, when they perceive that they are moſt numerous and the ſtrongeſt, they are forward to lord it over the feweſt and weakeſt. *But*, ſays *Grotius* ‖, *in matters of Faith, poſſeſſion has no concern or title; and they who in this caſe are the feweſt in number, will not yield by any means to the majority, unleſs obliged by force.*

‖ *De Groot's* Apology, *c.* v. *p.* 53.

The greateſt part of Chriſtendom were followers of *Arius* in former Ages: but the remaining Chriſtians had no regard to numbers, which are often a proof that men are in the wrong. Let us hear what *Nazianzen* ſays of it: * *Theſe* (meaning the *Arians*) *are poſſeſſed of the Lands and Houſes, but the Landlord is ours: Theſe have the Temples, but God is with us; and moreover, we are the Living Temples of the Living God; Living Oblations, reaſonable Burnt-Offerings, perfect Sacrifices, yea, as it were Gods, through the mercy of the adorable Trinity. Theſe have the People on their ſide, we the Angels:*

* Orat. xxv. *p.* 440.

Theſe

Theſe have Preſumption and Boldneſs, we the Faith: Theſe make uſe of Menaces, we of Prayers: Theſe caſt Men out, we bear with them: Theſe have Gold and Silver, we the pure Doctrine. How many now a-days look only upon ſuch externals, upon the greatneſs of their Numbers, upon the figure and quality of Men? Whereas, in matters of Religion, we ought to have no regards but for what Chriſt and his Apoſtles have revealed, commanded and practiſed.

And how readily is that condemned as erroneous, which our Reaſon cannot comprehend, tho' others maintain it for a fundamental Truth! Of themſelves therefore ſome pronounce; *We are capable of erring, yet we do not err.* But of others they cry out; *They can err, and they do err. But do we think they err,* ſays that meek Man † *Martin Bucer, why don't we believe we may poſſibly err ourſelves, even in thoſe reſpects in which we imagine them to err?* For no body errs wilfully, nor is any one, how holy ſoever he be, entirely free from error. Thus then *is the caſe of humane Affairs, whilſt our ſouls are clogged with fleſh; even the Lovers of Truth perſwade themſelves, that they ſee things in the Scripture it ſelf, which nevertheleſs no body elſe can find in it. However, whilſt ſuch miſtakes and miſapprehenſions laſt, whilſt the fleſh takes ſo much pleaſure in its fancies and fictions, very good Men do often embrace and defend Errors for Truths, even in ſuch manner as zealouſly to oppoſe Truth it ſelf, whilſt they are maintaining things that are falſe.* *Bucer* thinks that ſuch as theſe (as being ill proficients in Knowledge) ſhould be recommended to the teaching of Chriſt, but ſtill that they ſhould be honoured as Brethren, whilſt it is plain from the ſure and ſincere Fruits they produce, that the Spirit of the Father is in them. *Yea,* continues he, *by how much the more they err, by ſo much the more readily you are bound to treat 'em with affection and ſervice: to the end that perceiving Chriſt's Spirit to be in you, and being ſtill more obliged by your good Offices, they may hearken more chearfully, and believe more readily what you ſay to them; and that you alſo may ſhew your ſelves (as is your duty) to be fit Inſtruments of the Spirit of our Saviour.*

† *Epiſt. ad Academ. Marpurgens. ad IV. Evang. præfix. Argent. edit.* p. A. 3.

But inſtead of complying with ſuch wholſome advice, Men hate the erring perſon more than the error it ſelf. Men commonly ſtrengthen their notions with Anathema's and Curſings, or Excommunications, laying as much ſtreſs upon theſe as they are able. Thus Schiſms, thus Separations ariſe; thus are Men made Hereticks, perſecuted and burnt, wherever a ſtronger Party than their own prevails.

Theſe methods turn Churches to Priſons, and make Racks and Tortures to force Conſcience. Theſe are the Tares and Weeds in the Field of the Lord, which often choak the good Wheat.

But this is not an Evil of to day, or yeſterday only; the ſeeds of it have been long ſcattered, even at the beginning of the *Reformation*; but God be praiſed the ſame *Reformation* produced likewiſe worthy Men who ſaw, and ſhew'd it, who warned both Clergy and Laity, giving them wholſome advice, and reſtraining them within the bounds of their Duty. Thus behaved *Eraſmus, Caſſander, Franciſcus Junius,* * *Antonius Coranus,* together with other godly Divines, who interpoſed between both ſides, that they might correct their mutual Faults, moderate their Diſputes, and promote Peace.

* See p. 239.

Of theſe and other Incidents touching the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Abuſes, our Countrymen and Cotemporaries ought, in my opi-

nion, to be better inſtructed, than we commonly find them. For a true relation of ſuch Tranſactions may be exceeding uſeful to a ſound Judgment, in order to weigh and conſider what *Love of Party* (which endeavours to foment and keep up unneceſſary Diviſions, and to make the unneceſſary become neceſſary) alledges in its own behalf, and in order to diſtinguiſh between realities and appearances; as likewiſe to teach men not to magnifie Evil, nor leſſen Good, but to value every thing according to its intrinſick worth.

This has been my view in compoſing the preſent Account of *the Reformation of the Low-Countries*, with ſome Reflections ſerving to illuſtrate it.

But it may be objected, that in doing ſo, we diſcover the Wounds and Nakedneſs of our Churches.

'Tis true; but they are inveterate Sores and Wounds, which the more we endeavour to hide, the deeper they eat in, and the more are they diſpoſed to feſter and ganger: the opening helps to heal them: *Neither is the man who pretends to relate events ſincerely, obliged* (as *Onuphrius Panvinius* ſays, and rightly too, *) *to deſcribe matters as they ought to have happened, but as they really came to paſs; for otherwiſe it is not an Hiſtorical Relation of real Facts, but a meer Romance.*

* *In Libro de Comitiis Imperatoriis.*

Let us therefore bear with Truth, even tho' ſhe ſhould be againſt us. 'Tis natural to men to err; and it is a uſeful generoſity to acknowledge our miſtakes. *Narrow Souls*, ſays *Caſaubon* in his Dedication of *Polybius*, *cannot ſuffer that any thing be taken from them, becauſe they have nothing; but Great Men, to whom the management of great Affairs is entruſted, are ſo far from being ſhock'd at the Sincerity of a faithful Hiſtorian, that on the contrary, they are ready with a generous heart to own their Errors and Miſtakes.*

If this were our common practice, how many things might we learn that *now are hid from our eyes?* We ſhould then read and contemplate the Events of paſt Ages, their Diſeaſes and their Cures, with ſuch a frame of Mind as is proper. Then this Hiſtory might perhaps be of ſome uſe to many Chriſtians, who now ſuffer themſelves, as if blind, to be led by blind Guides, till they fall into the Snares and Toils of *Party* Rage and Fury.

Thus they of the *Romiſh* Communion, if they would hear and ſee, might learn of their *Eraſmus* (I call him theirs, tho' I have reckoned him among the *Reformers*, becauſe he lived and died in their Church) that exceſſive Superſtition ſtifles Truth; that human Traditions prevailing among them, turns Chriſtianity into *Phariſaicalneſs*; that the violent Reſtraint of Conſcience is the work of a Hang-man, and not of a Divine. They might alſo learn from their *Caſſander*, that their *Popedom* wanted to be reformed, and that Salvation may be hoped for out of the Church of *Rome*. Thus would they diſcover the vanity of their fond and chimerical *Infallibility*, and liſten to *Reformation*.

The *Proteſtants* too (under which title I compriſe all that reject *Popery*) might here by a ſtricter and more mature examination of things, obviate many Inconveniencies, which were not indeed unknown to them formerly, but which ſome of 'em ſeem now to have forgotten. Amongſt other things, the Truth of Hiſtory might teach them, that ſome have unjuſtly blamed the Government on account of

their

their gentleneſs to *Papiſts*, who in this Country enjoy the exerciſe of their Religion by connivance; for the ſame Truth would remind them, that our Anceſtors took up Arms for the common Liberties of the People, and that even thoſe of the *Romiſh* Communion were concurring and aſſiſting to ſhake off the yoke of *Spaniſh* Tyranny.

But it is objected, that they (the *Papiſts*) are Idolaters, that they worſhip Men, and meaner things: But are we our ſelves entirely exempt from the like ſins, when we make our ſelves ſlaves to Mammon or Riches, and thro' gluttony and voluptuouſneſs make Gods of our bellies? They who in ſome Communities will not depart one tittle from what their Miniſters have once conceived, and taught them, whether it be true or falſe; do they not in ſome manner make their Teachers their Gods, by paying them too great honours? But no body will own that this happens in *his Party*; and the Papiſts too deny what we charge them with. We prove it, they revenge it. We call them Hereticks, they return the compliment. God the Supreme Governour will decide the matter.

Many Proteſtants may learn from their *Franciſcus Junius* (who at the introducing the Reformation, gave Popery ſo many mortal wounds, by his great learning and chriſtian forbearance both in preaching and writing) *not to deſpiſe nor condemn the Goods of Nature in any one, how imperfect ſoever.*

Why ſhould people (ſays he) † *overlooking the good, becauſe of that which is bad in him, drive a man deſperately down a precipice? Why ſhould we deſtroy him with our ill nature and intolerance? We ſhould rather labour to kindle the little ſparks of goodneſs in him, inſtead of extinguiſhing them; and when once kindled, diligently to keep them burning and ſhining.* † Eiren. p. 47.

From the ſame *Junius* we may learn, * *that men ſhould not ſo diſpute, for the ſake of ſome perſons, or in defence of their worth, honour, and authority, as if there were no Church in the World beſides this or that Church. And truly,* continues he, *I think it by no means well, that the Churches ſhould be rent and torn for their ſakes: Neither is it well any more, that thoſe who through their ignorance and weakneſs make diviſions, ſhould through your knowledge and authority, or rather your tyranny (be ye who ye will) be thus cut off. For if they don't acknowledge that Church, of which thro' God's Grace I am a Member, it ſhall nevertheleſs be ſufficient to me for the preſent, to find that they acknowledge any* Church *of* Chriſt: *It ſhall not trouble me very much, whether they own me, or this or t'other Church, if they do but own* Chriſt; *being aſſured, that if they be ſtrengthened in* Chriſt, *tho' by little and little, it will happen at laſt, the eyes of their Underſtanding being enlightened, that they will ſee, that I and others do live in* Chriſt, *and they will be more cloſely united with the aſſembly of the Godly. For if they polute that moſt pure fountain of the Holy Scriptures, by their inventions and traditions, can we expect to be better Champions of the Truth thereof than God himſelf?* * Eiren. p. 158.

From the abovementioned *Junius* we may learn yet farther, that diverſity of opinions ought not ſo eaſily to break peace or unity. * *Tho' we ſhould not all of us,* ſays he, *be of the ſame mind in all things, far be it that we ſhould immediately conclude, that we are no longer One, whilſt we agree in ſo many, and in the moſt eſſential things. We, who hold One God the Father, from whom all things are, One Chriſt in whom are all things, and One Holy Ghoſt, by whom are* * Eiren. p. 157.

all

all things, One Body in Unity of the Spirit, one Faith in theſe Fundamentals; tho' we differ herein, that one believes more and another leſs; ſhall we therefore deny that we are One, and ſeparate from one another, becauſe we are not intirely of the ſame mind in all things? How then? Don't we ſee in one and the ſame man a Will fighting againſt it ſelf, and yet that there is but one Will? The natural Will does luſt after that which the ſpiritual Will flees from. The ſenſes cauſe our Will to rebel againſt the Underſtanding and Reaſon of a man. A ſick man with the ſame Will wiſhes for health, and the things that are deſtructive of it; his ſenſes allure him to one, nature to the other. A good man often deſires that which the Lord forbids, and yet at the ſame time ſcruples very much to will that which God does not will; as St. Auſtin *formerly ſhewed by the ſimilitude of a Son, praying that his Father's life might be lengthened, when God had willed the contrary. What then muſt be done in this caſe? Shall we make two men of one? Or muſt a man lay hands upon and tear himſelf? Should we then be ſurpriſed, that what happens in a man's own body, ſhould happen in ſo great a body as the Church? Now if ye tolerate that in a mere human body, will ye not bear the ſame in the* body *of* Chriſt, *which has been gathered together by God? Will ye not bear that at this time, when the gathering together of that body is juſt begun, which ye are contented to bear in a perfect body of a mean man, ſuch a body as hath attained to its full growth and ſtature? God forbid! Let us all together unanimouſly do our beſt, to the end that, tho' in ſeveral matters we are of different ſentiments, yet in the main we may be one. Let us lift up our eyes, and contemplate the Throne of God's Mercy placed in Heaven, where not only thoſe that were of another mind, but (which is more) they who were at enmity with God, are now reconciled to him thro' the blood of* Jeſus Chriſt. *If any one in human affairs differs from me in opinion, and wrongs me, I am required by the authority of the Lord to forgive him; but he that differs from me in the buſineſs of Faith, if he be miſtaken, he does not wrong me, but his own Maſter: now if his Maſter forgives him, ought I not to do the ſame? Moreover, if he errs, the Lord has not made him ſee his errors. We muſt therefore bear with thoſe that err, and wait with patience the Lord's time of making them ſee their errors. We ſhould ſet our ſelves to work, not to drive away thoſe that err, but rather to lead them into truth, if it ſhall pleaſe God to make uſe of our miniſtry for their inſtruction and ſalvation.*

An enquiry into our Reformation, and the means that were uſed to bring it about, may furniſh us with theſe, or the like Reflections.

It will make us cry out with *Bucer* and *Sturmius*, * Ego neminem damno, in quo aliquid Chriſti reperio; *I condemn no man in whom I can find any thing of Chriſtian.* And with an ancient Doctor of the Church †; *I ſhall not think it too much pains to examine into what appears doubtful to me; nor ſhall I be aſhamed to learn anew, and to be ſet right in thoſe things wherein I have been miſtaken. Wherefore they who read the Book I am now writing, if they find no doubts, let 'em go along with me: if the matter be not clear, let them ſearch into it as I do likewiſe: if they find themſelves miſtaken in differing from me, let them follow me: if they diſcover that I have erred, let them call me back. Let us therefore thus walk together in the paths of Love, bending our courſe always towards him of whom it is ſaid,* Seek his face always.

* *Jo Sturm.* Antipap. prim. ann. 1573.

† *Auguſtin.* de Trinit. Lib. I. cap. 2, *and* 3. Tom. III. *p.* 172.

Such an enquiry will put us upon finding out means of promoting the unity of Chriſtians, every one doing his part therein.

It will ſuggeſt to us, that Chriſt only is our Maſter, and that we are all Brethren, and therefore ought never to ſeparate or tear one another

other to pieces. It will tell us, that none among us ſhould pretend to be wiſer than becomes us; but be wiſe with moderation, not ſelf-conceited, not wiſe above what is written, but according to that meaſure of knowledge which God has communicated to every one: to bear with the weak and unſtable, to the end that they may join with us in peace: to wait for thoſe who in ſome part of Religion diſſent from us (if they cannot be convinced by us) till it ſhall pleaſe God to manifeſt to them alſo his hidden Truths; and in the mean while holding faſt the Fundamentals, as far as they are known to each of us, mutually to bear with one another in things of leſſer importance, until that time comes when we ſhall know all things fully, and not in part.

Such reflections as theſe tend to the Church's peace, which might be eaſily attained, if we were what we ought to be, that is, ready to part with our Opinion for a better; or at leaſt if we did but practiſe *mutual Toleration.* One might point out above three hundred Queſtions in the *Romiſh* Church, which are canvaſſed among the Learned, but without Schiſm or Separation. But what keeps them thus united? The *Papacy*, as many think, the *Tyranny*, the *Reſtraint* upon *Conſcience*, the *Fear* of *Puniſhment*, the *Love* of *worldly Honour*, *Eaſe* and *Power*: But then, how much greater influence ought the fear of God, the beginning of true wiſdom, and the love of our Neighbour, the true badge of Chriſtianity, to have on our minds? The God of Peace and Order places *Schiſms* among the damnable works of the fleſh. Without Peace no man ſhall ſee the Lord. Wrath hangs over the head of him that delights in quarrels. *Hereby*, ſays *Chriſt*, *ſhall men know ye are my Diſciples, if ye love one another.* He does not ſay they ſhall be known by the name of any man; by embracing any particular Confeſſion or Catechiſm, without regard to the holy Scriptures; much leſs by any externals, or humane inventions, but by *Love.* This *Love* is the Mother of peace and forbearance, for it bears all things, it ſeeks not it ſelf, it thinks no evil, it covers all things, it is not bitter, it is meek and merciful, it rejoyceth in the truth; wherefore it readily yields to what is better; but it is not fickle or unſteady, wherefore it will not change, unleſs it be fully ſatisfied that it is for the beſt.

Thus ſhould we try all things, and hold faſt that which is good; *which I do not ſuppoſe to mean* (ſays Mr. *Huygens* *) *that when we have choſen what we think is the beſt Church, we ſhould totally reject all other Communities beſides; but that following the beſt, we ſhould ingraft therein, and retain, whatever we find good in any other.* If the Divines would admit of this Gloſs from a great Layman; would they embrace it, and put it in practice, the *Reformation* might be much improved; we ſhould all, tending as it were to one centre, draw nigher to each other in time, and meeting at laſt, find, together with peace, more happineſs than can be imagined.

* In his Treatiſe of Organs, *p.* 54.

Theſe moderate views in the buſineſs of Religion and Reformation would likewiſe be approved by your Honour I am certain, Sir: Since you not only bear the name of that wiſe Burgomaſter, *Cornelius Hooft*, your Grandfather of happy memory, but particularly endeavour to trace his Virtues, and chiefly his Moderation in religious matters. For this reaſon it is, that you think it not ſufficient to have exerciſed

erciſed your ſelf in the knowlege of Municipal Laws, and in that Polity which becomes one of our Governours; but as a Chriſtian, being alſo called to higher things, you make it your buſineſs to look into holy, eccleſiaſtick and prophane Hiſtory, and daily to find out what Equity, what Liberty, what Indulgence and Toleration ought to be allowed in Chriſtendom, and particularly in our own Nation, with reſpect to the modern diſputes about Religion, *wherein no Judge upon earth is appointed, but every one is to judge for himſelf*, whether Little or Great, whether Teacher or Learner; what God, what Reaſon, what Charity, what the Privileges of our Country, what the Common-welfare of Church and State requires in theſe matters. And this your Honour's laudable diligence in ſo worthy an employment, emboldens me to inſcribe my Work to you, not only as perhaps containing what may be uſeful to your Chriſtian views, but alſo, by ſuch a ſmall Preſent, for want of a better, to own your great Favours and undeſerved Friendſhip. Accept therefore this Token of my Gratitude in the beſt ſenſe, and live long for the good of your Country and City, which is the wiſe Foſter-mother of Liberty, and the Strength and Glory of *Holland*.

May the moſt merciful God, and Chriſt the Saviour of the World, bleſs your Honour with all kind of happineſs. Thus wiſhes,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged

and moſt humble Servant,

GERARD BRANDT.

THE

Author's PREFACE

TO THE

READER.

THE writing of Hiſtories, memorable Events, and Actions of men, was always attended with difficulties and dangers; not only on account of what was expected from the Writer and from the Writing, but alſo, becauſe Truth, the very life and ſoul of Hiſtory, is commonly hated, and produces hatred. 'Tis an old defect in humane nature, that we are much more inclined to *do Evil*, than to *read*, or to *hear ſpeak of*, that which is *evil*. And it is likewiſe found by experience, which is indeed to be lamented, that the number of evil men, and conſequently of evil actions, has always far exceeded that of the good. So that among ſo many vices and faults of men, there is much more to blame than to commend. This has been the reaſon, that *Evil* has been moſtly the object of Hiſtory, or, that Hiſtorians have been chiefly taken up in recording matters that were diſpleaſing to evil men. Here a writer of Hiſtory cannot eſcape hatred; for as it is one of his principal obligations to ſay nothing that is falſe, nor to forbear ſaying any thing that is true, nor to ſuppreſs or conceal any virtues; ſo Truth does particularly require of him, that together with the bad qualities of his friends, he ſhould impartially relate the good ones of his enemies. Evil deſigns, words, and actions, are to be mentioned, to the end that other men may be deterred from the ſame, on account of the infamy and diſhonour that will be derived to poſterity. For which reaſon an Author muſt diveſt himſelf both of favour and prejudice, of love and hatred for any man, and his love for Truth muſt have the aſcendant of all his other paſſions. Being free, he is bound to love all freedom

of ſpeech conſiſtent with truth, and to value and reſpect no body. Such was *Thucydides* that famous Hiſtorian, who being driven into baniſhment by the *Athenians*, has not diſcovered in his Writings the leaſt token of diſpleaſure againſt them; no not even againſt *Cleo* and *Braſidas*, the principal authors of his misfortunes. Nor has *Polybius* deſerved leſs praiſe in his moſt inſtructive Hiſtory, ſince he would never paſs by that which deſerved blame, on any account of friendſhip, nor that which deſerved praiſe, on any account of enmity. Thus, he has not ſcrupled to rehearſe the faults of his Father *Lycortas*, nor of *Philopœmen*, whom he loved as his Father. *Æneas Sylvius* teſtifies of *Otto* Biſhop of *Friſingen*, who was Nephew, Brother and Unkle of Emperors,† *how he, though writing the actions of his own Brother and Nephew, that were enemies of the Pope of* Rome; *did ſo religiouſly adhere to the Laws of an Hiſtorian, that neither his kindred and friendſhip were hurt by truth, nor truth by them.* Thus behaved in our days that famous Dutchman, *Hugo Grotius*, who in his Hiſtory extolled the praiſes of no man higher, with reſpect to military courage and bravery, than his, who, as he thought, had done him the greateſt injuſtice in relation to Civil affairs; a plain ſign that no particular injury biaſſed his Mind, nor with-held his pen from writing that which he owed to Truth, his Country, and to thoſe that had defended the ſame.

† In Auſtralis Hiſtoriæ Fragmento.

But thoſe who have been the great aſſertors of Truth, have moſt frequently drawn upon themſelves the greateſt hatred of baſe and envious perſons. Innocent Truth begets enmity. The vileſt men ſet themſelves againſt Truth and the writers of it, eſpecially when they ſpeak in favour of oppreſſed Virtue, and to the reproach of Tyranny. Sincerity and freedom in writing ſtirs up perſecutions againſt the Witneſſes for Truth; wherefore ſome have choſe rather to write ancient than modern, or late tranſactions; and politic *Tacitus* has very well repreſented, in the fourth Book of his Annals, how dangerous it was for an Hiſtorian to mention things of too freſh a date. However, in vain do Tyrants oppoſe Violence againſt Truth. Tho' to pleaſe *Tiberius*, the Hiſtory of *Cremutius* was ſacrificed to the flames, it was nevertheleſs privately handed about, afterwards publickly, and read with great greedineſs. *For which reaſon* (ſays the ſame *Tacitus* in the place abovementioned) *I cannot but laugh at the madneſs and folly of thoſe who perſuade themſelves, that by vertue of their preſent power they can extinguiſh the memory of future ages.* Whereas, on the contrary, the more men of wit and learning are perſecuted, the more their credit and authority increaſes: *and accordingly, foreign Princes, that have uſed ſuch cruel methods, have only procured ingnominy to themſelves, and honour to their injured Subjects.* Tho' Truth may be oppreſſed, it cannot be ſuppreſſed: it will never be wholly ſubdued: it will make its way through all oppoſition and difficulties: Tho' it be defiled and even buried for a while, time will purifie it again, and its reſurrection will be with greater luſtre. This made the Ancients ſay, that Truth was the daughter of Time. *Moſt certainly*, ſays *Polybius* ‖, *I hold that Nature has appointed Truth for the great Goddeſs of mankind, and has endowed her with mighty power: For even when ſhe is oppoſed and aſſaulted by all men, ſo that oftentimes probable conjectures are*

‖ In Excerptis. *Lib.* XII.

accounted

accounted lyes, then it is that, I know not how, ſhe inſinuates herſelf into the minds of men, and unexpectedly exerts her ſtrength; or after having been long overwhelmed in darkneſs, does at laſt conquer through her innate force, attains her ends, and triumphs over Falſhood. Let us hear what the Father of the *Roman* Eloquence ‖ ſays upon the ſame ſubject. *O mighty power of Truth, which eaſily defends herſelf againſt humane ingenuity, craft, and management, and againſt all their wiles and ſnares!* And elſewhere *, *Truth always carries ſuch a force along with her, that ſhe cannot be overcome, neither by the fallacy, art, nor ingenuity of men. And tho' ſhe had no Advocate nor Patron in her cauſe, yet ſhe would be able to defend herſelf.* Again † he ſays, *Truth being preſſed down by the wickedneſs of many men, will emerge for all that, and the obſtructed juſtification of innocency will take breath.* And it is an emphatical Proverb of the ancient *Hollanders*; That as ſwift as a Lye is, the Truth will overtake it.

‖ *Vid.* Cic. Orat. pro Cœlio.

* *Vid.* Cicer. Orat. in Vatinium.

† Ibid. in Orat. pro Cluentio.

It is likewiſe a good ſaying of ſomebody, that *altho' Kings are inveſted by God with an uncircumſcribed Power, inſomuch that they can do almoſt all things; yet as much as the power of God ſurpaſſes that of Kings, ſo much is Truth, which receives its force from God, more mighty than Kings themſelves. Truth* (as *Zerubbabel* ſays) *remains, and will prevail for ever.* She wants no humane protection, for God, the God of Truth, does always cauſe her to live and ſpeak by the mouths and pens of the braveſt and moſt virtuous men. ‖ We read of that great Hiſtorian *Thuanus*, that the moſt zealous Papiſts oppoſed his writing and publiſhing his Hiſtory. He ſpake Truths that could not be born in the Court of *Rome*. Some were for entirely ſuppreſſing his Book, others were for cenſuring, curtailing and correcting it after their own fancy. He was preſt to omit the account of the Council of *Trent*, and other remarkable matters: But a few years after, the ſame Truths broke out from the pen of *Paulus Sarpius Servita*, a Divine of the Republick of *Venice*. The other obſcured and oppreſſed Pieces have come to light in our days. Truth and Freedom of writing has no where met with ſo great oppoſition, as from the Papacy. To this tended all the Oaths, whereby the Biſhops and regular Clergy were bound to the See of *Rome*. *Pius the Second*, durſt even aſſert * that *it was contrary to the Epiſcopal Oath, to ſpeak ſuch Truths as were prejudicial to the Pope.* The more this Head of the *Romiſh* Church, and the Members of that body receded from the ſimplicity of primitive Chriſtianity, and the more they burdened the people with humane impoſitions, the more they endeavoured to reſtrain the liberty of writing. From thence proceeded that caſtration and corruption of many old Authors, and the prohibition of many new ones, unleſs they would yield themſelves ſlaves to men. Theſe Eccleſiaſtics that aſſumed ſo much to themſelves, and who, thro' their ambition, pride, covetouſneſs, and imperious temper, were become an eye and heart-ſore to every body, could not bear the freedom of an hiſtorical ſtile. The righteous judgment which *Truth* pronounced in Hiſtory, upon the fame and reputation both of Small and Great, they ſought by violence to ſuppreſs. But their attempts were vain; eſpecially when the art of Printing produced more Books than they were able to burn, and ſo many Countries had ſhaken off the *Romiſh* yoke.

‖ *See the French Letters to* Joſ. Scaliger, *p.* 163, 420.

* In Paralipomenis Abbatis Urſpergenſis.

The Author's PREFACE.

My being born in ſuch a Country, I mean in *Holland*, where Popery and the Inquiſition have been driven out by the ſword, where Liberty and Truth meet with the ſecureſt ſhelter; of which we may ſay, with much more reaſon, what *Tacitus*, and after him *Thuanus*, ſaid of his Country; namely, that thro' the wiſe and righteous government of the Magiſtrate, *It was lawful for every man to think what he would, and to ſpeak what he thought.* The happineſs I had of being born (I ſay) in ſuch a Country, and of living under the moſt juſt and moderate Government in the whole earth, inſpired me ſome years ago with the courage of writing an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the *Reformation*, without fearing any Popery or unlawful Violence, or ill Will from the ſeveral Communities of Clergymen that live here intermixed. The favour which this Work, or the firſt Ten Books of it, publiſhed in the year 1663, met with from many of the diſcreeteſt in every Communion of the *Reformed* Chriſtians, nay, even of ſome *Romaniſts* too, has encouraged me to purſue the ſame with that zeal and faithfulneſs which the weight and importance of the matter deſerves. I confeſs, that ſome of the deſcribed tranſactions have not been acceptable to all, particularly to thoſe that were of opinion, that Eccleſiaſtical men and things ought to be handled tenderly and reſpectfully; and that therefore the recording their miſcarriages might be prejudicial to the Church. But ſuch people ſhould conſider, that what is ſometimes ſaid of a few Perſons, is not to be imputed to the whole Order, nor even to the Majority; and that what is ſaid of a Few, or of Many, yea, of a whole Body of men, may ſerve for the warning and inſtruction of their ſucceſſors. *Kings and Princes*, ſays *Grotius* *, *muſt be contented that ſome of their own degree ſhould be painted in Hiſtory with all their defects; why then ſhould the Clergy eſcape?* In the Hiſtories of the *Bible* that were written by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, the faults, miſcarriages and vices of the Anointed and Prieſts of the Lord, were not concealed, but, together with their puniſhments, publickly declared for the good of others. Let therefore the falſe ſteps and evil actions of our Anceſtors render their Poſterity wiſer and better; ſo that the Young, which ſeldom happens, may reform the Old. For *Hiſtory*, to ſpeak in the words of *Diodorus Siculus*, *is the Repoſitory of the virtues of illuſtrious perſons, the Witneſs of the crimes of wicked men, and the Benefactreſs of the whole humane race.* And as *Cicero* ſays, *She is the School of wiſdom, the Miſtreſs of our education, and the Mother of diſcretion:* She teaches us what we ſhould avoid, and what we ſhould follow: She is the mirrour of our manners and behaviour, and even the very beſt mirrour, ſince, ſpeaking the truth without flattery, ſhe ſhows deformities as well as beauties, and even thoſe of ſuch as will not look into her: She is ſuch a mirrour as repreſents the rewards of good men, and the puniſhments of bad: in her we are taught both by words and deeds; we may make uſe of her to diſpoſe and adorn our lives upon the model of other mens virtues: She reſembles the wonderful mirrour of *Archimedes*, which not only repreſented the images of things, but even ſet them on fire at very great diſtances. Thus even the examples of the Ancients are capable of influencing the minds of Poſterity:

* *In his Apology*, xix. 128.

ſterity : For when we read of actions, which being praiſe-worthy, we are forced to commend, it immediately kindles a deſire of imitating them in generous breaſts : Theſe Torches of Fame, if I may ſo ſay, do both enlighten and warm us. Theſe advantages may be expected, if men would read or write events without partiality, and with minds and diſpoſitions that have no other view but to learn truth. Then we ſhould find ſome among the poſterity of the moſt violent Churchmen, as there really are ſome now in this Country, who by qualifying the rigour of their Anceſtors with their own good temper and moderation, would ſupply the Hiſtorians with matter for edifying examples. As for me, tho' I live in a Communion that is not only ſeparated from *Popery* as far as poſſible, but alſo is unfortunately divided from ſome of the *Reformed* Churches; yet no friendſhip for a Party has been able ſo far to blind the eyes of my Reaſon, as to hinder me from diſcovering and acknowledging merit and virtue where-ever I meet it, even among *Papiſts* themſelves, and much more among *Proteſtants*, who have either amended their errors, or attempted to do it. Nor have I any more concealed or excuſed the faults of Friends than thoſe of our Enemies. I am the bolder to ſay ſo, ſince one of the greateſt Lights and oldeſt Miniſters of the Reformed Chriſtians in *Holland*, after having read the firſt impreſſion of this Work, has vouchſafed to declare with his own mouth, that he eſteemed my Hiſtory impartial and uſeful; adding ſomething more which deſerves to be mentioned here: He complained, that he had found ſomething in that Work relating to his Grandfather (who had been no ſmall Inſtrument in the Reformation of the *Netherlands*) by which he was repreſented as a very warm and partial man to his Sect; giving me alſo ſome inſtances of the man's moderation and diſcretion upon other occaſions : But when he had heard and weighed the vouchers I produced for what I had advanced concerning his ſaid Grandfather, this juſt and impartial man cried out; *You have convinced me, 'tis Truth, and I prefer it to my Parents, and above all other conſiderations.* Thus Truth brings us under ſubjection to herſelf, and at the ſame time ſets us free from all other ſervitude. They that peruſe theſe Tranſactions with ſuch eyes, will not eaſily be ſhocked at their Friend's faults, but will bewail humane infirmities and help to amend them. They will likewiſe upon various occaſions, find ſufficient matter to ſow in their hearts the ſeeds of Prudence, Moderation, Candour, and Gentleneſs, with reſpect to religious concerns, and the objects of Faith, and above all, the ſeed of Love, *the mother of Unity, the nurſe of all Virtues*, (I am quoting the words of * *Caſaubon*) *the only conqueror and deſtroyer of all Errors; which alone is able to quell Hereſies when they firſt ſpring up, and which even prevents their ſpringing up at all.* If, as I hope, my writing can any wiſe contribute thereto, I ſhall not fail of the reward of my labour. And tho' I ſhould not be able to pleaſe every body, I ſhall be contented if I can be but uſeful to never ſo few good tempered people : that ſhall ſufficiently encourage me to proceed in the ſame way I have begun. My chiefeſt aim ſhall continue to be, to ſet Truth ſimply before the eyes of all men : *For*, as Cicero † ſays, *that which is true, ſincere*

* Caſaub. in præfat. G. Nyſſeni Ep. ad Euſtat. præfix. p. A. 4.

† de Offic. Lib. I.

and

and ſimple, does beſt agree with humane nature. But as Truth is ſometimes ſo evident, that nothing can cloud it, ſo ſometimes its diſcovery is not to be effected without much pains and induſtry. *The memory of man*, ſays *Eraſmus*, and juſtly too, *is ſo infirm, that there can hardly be found any two perſons who will relate after the ſame manner, what they heard at the ſame time.* Beſides, ſome men look upon events with eyes that are blinded by prepoſterous and indirect views; from whence ariſe relations which obſcure the Truth. This gave occaſion to a man of great ſagacity to ſay, that *Truth comes to our knowledge like money to our coffers, not without viſible abatement and great diminution.* If therefore ſhe does not appear plainly enough in the variety of the matters I relate, I will take the more pains in ſearching into, and tracing the true diſpoſition of things. But if, after all, I ſhould fall ſhort of my deſign, and ſhould wander from the Truth for want of judgment, or by miſtaking probabilities for realities, I beg it may be conſtrued as not done with deſign, but againſt my will, after having uſed my utmoſt endeavours to ſet matters in a juſt light. For which reaſon, when I find Truth buried ſo deep under the rubbiſh, that it will be ſcarce poſſible for me to dig her out; and when I find things intricate and uncertain, I ſhall repreſent the uncertain as uncertain, and the intricate as intricate. If you obſerve in the ſequel of this Hiſtory any facts quite differently related by other Writers, my defence is, that I have received them from diſcreet and credible Authors, whom I ſhall for the moſt part quote either in the Text itſelf, or in the Margin.

Of theſe Facts, ſome perhaps may have been repreſented wrong through paſſion or ignorance, and ſome deſignedly omitted through prejudice or partiality; wherefore I thought it my duty to correct and amend ſuch miſtakes. If I have happened to paſs over ſome things in ſilence, it has been only for want of due information, or elſe I had reaſon to ſuſpect what others had ſaid upon that ſubject. I did not think my ſelf at liberty, blindly to tread the path of *Partiſhip*, which leads us aſtray from the Truth. If at any time I ſlightly touch upon a matter, and ſay but little of it, 'tis not without reaſon. I am of *Eraſmus*'s mind; *Truth does not want many words; and that is beſt remembered, which is moſt conciſely related.* We likewiſe affect to ſhorten thoſe accounts upon which others have perhaps dwelt too long. Upon other occaſions we have been more prolix and copious; as for inſtance, in ſuch matters as have not been publiſhed to the world: We may likewiſe, in the opinion of ſome men, have been too tedious: Yet ſome minute matters have often, on account of their certainty, or other circumſtances, ſtronger influence on our minds than much greater things that are leſs certain. You will find in ſome places matters of State and War interſperſed with thoſe of the Church, but it could not be avoided; for who knows not how cloſe thoſe matters ſtuck to Eccleſiaſtical affairs, ſometimes obſtructing, and ſometimes promoting the buſineſs of *Reformation?* I have paſſed by Foreign tranſactions, unleſs when they had any particular relation to our Hiſtory,

Hiſtory, and tended to inſtruct or warn us in things of moment. That we have ſometimes been entirely ſilent, or cautiouſly touched upon the Cauſes and Ends of events, and been tender of paſſing a judgment on them, proceeded partly, becauſe we could not always penetrate into the ſecret ſprings of affairs, nor gain the knowledge of what paſſed in private aſſemblies and cloſe cabals; and partly too, becauſe ſome things were in their own nature, and from the circumſtances attending them, ſufficiently manifeſt; and laſtly, to avoid as much as we could, all appearances of *Partiſhip*. Does not alſo the bare relation of ſome matters often ſerve to inform us, from what corner the wind blows, whither it tends, and what is well or ill deſigned? In ſome places I am obliged to ſpeak in the words, and to uſe the arguments of other perſons, which naturally occaſions a diverſity of Stile. When I am obliged ſo to do, I ſignifie it in the Margin, eſpecially when thoſe Quotations contain a judgment of perſons or things, or inſtructions drawn from the nature of events. This I do for the benefit of my Reader: For tho' I ſhould be able to ſay the ſame, or as good, yet my own opinion would not have the ſame force, or meet with equal credit. It is alſo entirely peculiar to paſt tranſactions, that they cannot be known by their own evidence: For which reaſon it ſhould appear from what mouth or pen they proceed; whether he that relates them has ſeen or heard them himſelf, or whether he has received them from others at the firſt, ſecond, or third hand; whether from Friends or Enemies; or from ſuch as are wholly free from the ſuſpicion of *Partiſhip*; or ſuch who, during the diſputes, kept an exact neutrality, and the middle way, without leaning to either ſide; to the end, that the truth, probability or improbability of things may appear by the agreement and diſagreement of many. Some, and even Writers of great name, have formerly made uſe of the Works of other men, and publiſhed the Labours of the Learned for their own; which, in my opinion, is not honourable. I think, with *Eraſmus*, that *it does not become an honeſt man to diſſemble, or conceal the perſons whoſe Works he has made uſe of.*

It is proper I ſhould alſo inform my Reader, that I have not only noted in the Margin of this Book, the authorities I have uſed, but alſo ſometimes the places where he may find more light, for or againſt the things which I have here related. As for what I have tranſlated out of other Languages, I have endeavoured to expreſs the mind of my Author, as literally as the Genius of our Language will admit; confining my ſelf however, ſtrictly to his meaning, from which I never depart knowingly or wilfully. The *Placards* or Decrees, Remonſtrances, Petitions, Speeches, Letters, and other authentic Pieces, I repreſent, as far as is feaſible or convenient, in the very words of thoſe that drew them up, and in the ſtile of their Age, to expreſs their ſenſe more clearly, and not to ſay in their names things that never entered into their hearts. As to my manner of writing, chooſing, diſpoſing, and managing ſuch a variety of matters, I know that many will blame and find fault

fault with me; I wiſh I could ſay they had no reaſon. One's Power ſeldom reaches as far as one's Will: Beſides, affairs of greater importance have hindered me from beſtowing all the time or pains I ought to have done upon this Work. Theſe things, which I would have underſtood not only concerning this preſent Volume, but likewiſe of the reſt (which, if it pleaſes God, ſhall follow it) I thought my ſelf obliged to ſet before my Reader, to the end, that he might judge with more equity of my Hiſtory and the Purpoſe thereof.

Read then, free from the paſſions of Love or Hatred, and farewel.

Dated from AMSTERDAM,
24th *October*, 1671.

THE

To Face the Introduction



GERARD BRANDT.

M. Musscher pinxit. *P. Wandelaar fecit*

The Introduction.

THE Chriſtian Religion was in the firſt Ages [1] venerable for its [a] ſimplicity: But ſoon after, when the Teachers of divers ſorts [b] of Philoſophy became Chriſtians, they endeavour'd to adorn [b] it with the Rules and Doctrines of their ſeveral Sects; to which the *Jews*, *Greeks*, and others, added the Ceremonies of their [c] reſpective Countries; to the end, that the outward ſplendor of ſuch inſtitutions, which was found to have had no ill effect, might be converted to a better uſe. But theſe things which for a long time were left to every man's liberty, and were only received by the private approbation of ſome particular Perſons or [d] Churches [d], prevailing gradually by practice; and at length, by the perſwaſion of their introducers and favourers, and the conſent of Councils, being turned into [e] Laws [e], were made neceſſary, and eaſily juſtified in the following ages of ignorance [f] and barbariſm. In the mean while the Biſhops of *Rome* [f], who had always poſſeſſed a great ſhare of authority in Church Affairs, (being diſengaged from the rivalſhip of the Cities of *Aſia* and *Egypt*, as alſo of *Conſtantinople*, which had aſpired to the [g] ſame Supremacy) [g] erected a certain Spiritual Kingdom, uſurp'd the Supreme Power, [h] [h] appointed Cardinals as their Aſſeſſors or Counſellors, and ſo laid the foundation of a long ſeries of Succeſſors in that dominion; none at firſt oppoſing their pretenſions, [i] becauſe many of the European Nations had received the Chriſtian Religion [i] by the inſtruction of ſuch as were ſent to them from *Rome*. This is the reaſon why the [k] *Latin*, or *Romiſh* Church, has introduced its Cuſtoms and [k] Language into the Churches of ſo many other Countries.

Theſe Biſhops, now called Popes, having once uſurped an univerſal authority in [l m] divine matters, ſoon proceeded [l] to publiſh new decrees, to interpret the old, [m] and to debar the common people the uſe of the Scriptures; pretending that it would be of very dangerous conſequence, if Religion, the moſt important thing in the world, ſhould be ſubjected to the ſenſleſs curioſity of the Vulgar. By theſe methods they ſo [n] ordered matters, that every thing was calculated [n] for their own honour and profit. Then [2] it was the Clergy fell into ſuch licentiouſneſs, both of life and manners, that even they themſelves were obliged to own that ſome remedy was wanting; and this neceſſarily tended to Reformation, or to the amending and reſtoring of Doctrines and Manners according to the primitive model. But they that both could and ought to have done moſt in it, I mean the higher Powers both Temporal and Spiritual, took it leaſt to heart, and the Eccleſiaſtical or Papal Court eſpecially was the moſt remiſs of all. Wherefore there aroſe from time to time meaner people in the Church, who obſerving its defects and abuſes, began here and there to cry out againſt them, and to ſet their hands to the work of *Reformation*. [3] But the power of the Pope was now grown ſo great, that ſuch as had attempted, but in the leaſt degree, to remove the ſcandal without him, (not to ſay in ſpite of him) were preſently cruſhed, ſince the temporal ſword was always ready at his ſervice, for the extirpation of whatever oppoſed him and (what he called) the Church.

[o] [o] But the blood of thoſe Martyrs proved the ſeed of the true Church, and was by accident the [4] the cauſe both of much good and evil: For the butchering ſuch a vaſt number of people, moſt of them plain and innocent men, who certainly meant

[1] Grot. Ann. Lib. I. p. 8, 9.
[2] Grot. *Apology*, Ch. 3.
[3] Uitemb. *Church Hiſtory*, p. 23, 141.
[4] Hooft's *Hiſtory of the* Netherlands.

nothing but the ſervice of God, and their own Salvation, as it contributed to the amendment of the lives of many, producing a zeal tempered with humility, and exciting in them a love to the Sufferers, and compaſſion of their miſeries; ſo it raiſed in others, an unchriſtian hatred againſt the Perſecutors, while tranſported with revenge P, they ſought to ſet bounds to the miſchief even by arms; from whence p
there often reſulted greater miſchiefs than what they endeavoured to prevent. However God, who by the guidance of his providence, is able to turn the evil which he abhors into good, was pleaſed to give ſucceſs to theſe attempts, and by the *Reformation*, ſuch as it was, to enervate, and even to drive out Popery from ſeveral Churches and Countries: And on the contrary, to eſtabliſh the Unity of Faith, at leaſt with regard to q neceſſary Truths, in many places; and even to cauſe a mutual q
Forbearance, with reſpect to ſuch Truths as are leſs neceſſary, and a liberty of Conſcience, without which no Religion can ſubſiſt, to appear and be countenanced in ſome Churches: Which may Chriſt the Prince of Peace ſuffer to prevail, for the healing of thoſe r needleſs diviſions, that often baniſh Truth itſelf, as well as Cha- r
rity, out of the Church!

This *Reformation* may be eſteemed to have had its riſe, not only when Truth in ſome meaſure prevailed, but even from thoſe early times, when the firſt oppoſition was made in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*, againſt the introduction of ſcandalous Errors, and ill Morals, and f againſt the exceſſive growth of Eccleſiaſtical pride, that f
is to ſay, ſome hundreds of years before *Luther* was raiſed up. For even the firſt diſcovery and reſiſtance of theſe evils, tho' at that time hardly taken notice of, and little hearkened to, has ſince contributed to reform poſterity, to whom the Truth, that at firſt was only preſented to men as at a diſtance, obſcurely and by piecemeals, at laſt, and almoſt at once, ſhined forth more entire, and with greater brightneſs and luſtre. Now having collected from various accounts foreign and domeſtic, ancient and modern, printed and in manuſcript, all that gave an occaſion to thoſe great Revolutions in Church-affairs, (as far at leaſt as relates to the riſe, progreſs, and eſtabliſhment of the *Reformation* in the *Low-Countries*) together with the memorable Tranſactions and Events that either by accident happened thereupon, or neceſſarily followed from thence, I ſolemnly declare, that I have not done it with deſign to propagate or encourage any particular Schiſms or Animoſities; but only by repreſenting thoſe things which ſhould either be followed or avoided, to render ſome ſmall ſervice to common Chriſtianity in all thoſe parts where our Language is ſpoken or underſtood.

THE



T. Cole Sculp.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION AND OTHER Eccleſiaſtical Tranſactions IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK I.

WE read, [1] that in the year 712, a dreadful Schiſm, which aroſe at *Gant*, was entirely appeaſed, by reforming the Manners of the Clergy. But whether this *Reformation* was brought to paſs with or without the conſent of the Pope, is not related. Some are of opinion, that the Biſhops of *Rome* in thoſe times underſtood the word *Reformation* differently from what we now do, and that under this cloak was concealed a deep myſtery of State: [2] For in the year 719, *Gregory* II. ſent *Winifrid* a Monk from *England* to *Germany*, not only with orders to preach the Goſpel among the people that were ſtill Heathens, but likewiſe in thoſe places, where the Chriſtian Religion had been long before planted, and in neighbouring Countries to reform the Abuſes and Irregularities of the Clergy, and at the ſame time to introduce the Cuſtoms and Ceremonies of the *Romiſh* Church. That this laſt errand, and the reduction of other

An° Dom. 712. *Reformation at* Gant.

719. Winifrid *ſent into* Germany.

The View of his Miſſion.

[1] Nich. Burg. Hiſt. Belg. L. II. p. 127. P. C. Hooft's *Hiſt. I.* 32.

[2] Vignier Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, p. 180. ex Jul. Avent. Bojor. An. Lib. III. p. 213. Winſem. Chron. Friſ. II. p. 66, &c. Chem. Conc. Trid. p. 507.

An° Dom. 719. other Churches, was the principal design of this Mission, appears from * the Oath of Fidelity, which *Winifrid* took to *Gregory:* It runs thus: **I promise** St. Peter **and his Vicegerent, that I will serve with all sincerity, and faithfully discharge my Mission, for the benefit of the Church — - If I behave my self otherwise, let the vengeance of** Ananias **and** Saphira **light upon me in the last judgment.** He wrote afterwards to Pope *Zachary* in the following manner: [1] *I shall not fail to invite and incline all the Disciples and Hearers, as many as God shall grant me in this Mission, to the obedience of the Apostolic Chair.* And when afterwards he had reduced all the Churches that had been planted and settled before under the rule and government of the Pope, it was called, [2] *The welfare of the Christian Churches, the promoting their Unity and Reformation, and the* [3] *being converted to* St. Peter, *whom God had given them for their Master and Protector.*

Several Bishops who opposed these incroachments of the *Romish* Church, and stood up for the liberty of their own Churches and Consciences, were deposed [4] by the contrivance and management of *Winifrid* [5]. To oppose the *Romish* Ceremonies, or [6] to excel in learning was *Heresie.* However, they that were wronged did not scruple to reproach him for these injuries, and even to call him [7] a preacher of lies, a violater of peace, right, and religion. On the other hand, he acquired to himself by his zeal for the Papacy, the name of [8] *Boniface*, and [9] Apostle of *Germany*, together with the dignity of Archbishop of *Mentz*, and afterwards of *Utrecht* or *Freesland*, in the stead of *Willebrood* [10] who in the year 690, was sent thither from *England* to preach the Christian Religion in the said Country, and about six years after was consecrated the first Archbishop of the *Freeslanders* by [11] Pope *Sergius.* But [12] others are of opinion, that the light of the Gospel shone earlier in those parts.

752. Winifrid *gets the Name of* Boniface, *and is stiled the Apostle of the* Germans, *&c.*

Winifrid *is murdered.*

[13] This same *Boniface*, together with two and fifty other Ecclesiastics, was massacred at *Dockum* in the year 752. [14] The reason, as some pretend, was his preaching the Gospel there; but as others assert, 'twas his attempting to introduce the *Romish* Ceremonies; or [15] else it was the effect of their hatred to him, for having had a hand in the deposing [16] *Childeric* or *Hilderic* King of *France*, and advancing [17] *Pepin* to the throne. He was Archbishop of the *Frisians*, as has been before observed [18], under which name, in those days, the inhabitants of these and other adjacent Countries were also included. The name of *Holland* [19] as some think, was not then known, but was introduced at least an hundred years later by the *Normans.* Accordingly, the most diligent searchers into the antiquities of *Holland* affirm, that this [20] County or Earldom, took its beginning about the year 913, (under *Diedrick* the First, who freed it from the yoke of the *Barbarians*, [21] at a time when no foreign Prince had a pretension to it) and that the first Counts did not bear the Title of [22] *Holland*, till about the year 1033, or somewhat later.

That *Willebrood* and *Winifrid*, or *Boniface*, were so intimately united to the Papal Chair, and did so early introduce into these Churches the *Romish* Innovations and Superstitions, and that more such things were designed, appears [23] from their being accused of inslaving the *German* Churches to the Pope, [t] of honouring Saints and Reliques, asserting a Purgatory, praying for the Dead, hindering the Clergy from marrying, and of carrying a company of Women about with them, which gave great scandal. Thus were the tares sown together with the good seed, and thus they sprang up.

A Tumult at Gant, *about setting up Image-Worship.*

In the year 752, there happened a great disturbance at *Gant*, upon the account of Images, which some endeavoured to set up in the Churches to worship them, whilst

* Mornæi. Hist. de la Pap. p. 159. II. Conc. Decret. Gregor. II.

[1] Ibid. in Epist. Decr. Zacchar.

[2] Vignier. *p.* 185. [3] Morn. f. 160. *a.*

[4] Merula's *Treasure of Times*, *p.* 3, &c.

[5] Vign. *p.* 185. [6] Morn. f. 161. *a.*

[7] Vign. *p.* 155. *and* Morn. f. 160.

[8] Buchel. Not. ad Bek. *p.* 16. *a.*

[9] Morn f. 159 *b.*

[10] Chron. Bekæ. *p.* 8. Hist. Hedæ. *p.* 25. P. Winsem. Chron. Fris. II. 57.

[11] Buchel. Not ad Bek. *p.* 12.

[12] Merula, *p.* 498, *&c.* J. Beka. *p.* 8, *&c.* W. Heda. *p.* 15, *&c.* Ub. Emm. Hist. Fris. *L.* III. *p.* 45, *&c.* P. Bert. Germ. *L.* I. *c.* 17. Winsem. 1. f. 40. 11. f. 54, &c. *Of the farther planting Christianity here, read the said* Ubi Emm. *L.* III. *p.* 49. *L.* IV. *p.* 50, *&c.*

[13] Beka, *p.* 16. *&c.* Winsem. II. *p.* 70. Bert. Germ. I. *p.* 137. Ubi Em. IV. 61.

[14] Merula, *p.* 524. [15] Vign. *p.* 189.

[16] Chron. Franc. Fuld. *p.* 4. Mutii Chron. Germ. VI. *p.* 47.

[17] Gessel. Hist. *p.* 16. Merula, *p.* 524, *&c.*

[18] Buchel. in Hedam, *p.* 7. *and* Hed *p.* 121. Boxh. Theatr. Hol. *p.* 7. Grot. Ant. Reip. Bat. *p.* 56, *&c.* Scriver. Old Bat. *p.* 3. Vos. Ann. *Lib.* 5.

[19] Old Bat. *p.* 36, *&c.* Buchel ad Bek. *p.* 7, *&c.* Hadr. Jun. Bat. *p.* 172.

[20] Old Bat *p.* 62, &c. Mer. *p.* 530.

[21] Grot. Reip. Bat. *p.* 66.

[22] Old Bat. *p.* 54, 110, *&c.*

[23] Avent. Bojor. Ann. Mut. Chron. V. *p.* 74. Chemnitz Conc. Trid. *p.* 546. Merula's *Treasure of Times*, *p.* 517.

whilſt others oppoſed it ; [1] inſomuch that the Abbot *Fulbertus* was killed in the tumult. Near a hundred years after, that is, about the year 860, or later, ſome of the Clergy, Subjects of King *Lotharius*, (whoſe Kingdom of *Auſtraſia*, ſince called [2] *Lotharingia* or *Lorrain*, contained part of *Old Belgium* and of our *Netherlands* ; to which alſo about that time were ſubject [3] the Biſhopricks of *Utrecht*, *Cambray*, *Tournay*, *Liege*, *Cologne*, *Treves*, *Mentz*, *Toul*, *Verdun* and *Strasburg*) ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Papal Domination [4]. *Nicholas* the Firſt was then poſſeſſed of the See of *Rome* : He was a Pope of great fame among the aſſertors of Papal power. He ſuffered the Emperor *Lodowick* the Second, twice to lead his horſe by the bridle, and to walk about a bow-ſhot by his ſide, whilſt he himſelf rode [5]. He declared his Decrees equal in authority to the holy Scriptures, and [6] allowed the name of God to be given him ; for which reaſon he would not be limited by any earthly Powers. He alſo forbad Prieſts to marry, [7] on pain of Excommunication. He uſed great partiality, conniving at the miſbehaviour of ſome, and puniſhing the faults of others with much ſeverity, and even of thoſe over whom he had no authority, thereby to extend the bounds of his dominion. [8] He received at *Rome*, with open arms, the Intendant or Maſter of the Foreſts of *Flanders*, * *Baldwin*, who had violated *Judith* Daughter of *Charles the Bald*, King of *France*. On the contrary, he required King *Lotharius* to take to him again his Conſort *Teudberg*, whom he had repudiated [9], as being too near of kin to him, or [10] becauſe of her ſcandalous life, as ſome think, or laſtly, that he might eſpouſe his Concubine *Valdrada*, as others ſay: [11] However, the divorce was judged and declared lawful by the Synod at *Aix la Chapelle*, where *Hunger* the eleventh Biſhop of *Utrecht* was preſent, and at *Metz*, where by reaſon of his illneſs he could not appear. But *Nicolas* pretended, that the laſt reſort or final determination of the matter belonged to him, and therefore cited thoſe Biſhops, who had approved the divorce, to *Rome*. Whereupon [12] *Gunther* and [13] *Tetgaud*, the Archbiſhops of *Cologn* and *Treves*, were delegated thither in the name of all the reſt. What happened to them there, and how they were received, may be gathered, in ſome manner, from this Letter, which at their return home they wrote to the Pope.

AN° DOM. 860.

Some Biſhops oppoſe Pope Nicholas I.

GUNTHER *and* TETGAUD, *to Pope* NICOLAS.

THE Fathers, Biſhops and the Brethren, our [14] *Suffragans ſent us to you. We came likewiſe very readily to* Rome, *and delivered to you our Documents and Vouchers, to the end, that if they contained any thing which you ſhould think a fault or error, you might admoniſh us tenderly and decently, as becomes a wiſe Father or Inſtructor. But after having received our Writings for above the ſpace of twenty days, you did not ſo much as return us an anſwer even by a Meſſenger, ſo far were you from admitting us into your preſence. At laſt, having waited almoſt a month, we were ſummoned before you, whither, without delay, we came, ſuſpecting no evil: but you treated us as Robbers are uſed to do ; for as ſoon as we entered your houſe, we found ourſelves ſurrounded by a company of Ruffians ; and being bereaved of all humane aſſiſtance, we and our people were interdicted the uſe of every thing, ſacred and profane. There did you cauſe to be pronounced againſt us (contrary to all Juſtice and Equity, contrary to the Decrees and Practice of the Ancients, without any Eccleſiaſtical Synod or Aſſembly, without the Preſence and Concurrence of any Archbiſhop or Biſhop, without any previous mention on your own part of our erroneous Proceedings, and without having confuted us by any Reaſons, Arguments, Witneſs or Writing) a ſudden, unexpected, and very ſcandalous ſentence and condemnation inconſiſtent*

The Biſhops Letter to the Pope.

†

[1] Vign. *p.* 138. *from* Jac. Meijer's Chron. Fland.
[2] Boxhorn. Hiſt. Univ. *p.* 468, &c.
[3] Blondel Conſiderat. de Relig. & d'Etat. *p.* 16, 17.
[4] T. Geſſ. Hiſt. Eccleſ. II. *p.* 89. Vignier. *p* 220.
[5] Morn. f. 183. [6] Ibid. f. 185, &c.
[7] Vignier, *p.* 220. Morn. f. 186. Geſſel. Hiſt. II. *p.* 59.
[8] Morn. f. 184.
* *Some Hiſtorians are of opinion, that this* Baldwin *was the firſt Earl of* Flanders ; *but others pretend, that the Country was not erected into an Earldom till above fifty Years after.* *See* Merula, *p.* 579. Boxh. *Theatre of* Holl. *Chap.* VIII. *p.* 61. & ejuſd. Hiſt. Univerſ. *p.* 791.
[9] Reginonis Chron. II. *p.* 47. Sigeb. *p.* 567. Merula, *p.* 579.
[10] Morn. f. 184.
[11] Blondel de Papa fœm. 136. Annal. Franc. a Pith. edit. *p.* 28. Boxh. Hiſt. Univ. *p.* 473.
[12] & [13] Vid. Blondel ſupra & Morn. f. 184.
[14] Co-epiſcopi. *See concerning this word* Buchel. ad Bekam, *p.* 13. Avent. Boij. Annal. IV. 329. Cat. Teſt. Verit. IX. 137. Merula, *p.* 582. Morn. f. 188. Vign. *p.* 224.

AN DOM. 860. *sistent with the Christian Religion, out of a Paper; besides insulting us your Brethren and Fellow-servants in Christ with contemptuous Language. The immortal King has made his Queen and Spouse the Church a noble and everlasting provision for her Family, with a Dowry that is neither fading nor corruptible, and given her an eternal Crown and Scepter. He gave her also the power to canonize Saints, and to open Heaven, to heal the Sick, and to bestow immortality on the Dead. All which benefits you like a thief intercept; you set up your self in the Temple as God; instead of Pastor, you are become a Wolf to the Sheep; you slay the living; you draw the strong from heaven, beating and thrusting them into hell; you hide a sword that is anointed with honey; by you the Dead are hindered from living again: You would make us believe you are a supreme Bishop, but you rather behave like a Tyrant; you are a Wolf under the disguise of a Shepherd; whereas you ought to be a Servant of Servants (as you call your self) you endeavour to become a Lord of Lords —— Whatever you desire you think is lawful: You are turned a deceiver of Christians. For all which reasons neither we, nor our brethren and friends do regard or submit our selves to your commands; neither know we your Voice, nor fear your Bulls and Thunder. You condemn all for impious and irreligious that do not obey your determinations, forbidding them the use of the Sacraments. We smite you with your own sword, because you bring the Commands of God into contempt, dissolving the unity of spiritual assemblies, and violating Peace, the perpetual badge of the Prince of heaven. The Holy Ghost is the builder of all Churches as far as the earth extends itself in breadth and length. The City of our God, of which we are the Citizens, reaches to all the regions of the heavens; and it is greater than the city, by the holy Prophets named* Babylon, *which pretends to be divine, equals herself to heaven, and brags that her wisdom is immortal; and finally, though without reason, that she never did err, nor ever can.*

THE Contents of this Letter, but in other Words are to be found in [1] the Annals of the *Franks*, some time since published by *P. Pithœus*. [2] It is said by some Historians, that *Gunther* stood out to the last against the Pope's sentence; but others affirm, that in the year 864, he went to *Rome*, and humbly sued for pardon, but [3] found the door of reconciliation shut against him. From this time, for the space of 130 years, nothing in which the Clergy of the *Low-Countries* were concerned, appears to have been attempted against the Papal ambition, 'till the year 992, when a Synod was convened at *Rheims*. And here the Clergy, among whom were several *Netherland* and *German* Bishops, had the courage to depose a Bishop, who had forfeited his character, even without the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*, whose jurisdiction they did not acknowledge. *Arnulf* Bishop of *Orleans* their President, with great freedom, made the following Speech. *O deplorable* Rome! (said he) *which in the days of our forefathers didst produce so many burning and shining lights, thou hast brought forth in our times nothing but dismal darkness, such as will be detested by our posterity* —— Then he described [4] the Bishop of *Rome* as an Antichrist, sitting in the Temple of God, and as an Idol *without knowledge or affection.* —— *What shall we then do*, proceeded he, *or what counsel shall we take? The Gospel teaches us, that a certain person seeking for fruit on his fig-tree, but finding none, would have cut it down, but being admonished, he forbore: let us therfore bear with our Primate as long as we can; and in the mean time let us seek for spiritual food where it is to be found. Certainly there be some in this holy assembly who can give their testimony, that in the* [5] Low-Countries *and* Germany, *both which are near us, there may be found Priests of God, and such as are eminent men in matters of Religion. Wherefore it seems to me much more expedient and proper, if the obstinacy of contending Kings did not prevent it, that we should rather seek in those parts for the judgment and opinion of Bishops, than in that City which is now set to sale, and whose determinations ponderate, according to the weight of Gold.*

992. *The Council of* Rheims, *in which were several* Low-Country *Bps. oppose Pope* John XV.

1076. *The Bishop of* Utrecht *opposes Pope* Hildebrand *at the Council of* Worms, *for which he and other Bishops are excommunicated at* Rome.

At other times when any of the Popes incroached upon the imperial Crown, some of our Clergy took the Emperor's part, and opposed Mitre against Mitre. [6] Thus was *William*

[1] Vid. Annal. Franc. Fuld. à Pith. edit. *p.* 29, &c. Usser. de Succeff. Eccl. Occid. *p.* 38. Morn. f. 189. Gessel. Hist. *Part* II. *p.* 85. M. A. de Dom. de Rep. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. 10.

[2] Blondel de Pap. fœm. *p.* 135.

[3] Annal. Franc. Fuld. *p.* 30.

[4] *This was* John XV. Baron. T. 10. Ann. 992. Morn. Hist. de la Pap. f. 230. Gessel. Hist. Eccl. II. *p.* 148. Catal. Test. Verit. *p.* 310. Vign. *p.* 257.

[5] In Belgio & Germania.

[6] Lamb. Scafnab. *p.* 234. Morn. f. 262. Merula, *p.* 701.

William the 21st Bishop of *Utrecht*, with other Bishops in the interest of *Hen.* IV. excommunicated in a Synod holden at *Rome*, for that he a little before, had not only voted himself, at the Council of *Worms*, but [1] had likewise induced the Bishops of *Wirtsburg* and *Metz*, who had been alone on the other side, to vote that *Hildebrand* or *Gregory* VII. was in the wrong, and which rarely happened, to excommunicate him for the same. [2] The Resolutions they came to against *Hildebrand*, were as follows: "That he "was the first who had assumed the Papacy without the consent of the assembled "Bishops, and against the will of the Emperor——That he had corrupted the Chri- "stian Religion with new Doctrines; that he had adapted the Holy Scriptures, by "his false and forced explications, to his own private views and interest ——That "he confounded profane and holy things; having his ears open to deviliſh Ca- "lumniators, and to the accusations of Wicked men, being himself Prosecutor, Wit- "ness and Judge ——That he separated married Men from their Wives, preferring "Whores to Honest Women, and Whoredoms, Adulteries and infamous Matches to "chaste Marriages; that he animated the Laity against their Priests, and the Rabble "against their Bishops; and would make every body believe, that none were rightly "consecrated but such as begged of him, or bought of his Gold-suckers the Priestly "Office; that he deceived the common people with a hypocritical Religion —— "That he prostituted the Mysteries of Religion in an assembly of Women, and di- "spensed with the Laws of God; that he had screwed himself into the manage- "ment of the Popedom and Empire; that he was guilty of Treason both against "the divine and humane Majesty, by endeavouring to deprive an anointed Emperor and "very good Prince of his life. For which Reasons the said Emperor, the Bishops, the "General Council, and all Christian people, declared him, the said Pope, to be actu- "ally deposed —— and that he was neither Pastor, Father nor Pope; but a Thief, "a Murderer and a Tyrant." [3] Bishop *William* died this same year. [4] It is said by some, that he was taken suddenly with a sore distemper, and being grievously tormented in Body and Soul, he cried out in a despairing tone, that he had lost both the present and future life on account of the Blasphemies which wittingly and willingly he had vomited out against the Pope. But [5] others think that this is a Fiction, occasioned by the hatred of the Clergy against him, especially since neither *Beka*, nor *Heda*, nor any other of our Countrymen take the least notice of such a sort of death. [6] 'Tis likewise reported of him, that all his life-time, even at the saying Mass, and almost on all Festivals, he was wont to call the Pope a forsworn Wretch, an Adulterer, and a false Apostle.

An° Dom. 1076.

The Sentence of the Council against the said Pope.

His Successor *Conrad* followed him also in zeal for the Emperor. In a Synod holden at *Garstungen*, in the year 1088, or 9. he boldly maintained against *Gebhard* Bishop of *Saltzburg*, who was of the *Hildebrandian* Faction, that "no Pope, nor "Bishop, could release subjects from the Oaths they had taken to their Governours: "That in doing so, they contemned the Majesty of him by whom they swore: —— "That Christ and his Apostles had exhorted us to obey *Tiberius* and *Nero*, wicked "Monsters, much more therefore good Princes: —— That it was ambitious and "haughty Prelates who had scandalously perverted these words of our Lord; *what "ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven:* That Pope *Hildebrand* had arrogated "to himself the power of the immortal God. The arms of our warfare, *proceeded "he*, are spiritual, not Robberies, Murders or Perjuries; our breast-plate, helmet, "sword and shield, are Peace, Love and Righteousness, the Word of God, and Faith; "blessings which our most christian Emperor has often begged of *Hildebrand* himself, "but has been as often refused them."

1088.

By Conrad *defends the Emperor.*

This brave Bishop *Conrad* was murdered by a *Freeslander*, in the year 1099. The Cause of his death has been variously reported: [7] Some are of opinion, that the Assassin was set on by the Court of *Rome*, because the said Bishop had so zealously defended the Emperor. [8] It is likewise said, that he had drawn up the Emperor's Justification, which was afterwards published by *Ulricus Huttenus* from the Records at *Fulden*. But [9] others ascribe it to *William* his Predecessor; some again to *Venerick* Bishop of *Vercel*, or *Waltram* of *Naumburg*. These

1099.

He is murthered.

[1] L. Scasn. *p.* 234. Morn. f. 261. Cent. Magdeb. XI. C. IX. Col. 490.
[2] Morn. f. 260. Merula *p.* 700. Cent. Magd. ib.
[3] Heda, *p.* 131. Buchel. in Bekam, *p.* 42.
[4] L. Scasn. *p.* 235, &c. P. Langii Chron. ad An. 1079. *p.* 777. Bruno de Bel. Saxon. *p.* 130.
[5] Buchel. ad Bekam *p.* 42. ad Hedam. *p.* 135.
[6] L. Scasn. ibid.
[7] Buchel. ad Bekam. *p.* 44.
[8] Ger. Rer. Script. Tom. I. ex Bibliot. Marq. Freheri.
[9] S. Clavis. Chronolog. *p.* 747. Gess. Hist II. *p.* 327.

An° Dom. 1099. Theſe diſputes were the cauſe that enmity and hatred, the inſeparable companions of Schiſms, increaſed from time to time. Every body drew his own way. The Pope caſt all the blame on the Emperor, as the Emperor did on the Pope. Bans and Excommunications were levelled againſt one another, and each Party endeavoured to execute their own both upon ſmall and great.

From hence reſulted Eccleſiaſtical diſcords, that produced very bitter fruits. *Paſchal* II. one of the ſucceſſors of *Hildebrand*, who in the year 1099, was choſen Pope, excommunicated the Clergy of *Liege*, as Partiſans of the Emperor, and ſpirited up againſt them *Robrecht*, or *Robert*, Count of *Flanders*, who to pleaſe him, had a little before fallen upon, and ruined the Town of *Cambray*.

The Letter which he wrote to the ſaid Count on that Occaſion, is as follows:

1102. *The Letter of Pope* Paſchal II *to the Count of* Flanders *againſt the people of* Liege.

PASCHAL *Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of* GOD, *ſends his beloved Son* Robert *Count of* Flanders, *Greeting and Apoſtolical Bleſſing. Praiſed be the God of* Iſrael, *who works in you the force of his ſtrength; in you, I ſay, who being returned from* Jeruſalem *in* Syria, *endeavour to enter into the heavenly* Jeruſalem *by the works of a righteous War.* [1] *Thus it becomes a faithful General cloſely to purſue the Enemies of his Prince.* [2] *We therefore thank you, that by your wiſe Conduct you have ſo effectually diſcharged our Orders againſt the Town of* Cambray. [3] *We do hereby give you the ſame* [4] *Orders againſt thoſe falſe excommunicated Churches of* Liege. [5] *For it is but reaſonable, that they who cut themſelves off from the Catholick Church, ſhould likewiſe by Catholicks be cut off from all Benefit of the Church. Purſue therefore not only theſe, but alſo* Henry *the Head of the Hereticks, and all his Followers, with all your might, where-ever you can. Certainly you will never offer up to God a more acceptable ſacrifice, than in attacking him who ſets himſelf up againſt God; who ſeeks to deſtroy the Kingdom of his Church; who in the Temple of God erects the Idol of* [6] Simon; *and who, through the condemnation of the Holy Ghoſt, is caſt out of the Church by the Princes of God, the Holy Apoſtles and their Vicegerents. Theſe things therefore we give in command to you and your Troops, upon promiſe of pardon for your ſins, and the friendſhip of the Apoſtolick Chair. Hereby ſhall ye be able, through much labour and triumph, the Lord being your helper, to attain to the heavenly* Jeruſalem. Done at Alba, 21 *January.*

The Anſwer of the Church of Liege *to the Pope's Letter.*

To this Letter the Church of *Liege* returned a very full anſwer by their Biſhop and others of the Clergy, containing heavy Complaints againſt the Papal Tyranny, intermixt with free Reproaches. The ſubſtance of it, the whole being too long for this ſhort Narration, is as follows: "[7] What thoſe Whirlwinds are that come from the "South (ſays the Church of *Liege*) we are more ſenſible by feeling than by read-"ing. [8] From a terrible Land, namely, from the Roman Church, is that grievous "viſion declared unto us. [9] For the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Father of all Churches, "ſends Letters againſt us to *Robert* Count of *Flanders*, of the following import: "[10] *Paſchal*, Biſhop, Servant, *&c.* [11] Who can help being overwhelmed with "ſorrow at ſuch Letters? [12] Not ſo much on account of the dreadfulneſs of the "danger, as of the dreadful novelty of the thing, that ſuch deplorable Letters "could be writ by a Mother againſt her Daughters, ſuppoſing even that they had
1 Kings iii. "ſinned againſt her. In the judgment of *Solomon*, the true mother choſe rather to "ſee her child in the poſſeſſion of a ſtrange woman, than that it ſhould be cut in "ſunder by the ſword of the Executioner —— *David* ſaw formerly the deſtroying "Angel with his ſword drawn againſt *Jeruſalem*, and we daughters of the Roman "Church, ſee the Biſhop of *Rome*, an Angel of the Lord, with his ſword drawn "againſt the Church. *David* prayed that the people might not be deſtroyed; but "our Angel puts the ſword into *Robert*'s hands, and bids him ſmite us. From "whence has our Angel this ſword? —— There is one ſword of the Spirit, which "is the Word of God —— and there is another ſword of the Spirit, wherewith we ſlay "the Luſts of our fleſh —— Since then the Apoſtles received no more than two "ſwords

[1] Baron. Annal. TXII. *p.* 29.
[2] Vign. Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, *p.* 317, &c.
[3] Morn. Hiſt. Pap. f. 287.
[4] T. Geſſel. Hiſt. Eccl. II. *p.* 327.
[5] Catal. Teſt. Ver. XV. *p.* 332.
[6] *Simony.* [7] Iſa. xxi. 1.
[8] II. Vol. Concil. Edit. Cologn. *p.* 809.
[9] Vign. *p.* 318.
[10] Morn. Hiſt. Pap. *p.* 287, &c.
[11] Catal. Teſt. Verit. XIII. *p.* 512, &c.
[12] Geſſel. Hiſt. II. *p.* 512, &c.

" ſwords from the Lord, from whence has this Apoſtolical man gotten the third,
" which he has delivered to *Robert* his Armour-bearer againſt us? Poſſibly this
" ſame Apoſtolical man has been with the Prophet, and endeavoured to wreſt the
" third ſword out of his hand, to lay about with it on every ſide, and to cut off the
" righteous and the wicked — As a Father he ſends greeting to his beloved Son, Ezek. xxi.
" and promiſes him the Apoſtolical bleſſing: But many are of opinion, that the 3, 4, &c.
" work he has committed to him, is ſcarce conſiſtent with the favour and bleſſings of
" God —— Who ever diſtreſſed the people of God? who ever perſecuted the Church
" of Chriſt with impunity? —— Behold, theſe are the works of that righteous War
" which the Father has recommended to the Son, the Pope to the General of the hea-
" venly King, to wit, to fight againſt the People of *God*. *We thank you*, ſays he, *for ha-*
" *ving executed our Commands againſt the Town of* Cambray. Who can call to mind
" without tears, that terrible deſolation and ruin of the Church of *Cambray!* I, the
" Church of *Liege*, as a Daughter of *Rome*, have bewailed the *Cambraians*, on account
" of kindred; but being now informed, that whatever has befallen them is in conſequence
" of the Apoſtolical authority, my ſorrow is doubled; for now I begin to tremble for
" my Mother, leſt that ſhould happen to her which God threatens by *Iſaiah*; *Woe* Iſa. x. *v.* 1, 2.
" *unto them that decree unrighteous decrees!* Who could have imagined that ſo great
" a deſolation of the Church, ſo great an oppreſſion of the Poor, ſuch horrible plun-
" dering and robbing, and maſſacring without diſtinction of good and bad, that all
" this, and yet worſe things than theſe ſhould be done by order of this Apoſtolical man,
" if his own mouth had not betrayed him? —— Who incurs the greateſt danger, he
" that commands, or he that obeys? To whom is moſt harm done, to him that
" acts, or to him that ſuffers theſe things? What ſhall we ſay! we being aſtoniſh'd
" to the utmoſt degree at theſe Novelties, enquire from whence ſuch new Examples
" proceed, namely, that the Preacher of Peace wages War againſt the Church with
" his own mouth, and another's hand. When the Barbarians and Enemies of God
" make incurſions on us, the Canons of the Church allow even the Clergy them-
" ſelves to take up Arms in defence of their Religion and Country. But that War
" ſhould be made upon the Church through the authority of her own Canons, is
" what we never read of in any Hiſtory. We ask what we do not know; we affirm
" what we do know —— Why are we called excommunicated? Why is the Sword
" held over our heads? What have we done worthy of death or excommunication,
" againſt the Canonical rules of the Church? We are all baptized into one Body, in one
" Spirit. When were we accuſed at *Rome* of Diviſions? We think and ſpeak the
" ſame thing with one mouth in *Chriſt Jeſus*. We don't ſay, *I am of* Paul, *I am*
" *of* Cephas. Are we then excommunicated for this our Unity? —— They ob-
" ject againſt us who keep the Commandments of God, that we treſpaſs againſt their
" new traditions. But what ſays our Lord to them? *Why do you tranſgreſs the* Mat. xv. 3.
" *Commandments of God by your tradition? Chriſt* commands us to *give unto* Cæſar *the*
" *things that are* Cæſar's, *and unto God the things that are God's*. Thus alſo ſpeaks
" St. *Peter* in his firſt Epiſtle, and St. *Paul* to the *Romans* and *Coloſſians*, — There 1 Pet. ii. 17,
" we are bid to honour Kings, and to obey our Maſters, not as Eye-ſervants, but in &c. Romans
" ſingleneſs of heart; and for this we are called *Excommunicates*. But they ſay, xiii. 1, 2.
" we have intruded ourſelves into our Benefices and ſpiritual Promotions by Simony Col. iii. 22.
" and Bribery. Thoſe who are guilty of ſuch things we ſhun as much as is poſ-
" ſible; and where we cannot avoid them, we bear with them according as times and
" places require —— Such perſons, I ſay, we ſhun, but we ſhun others no leſs,
" who cloaking their avarice with an honourable name, ſell that which they vaunt
" they give *gratis*, under the Title of Charity; and like the *Montaniſts* of old,
" but after a much more crafty manner, receive Gifts, whilſt they pretend to make
" Oblations. It will poſſibly be objected, that we are excommunicated for adhering
" to our Biſhop, whoſe crime is likewiſe that he adheres to the Emperor his Sove-
" reign. *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ*, hence ſpring all our Misfortunes —— Whilſt we
" ſlept, the enemy ſowed Tares in the Church's ground; but we wait till the Angels,
" God's Reapers, bind them up in bundles, in order for burning. And are we therefore
" excommunicated? Who can juſtly blame a Biſhop for taking part with his Lord, to
" whom he owes fidelity, as he has promiſed it with an Oath? That perjury is a
" great ſin, no body doubts —— If a man ſwears, God commands that he ſhould
" perform his vows to the Lord —— In the mean while, thoſe that rend the Em-

An° Dom. 1102. Chap. xvii. ver. 15. Lib. V. in Ezek.

" pire and the Prieſthood with new ſchiſms, and by vertue of new traditions, pro-
" miſe to diſcharge from their crime ſuch as are forſworn to their Prince, do not re-
" gard what *Ezekiel* ſaid to *Zedekiah* from the mouth of the Lord, when that
" Prince violated the oath he had ſworn to *Nebuchadnezzar*; *ſhall he break the cove-*
" *nant and be delivered?* This *Jerom* explains in the following manner: Hence we
" learn, that men are obliged to keep their word even with their enemies, nor ſhould
" they conſider *to whom, but by whom*, they ſwear. As for the curſe of Excommu-
" nication, which *Hildebrand*, and poſſibly *Urban*, *Odard*, and this *Paſchal* have
" belched out againſt us, in vertue of their new traditions, and without making any
" difference, we reject it entirely: We honour and reverence the firſt holy Fathers,
" who following the guidance of the holy ſpirit, and not their own motions or fan-
" cies, (when their Governours, whether ſupreme or ſubordinate, too groſly abuſed
" their power) winked at ſome things, cenſured others, and patiently ſubmitted
" to others. —— *Paul* the Apoſtle ſays, that he withſtood *Peter*, the Prince of
" the Apoſtles, to his face. Why ſhould not we likewiſe, without regarding the
" pride and ambition of *Rome*, blame and cenſure her Biſhops when guilty of known
" and grievous miſdemeanors? He that refuſes to be checked or reproved is a falſe
" Biſhop —— They who imitate *Peter* in his rage (againſt *Malchus*) let them alſo
" imitate him in putting up his ſword. For he that healed the ear of *Malchus*, can
" likewiſe heal the ear of an heretick Emperor. Is there any ſuch, which God for-
" bid, let us mourn by our ſelves, and mourn over him who is ſtill our Sovereign.
" But we do not underſtand this of our Emperor, yet this we affirm, that *although*
" *he were ſuch an Arch-heretick, undutiful towards God, an Oppreſſor of his people, an*
" *Encourager of the idol of Simony, and an Excommunicated man* —— we ſhould ſtill
" ſuffer him to reign over us, ſince our ſins have been the cauſe that God is pleaſed
" to give us ſuch a Prince. But ſuppoſing that he were ſuch a one as you ſay he is,
" we ſhould not therefore oppoſe him with any other weapons but prayers, which
" we would pour out at the throne of grace. Thus *Moſes* prayed for *Pharoah*, *Je-*
" *remiah* and *Paul* for *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Nero*. You maintain, that he who dies
" excommunicated, is damned. Here we call in the authority of the Church of *Rome*
" it ſelf to our aſſiſtance: For one of your Predeceſſors, *Gregory* the firſt, has de-
" clared, that the Biſhop of *Rome* can abſolve thoſe who are unjuſtly excommunicated.
" If therefore the Biſhop of *Rome* can do this, who dares deny that God can abſolve
" thoſe whom the Biſhop of *Rome* has unjuſtly excommunicated? For no man can be
" wounded by another, unleſs he firſt wounds himſelf ——".

Thus the Church of *Liege* oppoſed the Pope with force of argument, as did the Emperor the Count of *Flanders* with a ſtrong army [1]; falling upon his Country, and laying it waſte, till he confeſt his fault, and ſued for peace.

The Pope ſtirs up the Emperor's Son againſt him.

But *Paſchal*, inſatiable in his hatred, endeavoured afterwards to compaſs that by the means of neareſt Relations, which he could not bring about by Strangers; a curſed expedient, which his Predeceſſor *Urban* the ſecond had already made uſe of. [2] He ſtirred up the Son againſt his own Father; and never reſted till the old Emperor (one of the moſt warlike Princes of his age, who had fought in his time ſixty two battles, and had wreſtled twenty ſix years againſt Papal tyranny, having been excommunicated even ſix times) was thruſt [3] out of his Throne by his deareſt Child, the young *Henry*, whom he himſelf had appointed to ſucceed him, with religious treachery and masked violence. He did not long ſurvive his misfortune, dying in the ſame year at *Liege*, where he was interred; but ſoon after, when the ſaid City was forced to ſubmit to *Henry* V. his corpſe was taken up again (for *Paſchal* would not abſolve the *Liegeois* from their Excommunication on any other terms) tranſported to *Spire*, laid in an unconſecrated place, where it continued five years unburied, according to that Papal rule: *With whom the Church had no communion during his life-time, with ſuch a one neither is it lawful to have any communion after his death.*

The Emperor dies, and the Poor will not ſuffer him to be buried.

Sigebert *a Monk writes for the ſaid Emperor.*

Several perſons of learning and virtue juſtified the ſaid Emperor with their Pen; among the reſt, [4] *Sigebert*, a Monk of *Gemblours* in *Walloon-Brabant*, wrote againſt *Gregory* VII. and *Paſchal* II. but thoſe writings have been ſince prohibited by the *Romiſh* Church, and thereby quite loſt in proceſs of time; but his Annals, from

[1] Sigebert Chronogr. *p.* 611. Calviſ. Chron. *p.* 747.
[2] Onuph. Præf. Lib. 3. de Rom. Princ. Geſſel. II. *p.* 381.
[3] Sigeb. *p.* 606. Vid. & Catal. Teſt. Verit. XIII. *p.* 380. Morn. Hiſt. Pap. f. 278. Vign. *p.* 322.
[4] Sigeb. *p.* 902. Bellarm. de Script. Eccl. *p.* 171.

from the year 381 to the year 1181, are ſtill in being. In this book, treating of the proceedings of the Clergy in 1088, who had thruſt into the Papal Chair, *Odo*, or *Urban* II. in oppoſition to *Guibert*, otherwiſe *Clement* III. (who having been choſen by the intervention of the Emperor, and poſſeſſed of the See for about twenty one years, was for that reaſon never acknowledged by his ſucceſſors.) He ſays thus: "Hence pro- "ceed the ſcandals in the Church, and diſſentions in the State: Whilſt men are "mutually at variance; whilſt the Magiſtracy and the Prieſthood do not agree; "whilſt the one excommunicates the other, and thro' prejudice, either for things or "perſons, each other's decrees are mutually deſpiſed; whilſt the authority of Bans and "Excommunications is abuſed againſt each other, more from private paſſion than with "views of juſtice; the authority of him who has given the power of binding and "looſing, will be ſlighted and contemned. Certainly (I ſay it with ſubmiſſion to "all good men) this Novelty, for Hereſie I ſhall not call it, was never known in "the world till now, that the Prieſts of him who maketh Apoſtates Kings, and "cauſeth the Hypocrite to reign for the tranſgreſſions of the people, ſhould teach "Subjects that they do not owe allegiance to a wicked Prince; and that tho' they had "taken an Oath of fidelity to him, yet were they not bound to keep it; nor were "they to be accounted perjured who underſtood ſuch an Oath in a ſenſe different "from that of their Rulers; yea, that they who obeyed the King, were *ipſo facto* "excommunicated; and finally, whoever took up arms againſt him, might be ab- "ſolved from the crimes of Perjury and Infidelity." An° Dom. 1106.

The ſame *Sigebert* wrote another Book againſt thoſe that condemned the Maſſes of married Prieſts: That book, which is alſo loſt, was chiefly levelled againſt a certain Decree or Prohibition of Pope *Hildebrand*, concerning which, in his *Chronographia* upon the year 1076, he ſays, [1] *Pope* Gregory *ſhut out of the Church thoſe Prieſts that had wives, forbidding the Laity to hear Maſs from them; which was a new example, and a raſh ſentence, contrary to the ſentiments of the holy Fathers.* He died in the year 1113. *He alſo writes in favour of married Prieſts.*

[2] About the ſame time, or a little later, *Tacheliin*, another Prieſt (tho' he is called a Laick) preached at *Antwerp* and in the adjoining parts of *Flanders*, but particularly in *Zeeland*, againſt the corruptions of the *Romiſh* Church. He taught, that the Epiſcopal pomp and ſplendor was not ordained by God; that ſo many Orders of Churchmen were not neceſſary; that Maſſes did not contribute to the ſalvation of men. And his Doctrine prevailed ſo greatly at *Antwerp*, that in ten years time there was not a conſecrated Hoſt or Wafer to be found. He was alſo a very eloquent and generous man, which procured him many followers. His enemies report, that the people liſtened to him as an Angel of God; yea, that they drank of the water in which he bathed his body. That he was alſo always attended with a guard of three thouſand armed men, to defend him from the inſults of the Clergy. He was alſo indeed accuſed of lewdneſs with women and maidens: He maintained, ſay they, that women might be uſed in common. But others are of opinion, that theſe are the calumnies of the Monks, who hated him. At laſt he was aſſaſſinated by a Prieſt on ſhipboard. But his Doctrines, which *Norbert van Santen* has ſince propagated, did not die with him, but lived long in the memories of the people. *One* Tacheliin *preaches in* Flanders *and* Zeeland *againſt the Papacy.* *He is murthered by a Prieſt.* 1115.

In the mean time, the voluptuous and laſcivious lives of the Clergy gave great offence in theſe parts alſo. In the year 1122, the Canons of *Midelburg* behaved themſelves ſo ill, that [3] *Godebald*, the twenty fourth Biſhop of *Utrecht*, was forced to drive them out of their Cloyſter, and place other Religious in their ſtead. *Reformation at* Midelburg.

u u The putting Hereticks to death, was ſcarce heard of in the *Netherlands* till the year 1135, when [4] ſome perſons were accuſed of Hereſie at *Utrecht*, and burnt alive by command of the Emperor *Lotharius*. [5] It is ſuppoſed, that they had embraced the Doctrine of *Berengarius*, and did not believe that the Body and Blood of Chriſt were really handled, broken and eaten in the Lord's Supper. It ſeemed no great difficulty to extirpate ſo ſmall a number by fire and ſword; yet not long after ſome thouſands had the courage to declare, that they would have no fellowſhip with the errors of the *Romiſh* Church. *Hereticks put to Death.* 1135.

[1] Blondel. de Pap. Fœm. *p.* 3.
[2] R. de Monte Append. ad Chron. Sigeb. *p.* 619. Bern. de Lutſemb. Catal. Hæret. *p.* N. 3. Boxh. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 33. Buch. ad Hed. *p.* 33. Heda. *p.* 27. Merula, *p.* 731. Madg. Cent. XII. Col. 847. Vign. *p.* 278, &c.
[3] Chron. W. Heda, *p.* 147. Merula *p.* 731.
[4] Uſſer. de Succeſ. Eccl. Occid. Cap. VII. N. 28. ex Chron. Sax. Madg. Cent XII. *p.* 848.
[5] T. Geſſel. Hiſt. II. *p.* 201, &c. Vign. *p.* 273, &c. Merula. *p.* 679. Morn. *f.* 271. Uſſer. de Succeſ. Eccleſ. Occid. ib. Madg. Cent. XI. Cap. XI. *p.* 656. & Cap. IX. *p.* 454.

An° Dom. 1315.

The Riſe of the Waldenſes *in* France. *They are perſecuted by the Clergy, and fly to the Low-countries.*

An inhabitant of *Lyons*, named *Peter Waldo*, about the year 1159, or 1160, began to ſpeak openly againſt the Papacy: The ſucceſs he met with, and the number of his followers were ſo great in a ſmall ſpace of time, that the Clergy pronounced him a Heretick, and raiſed ſuch a perſecution againſt thoſe of his perſwaſion, as diſperſed them into ſeveral parts of *Europe*, and even filled the *Netherlands* (whither he himſelf alſo fled) with Refugees. [1] They were not only ſtiled *Waldenſes*, or *Vaudois*, from their Leader; but likewiſe the *Poor of Lyons*, or *Leoniſts*, *Albigenſes*, *Angennenſers*, *Toulouſers*, *Bulgarians*, *Picards*, *Weavers*, *Perfectiſts*, *Humeliſts*, *Inſabbatates*, *Cathari*, or *Gazariſts*, *Chienards*, or *Caignards*, *Frerons*, *Dulans*, *Lollards*, *Turlupines*, *Paterins*, *Piphles*, *Popelicans*, *Publicans*, *Paſſagins*, *Petrobruſians*, *Henricians*, *Joſephines*, *Arnaldiſts*; and afterwards alſo *Fratres Bohemi*, and *Huſſites*: All which Appellations were beſtowed on them, either from the country or place where their opinions prevailed, or from ſome crimes of which they were accuſed; or laſtly, from ſome body or other that had profeſſed the ſame principles either before or after *Waldo*. For [2] ſome think it very certain, that *Waldo* himſelf learned theſe Doctrines firſt from ſome of the people inhabiting the mountainous Frontiers of *France*; but that afterwards, having more maturely conſidered, better comprehended, and more clearly explained them, he proceeded to propagate them anew among all ranks and degrees of men: As alſo, that the errors and crafty inventions of Popery had never been able to find a paſſage to thoſe people; ſince being ſhut up in their valleys ſeparate from the reſt of the world, and converſing chiefly among themſelves, they had retained a great deal of the ſimplicity and purity of the Apoſtolical Doctrine.

[3] This antiquity of the Doctrine of the *Waldenſes* is acknowledged even by their greateſt enemies; [4] in whoſe writings, among the ſlanders and contumelies which are caſt upon them, there are likewiſe glorious Teſtimonies of their regular Life, unwearied Diligence in ſearching out the Truth, and fervent Zeal in promoting the ſame.

The Doctrines of thoſe people.

[5] Their Doctrine appears to have agreed in almoſt every point with the opinions of thoſe, who ſince the time of *Luther* have declared againſt the abuſes and errors of the *Romiſh* Church. [6] Some of them likewiſe rejected Infant-baptiſm, [7] Oaths, or, as ſome think, [8] raſh Oaths only; and all Force upon conſcience; their notion being, that *no man ſhould be compelled by the ſword to believe, but won by the power of preaching.* But the people of thoſe countries to which they fled for ſhelter, were of another mind. The Clergy, who were become blind leaders of the Blind, were too much in love with darkneſs to give any attention to ſuch lights, which being ſet up in candleſticks by others, diſcovered their ignorance and ſcandalous lives; for which reaſon, they ſought to hide and extinguiſh them by Priſons and Perſecution. This brought greater oppreſſions upon theſe poor Refugees and Wanderers, which followed them cloſe at their heels where-ever they went for ſhelter. Some of them, in the year 1163, retired from *Flanders*, where they had got the Nick-names of [9] *Turlupines* and [10] *Piphles*, to *Cologn*. Here alſo they were ſoon diſcovered (foraſmuch as they never went to Church, not even on *Sundays*) and impriſoned in a Barn, whither *Egbert* the Abbot of *Schonaug* was ſent to them, to convince them of their errors. He diſputed indeed with three of them, *Arnoldus*, *Marſilius*, and *Theodoricus*; but they perſevering in their opinions, [11] were condemned to death and burned. A young Maiden of their company, whom the people would gladly have ſpared, in hopes of bringing her over to the Church, threw herſelf chearfully into the fire, and was conſumed with the reſt. It ſhould ſeem, that theſe *Piphles* maintained, among other notions, that we ought chiefly to be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt and with Fire, for

1163. *Some of theſe* Waldenſes *retire from* Flanders *to* Cologn: *Where they were burnt.*

[1] J. A. Thuan. Lib. VI. *p.* 288. Invent. de J. de Serres. *p.* 124. Magd. Cent. XII. Cap. VIII. *p.* 1204. Cat. Teſt. Ver. XV. *p.* 533. Vign. *p.* 374. Morn. *f.* 341. Uſſer. de Succ. Eccleſ. Occid. Cap. VI. &c. Geſſel. Hiſt. Eccleſ. *p.* 308. Sleid. XVI. 263. M. Z. Boxhorn. Hiſt. Univ. *p.* 707. —— Ejuſd. Nederl. Hiſt. *p.* 11. Merul. 761. Scriverii Old. Bat. *p.* 366.

[2] Morn. 342.

[3] Reiner. contr. Heretic. cap. IV. *p.* 54. Ed. Ingolſt. Ann. 1613. Vid. & Uſſer. cap. VIII. *p.* 256. Morn. *f.* 342.

[4] Reiner. contr. Hæretic. Wald. ib. Freher. de Rev. Bohem. Script. *p.* 222. Jac. de Rebiria in Collect. de Urbe Tholosâ.

[5] Poplin. Hiſt. Franc. Ed. 1581. *f.* 7. Uſſer. de Succeſ. Eccl. Occid. *p.* 374. Serref. Invent. 124. Vid. Artic. Fid. in Magd Cent. 1206. Uſſer. Cap. VI. &c. Cat. Teſt. Verit. XV. *p.* 559, &c.

[6] Vign. *p.* 408. Magd. Cent. XII. Col. 833, &c. Hoſ. de Hæreſib. *f.* 21.

[7] Cat. Teſt. 558. Vign. *p.* 377.

[8] Uſſer. *p.* 295. Cat. Teſt. *p.* 555.

[9] Reiner. ib. Cat. Teſt. *p.* 545, &c. Vign. *p.* 377. Merul. *p.* 763.

[10] Uſſer. Cap. VIII.

[11] Vign. *p.* 380. ex Trithem. Chron. Hirſaug. Magd. Cent. XII. Cap. V. Col. 852. Uſſer. ib. Cap. VIII.

for [1] the aforesaid Abbot *Egbert* writ afterwards, that the people of *Cologn* had baptized *Arnoldus*, and those of *Bon*, *Theodoricus* and his companions, with fire. Anº Dom. 1183.

About the year 1183, the persecution was much heavier; especially in *Flanders*, [2] where Count *Philip* of *Alsatia*, at the instigation of *William* Archbishop of *Reimes*, Cardinal and Legate of the Pope, most cruelly condemned great numbers of the *Waldenses* to be burnt alive. *They are likewise persecuted in* Flanders. [3] The bloody Crusade and War which Pope *Innocent* III. stirred up against them in *France*, about the year 1219, and which was renewed more than once, drove very many of those that had escaped the disasters of the War, back again into *Flanders*.

[4] Before that time, the Pope had appointed two Commissioners to enquire into their Faith, with orders to excommunicate them, in case they refused to be converted, and if they found it necessary, to compel them with the sword of the Magistrate. From hence arose the *Office of the Inquisition*, as they call it, [5] which was first entrusted to the *Spaniard Dominicus*, and after him to the Monks of his Order, and [6] afterwards jointly with them to the *Franciscans*, (for both these Orders were founded about this time;) [7] till at last the *Dominicans* (who upon account of their preaching against the *Waldenses*, had likewise acquired the name of *Preaching Fryers*) by their diligent ferreting out of their lurking-places, and zealously persecuting the *Hereticks*, as they called them, got the whole management of the *Inquisition* into their own hands. [8] These *Inquisitors* put the suspected persons upon their oaths, then proposed several ensnaring questions to them, whereby they easily drew in the simple, well-meaning people, to accuse themselves. Thus were introduced capital Punishments for Heresie. 1199. *The rise of the* Inquisition.

But this putting of Hereticks to death, has since proved the greatest of all Heresies, by extinguishing *Charity*, the very Soul of Christianity. [9] Now though some of those *Waldenses*, and a very few of them too, fainted under their Cross, yet the most part continued stedfast, receiving and meeting death as a favour. [10] They who denied what they were charged with, were put upon the *Ordeal*, a Trial, which being borrowed from Paganism, and being a very unjust one, was also very improperly made use of to discover the Truth; besides, the Innocent were as little capable of undergoing it as the Guilty. The manner was thus; the person suspected of Heresie was obliged to take into his naked hand a glowing Iron, after some previous Exorcisms, and carry it along nine paces; after which the hand was bound up and sealed, and then viewed at the end of three days: If it appeared singed or sore, that was taken for a sign of guilt, and thereupon sentence of death was pronounced against the party. This Tryal they called *Ordal*, or *Ordeal*. Sometimes they made the accused persons thrust their arms quite up to the elbow in a kettle of scalding water: Which method is denoted in the old *Netherlandish*, and especially in the *Frisian* Laws, by the word *Ketel-vang*. They also cast some stark-naked into a deep cold Water (which was before-hand adjured not to receive the guilty, but to let them float) where if they sunk, it was a token of their Innocency. [11] *Conrad* of *Marpurg*, a Dominican Monk, who was appointed by the Pope in the year 1214, Inquisitor-General of the Faith over the Countries of *Germany*, made use most commonly of the Tryal by a glowing Iron, by which means he sentenced an incredible number of persons to death. It often happened through a hasty process, that a person whether innocent or guilty, was accused, tried, and convicted (without giving him any time, or necessary helps to make his defence) and the same day cast into the fire. Ordeal, *and the use of it.* 1214.

[12] The *Waldenses* were persecuted yet more cruelly in *Flanders*, in the years Twelve hundred thirty six, seven and eight, by the Monk *Robert*, [13] who was sirnamed *Bugre*, or *Bulgarus*, for as much as he himself was one of the said *Waldenses* before he assumed the *Dominican* Hood. This man knowing by that means who they were, and where they concealed themselves, had better opportunities of venting his rage against his old friends, 1236. *A dreadful Persecution in* Flanders.

[1] Serm. VIII. adv. Cathar. Tom. II. Bibliot. Patr. Ed. Paris. An. 1610.
[2] N. Vign. ex Vinc. de Beauvais. Annal. de France, Lib. XIX. Cap XXVI. Merul. *p.* 774. Boxh. Hist. Univ. *p.* 718. Madg Cent. XII. C. DCCCLIII.
[3] Vign. *p.* 412 Morn. *f.* 365. & Usser. Cap. IX &c.
[4] Usser. ib. Cap. IX N. 6, &c.
[5] Usser. ib Vid & Marian. Hist. Hisp. Lib. XII. Cap. VIII. Vign. 405. Boxh *p* 773. Morn. *f.* 359. P. Servit. in Hist. Inquis. 20. M. A. de Dom. de Rep. Eccl.
[6] Usser. ib. *See* Vign. *about the* Franciscans, 408, &c. P. Servit ib. Morn *f.* 385, &c. De Dom. ib. Lib. IX. Cap. VI, &c. Madg. Cent. XIII. Col. 1151.
[7] Grot Annal. Lib. I. Cap. X. Hooft. Lib XXX.
[8] Boxh. Ned Hist. *p.* 14. [9] Ibid. *p.* 22.
[10] Ibid. *p.* 23, &c. Vign *p.* 419.
[11] Ib. *p.* ib. &c. Morn. *f.* 367. *Continuation of* Merula, *p.* 801.
[12] Usser. Cap. X. N. 62. ex Mat. Paris. Hist. An. 1236 & 1238. Vign. *p.* 50.
[13] Usser. ib. & Vign. *p.* 408,

An° Dom. 1236. friends, when made Inquiſitor-General by Pope *Gregory* XIX. being ſupported by the ſecular arm, he cauſed to be burnt, all ſuch as refuſed to be converted according to his fancy: inſomuch, that within the ſpace of two or three months, he had burnt or buried alive, about fifty men and women. But he did not ſtop there; for he ſtretched the Powers that were given him to ſuch a degree, that at laſt the Pope himſelf was diſſatisfied at his conduct, and ſuſpended him from his Office, and, upon information of ſome of his Miſdemeanors, condemned him to a perpetual Impriſonment.

Beſides the cruel death by fire, the rage of the Perſecutors had invented another kind of puniſhment, which was much more painful, on account of its duration, and which was put in practice againſt the poor *Waldenſes* in *Flanders*: [1] They ſtripped them of their cloaths down to their Navels, and then tied them to ſtakes in places where there were neſts of Hornets or Waſps, and hives of Bees, which thruſting their ſtings into the freſh wounds, tormented them moſt grievouſly day and night, till at laſt they expired with anguiſh and pain.

The Waldenſes *tranſlate the Bible into* Low-Dutch *Rhimes.*

Nothwithſtanding this, the more they were perſecuted the more they increaſed both in numbers and knowledge. w They turned the holy Scriptures, which the Clergy had taken from the people, and [2] which *Waldo* had before tranſlated into *French*, x into *Low-Dutch* Rhimes, according to the cuſtom of thoſe Ages, and in imitation of thoſe of the old *Teutons*, who were uſed to record their moſt memorable affairs in verſe. [3] *Buxhorn* ſays, that copies of ſuch Bibles are to be ſeen even now in ſome Libraries. The reaſons for their ſo doing, we ſhall give you in their own words; *Dat daer in was groote nutſchap; no boerte, no fabulen, no truffe, no faloerde; mer were woerden. Dat hier en daer wel was een herde coerſte, mer dat het pit ende die ſoetheit van goet en ſelicheit der in wel was te bekinnen.* Which may be thus engliſhed; *That there was great advantage in it; no jeſts, no fables, no trifles, no deceits, but the words of Truth. That indeed there was here and there a hard cruſt, but that the marrow and ſweetneſs of what was good and holy, might be eaſily diſcovered in it.*

w x

The Pomp and Avarice of the Clergy increaſes.

In the mean while, the Pride and Covetouſneſs of the Clergy increaſed, and the Grandeur of the Eccleſiaſticks abounded beyond all meaſure. The Biſhops of *Utrecht* behaved as Half-popes in their Dioceſe. [4] They gave place neither to Kings nor Emperors in the ſtate and magnificence of their Courts: they reckoned the greateſt Princes in the *Low-Countries* among their Feudatories, becauſe they held ſome Lands of the Biſhoprick in fee, and becauſe they owed them homage. Accordingly *Baldwin*, the ſecond of that name, and twenty ninth Biſhop of the See, ſummoned ſeveral Princes to *Utrecht*, to receive the inveſtiture of the lands that were ſo holden by them: The Duke of *Brabant* as firſt Steward; the Count of *Flanders* as ſecond; the Count of *Holland* as Marſhal; the Count of *Guelderland* as Chief Huntſman or Ranger; the Count of *Cleves* as Great Chamberlain; the Count of *Benthem* as Chief Uſher; the Count of *Kuik* as Butler; and the Count of *Goer* as Maſter-Porter. They all came, except the Duke of *Brabant*, [5] who refuſed to do homage to the Biſhop for the Fief of the *Veluwe*, from whence aroſe ſcandalous diſputes, and *Land-conſuming* wars.

y Such prepoſterous fruits did there reſult from the unreaſonable generoſity of former Chriſtian Kings, and from their making the Clergy too powerful. And the greater the Popes and Biſhops grew, the leſs ſubmiſſive were the reſt of the Eccleſiaſticks to Temporal Governours. [6] They refuſed to appear before the common Courts of Juſtice, yea they reſcued other Criminals by force out of the hands of the Civil Magiſtrate, [7] ſetting open for them their Cloiſters, Churches and Houſes; and if any body attempted to fetch them out, that was called Sacrilege. Whereas two or three witneſſes were ſufficient to convict a Layman of his Crime, they framed a Law, and forced it upon the Government, to the following purpoſe; [8] *That no charge or accuſation ſhould be received againſt a Cardinal Biſhop, unleſs ſupported by ſeventy two witneſſes; nor againſt a Cardinal Prieſt, but by four and forty; or Cardinal Deacon, but by ſeven and twenty; nor againſt any of the very loweſt among the Clergy, but by ſeven witneſſes.* By this means they were in hopes to ſtop the mouths of all that had any thing

y

What a number of witneſſes were required for the Conviction of the Clergy.

[1] Boxh. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 95.
[2] Thuan. *p.* 288. Wern. Rolewink. Faſcic. Temp. *f.* 77. Vign. *p.* 374.
[3] *In his Hiſtory of the* Netherlands, *p.* 35
[4] Vignier's *Hiſtory of the* Netherlands, *p.* 103, &c. Chron. *of* Holl. Diviſ. VII. C. XIV. Hæda, *p.* 112.
[5] Beka, *p* 56. [6] Boxh. ib. *p.* 112, &c.
[7] Boxh. ib. vid. Hoſpin. de Templis, Lib. I. Cap. XIII.
[8] Boxh. ib. *p.* 115.

thing to ſay againſt them. Moreover, in thoſe times of Ignorance there were ſo few to be found that could uſe the Pen either in the Courts of Princes, or in the Governments of Cities and Towns, that they were obliged to chooſe Secretaries and Regiſters from among the Eccleſiaſticks; from whence it is, even to this day, that the Writers in the Secretaries Offices, Courts of Juſtice, *&c.* are ſtiled *Clerks*: Thus the Clergy inſinuated themſelves yet deeper into the management of Temporal matters; in the direction of which, the better to fortifie themſelves, and to blind others, they made uſe of their Monkiſh or Cloiſter-Latin, writing in that language all Letters of importance, and all publick Acts, Decrees, Sentences, and the like. [1] Sometimes they got the Civil Magiſtrates to ſign and ſeal Inſtruments that too nearly concerned themſelves, and which made for the advantage of the Church; and theſe were trumpt up after the death of thoſe that ſigned them. Neither was their Avarice leſs than their Ambition: The Biſhops not content with their Tythes, and other old revenues, laid new burdens upon Trade and Land. In ſome places they obliged the Huſbandman to pay them yearly two pecks of Wheat and half a peck of Oats for every Plough. [2] They who had no Lands were forced to give them a *Menkalde* (a certain meaſure uſed in thoſe times, and from which the Dutch *Mengel* or Pint ſeems to be derived) of Corn, by way of Fine or Ranſom. Thus did they almoſt exhauſt the Laity by all kind of devices to gratifie their inſatiable deſires; but chiefly by eſtabliſhing new Orders of Monks and Friers, by multiplying the Clergy, by enlarging the old, and by building new Monaſteries. [3] In the ſpace of one Century, that is, between the years *eleven* and *twelve hundred*, there were founded in the *Netherlands* only, ſixty one Abbeys richly endowed with lands and other revenues. Whole Towns and Villages have ſprung up from ſuch Monaſteries and their Acceſſions; of which the names of *Monnikedam*, *Monnick-landt*, *Paepen-recht*, *Paepe-koop*, *Abbe-kerk*, *Munſter* and *Ingel-munſter*, are ſufficient teſtimonies. What the Clergy got, not only the common People, but alſo Lords and Princes loſt; for the Eccleſiaſtical eſtates paid neither Scot nor Lot. This was very prejudicial to the publick. Now if any body took notice of the evil tendency of this, and preſumed to oppoſe the Clergy and their Doings in any manner, they fulminated againſt him with the moſt dreadful Execrations that ever were heard of in Chriſtendom. Theſe Churchmen would be accounted Diſciples of the moſt humble and meekeſt Teacher of long-ſuffering and forbearance that the world ever knew, of him, I ſay, who required his Followers to love their enemies, and to bleſs thoſe that perſecuted them; and yet were they capable of denouncing ſuch a Curſe as this:

An° Dom. 1236.

The Devices of the Clergy to ruin the Laity.

[4] **By command of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, of the bleſſed** Mary, **Mother of our Lord** Jeſus Chriſt, **of St.** Michael, John **the Baptiſt, and of** Peter **and** Paul, **Princes of the Apoſtles, of St.** Stephen **and all the Martyrs, of St.** Sylveſter **and all the Confeſſors, of St.** Aldegund **and all the Holy Virgins, and of all other Saints whatſoever, both in Heaven and Earth: We Curſe and Cut off from the Holy Mother the Church, him, her or them, that have** [done ſo and ſo,] **or have known thereof, or have been adviſing, abetting or aſſiſting therein. Let them be accurſed in their Houſes, Granaries, Beds, Fields, Lands, Ways, Country-Seats, Towns and Villages. Let them be accurſed in the Woods, Rivers and Churches: Accurſed in Pleadings, Tryals, Contentions and Quarrels: Accurſed in Praying, Speaking, and in Silence; in Eating, Drinking and Sleeping; in Waking, Feeling, Walking, Standing, Running, Reſting and Riding: Accurſed in Hearing, Seeing and Taſting: Accurſed in all their Works. Let this Curſe ſmite their Heads, Eyes and their whole Bodies, from the Crown of their Head to the Sole of the Feet. I conjure thee Satan and all thy Black-Guard, by the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, that ye do not reſt Day or Night, till ye have brought them both to temporal and eternal Shame, whether it be by cauſing them to be drowned, or hanged, or devoured by wild Beaſts, or torn in pieces by Vultures or Eagles, or burnt with Fire, or murdered by their Enemies: Make them odious to all Creatures living: Let their Children be Orphans, and their Wives Widows: Let no Man relieve them from this time forward, nor have any Compaſſion for their Fatherleſs Children: And juſt**

The dreadful Curſe which the Low-Country Clergy uſed againſt their Enemies.

[1] Boxh. ib. *p.* 112.
[2] Boxh. ib. *p.* 220.
[3] Boxh. ib. *p.* 121, &c.
[4] Boxh. ib. *p.* 111, 112, &c.

An° Dom. 1290. just as Lucifer was driven out of Heaven, and Adam banish'd out of Paradise, let them also be driven and banish'd out of this world, being despoil'd of all their Goods and Possessions, and let them be buried with the Burial of an Ass: Let them partake of the Punishment of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, of Judas, of Pontius Pilate, and of all that say to the Lord their God, Depart from us, we will have no Knowledge of thy ways. [At these Words the Person who pronounced the Curses extinguish'd two burning Tapers, which he held in his hands, with the following dreadful Expressions;] I adjure thee, Satan, and all thy Companions, that just as these Candles are extinguished in my Hands, thou likewise extinguish and take from them the Light of their Eyes, unless they Repent, and make entire Amends and Satisfaction. Amen, so let it be, Amen.

The terrors which the Priestly Office and Power, and the Consequences of such a Curse, produced in the minds of the simple people, cannot be expressed: However, all the Clergy were not of such a spirit; some of them saw a great deal more than pleased them, but they durst not find fault, and some few had the courage to speak at times.

Henry of Gant *writes against the Papacy.*

[1] About the year 1290, flourished *Henry* of *Gant*, Archdeacon of *Tournay*, a very learned man, insomuch that he was usually stiled [2] *the famous Teacher*. This person whetted his Pen against the abuses of Ecclesiastical goods and the Papal power. [3] He maintained, *That a Prelate was a Servant and Subject of the Law, but no Lord. And that Evil was not Good, because the Pope did either commmand or permit it.*

1294. In some places also the Temporal powers began to look about them. In the year 1294, Count *Guy*, or *Guido*, of *Flanders*, [4] published an Edict, whereby the Clergy, both secular and regular, were forbid to purchase Lands and Estates in the Province of *Flanders*; making strict enquiry, and inflicting severe penalties upon the Transgressors.

1328. *A Placard of* William III. *Count of* Holland *concerning the Clergy.*

And in the year 1328, *William* Count of *Holland* published a Placard of the following tenor: "[5] We *William* Count, *&c.* Do hereby declare, that great complaints have "been made to us, that the Monks and other Ecclesiasticks within our Country, and "some also out of it, have purchased Offices, Titles and Lands; and what they have "so bought, they hold to be exempt and free from all temporal jurisdiction; where- "by the Rights of our Sovereignty and Lordship will be prejudiced, which it does not "become us to endure. Wherefore we charge and exhort all our good people of "*Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Freesland*, of all Ranks and Degrees, that they never sell any "Lands or Estates to the Clergy of this Country, on pain of forfeiting the said Estates, "and of paying ten pounds as a penalty for every such misdemeanor. We do "moreover require all Governours, Judges and Magistrates within our dominions, "each of them upon the like penalty of ten pounds, that they do not allow that any "gift, property or inheritance in their respective Jurisdictions, be transferred or "made over to them the said Clergy. And to the end that this our Edict may be "firm and good, we have sealed and delivered it at *St. Gheerdeburg* this present "*Sunday*, before *St. Dona*'s day, in the year MCCCXXVIII.

Pounds Flemish, *or* Gilders.

A few years before was the Order of the *Knights-Templers* totally extirpated out of all Countries where the Papacy prevailed; as also out of *Holland* and *Zeland*. It was done at *Zierickfee*, after the following manner: There was a sealed Letter sent to all the Magistrates, and under the Superscription an Order, that it should not be opened till upon a certain night, therein mentioned, at twelve a-clock, and in full Council to be expressly assembled for the same purpose: And the contents thereof were to be put in execution at the same instant, on pain of death. The Council being accordingly met, and the Letter opened, it appeared, that they were directed immediately to fall upon the said *Templers* with sword in hand, and to put them all to death. This bloody Order sounded dreadful in their ears; but what could they do? the fear for their own lives prevailed over all moderate and merciful advice: They therefore called together with the utmost secrecy, all those who had any dependance on them, armed, and so marched them to the House or Monastery of the *Templers*. The doors being opened, they were all massacred in their

1312. *The* Knights-Templers *destroy'd*, &c.

[1] Bellarm de Script. Eccles. *p.* 208.
[2] Doctor. Solemnis Gesn. Bibl. f. 316. Cat. Test. Verit. XVI. *p.* 643.
[3] In suo quodlibeto secundo. Cat. Test. ibid.
[4] Plakaet-boek van Flandr. *p.* 47.
[5] Vid. Regist. *in the* Leenkamer *of* Holland *in the* Hague Markt A. I. 2. fol. LV.

their [1] beds, and where-ever they had hid themſelves, excepting two that were in a Bawdy-houſe. In like manner were they rooted out of every other Town, and moſtly at the very ſame time. Thus ended the Order of *Knights-Templers*, after it had laſted about two hundred years. An° Dom. 1312.

The occaſion of this bloody execution is variouſly related: Some affirm, that they were accuſed and convicted of Hereſie, Idolatry, Renunciation of the Faith, private Correſpondence with the Infidels, of Sodomy, and other horrible crimes: That *Clement* V. had alſo grounded the ſentence of death declared in the Council of *Vienna* againſt them about the ſame time upon the like accuſations. Others again acquit them of theſe crimes, maintaining, that this misfortune was brought upon them by a Plot framed and hatched by the Pope and *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, out of envy and thirſt after their great poſſeſſions. [2] Some have written, that the *Templers* brought it upon themſelves, by their open inveighing againſt the corruptions and abuſes of the Papacy.

Bp. Guido *refuſes a Cardinal's Cap.*

In the ſame Synod in which theſe *Templers* had been condemned, *Guido* of *Hainault*, the forty ſecond Biſhop of *Utrecht*, was choſen Cardinal by the Pope; but [3] he refuſed to put on the red Hat and ſcarlet Mantle, which all other of the Clergy in general, ſo earneſtly longed for. This was conſidered as a rare example of moderation in thoſe ambitious times. The following Biſhops, his Succeſſors, looked upon ſuch things with very different eyes: moſt of them choſe to get them a name by enlarging their borders with their Arms and other unlawful methods: they who were called Hereticks could not even by death eſcape their hands and their hatred. *Floris* of *Wevelikhoven*, the fiftieth Biſhop of *Utrecht*, in the year 1380, [4] cauſed the body of one *Mattheus*, a *Lollard*, to be taken out of his grave, and burnt before the Epiſcopal palace, and his aſhes to be ſtrewed in the Town ditch. [5] This man is thought to have been one of the *Waldenſes*, who were likewiſe nick-named *Lollards*. 1380.

[6] Thus alſo ſome years before was one *William Corneliſon*, a Prieſt of *Antwerp*, taken out of his grave, and burnt by a certain Biſhop of *Cambray*. We do not find any mention made of the kind of Hereſie laid to the charge of the deceaſed. At *Zierickſee* ſome of the Monks were puniſhed for their own raſhneſs and inſolence: One of them ſtabbed his companion; whereupon the Magiſtrate turned them all out of the Cloiſter, and put in others in their ſtead; and theſe grew ſo profuſe, as to ſquander away almoſt all the Revenue of the Monaſtery. Wherefore, after the expiration of ſome years, it was reſolved to reſtore as many as they could find of thoſe that had been expelled before. This being underſtood by thoſe that were in poſſeſſion, upon a certain night they packed up bed and bedding, books, veſſels, all the Church furniture that remained, and, in ſhort, every thing they could carry away, and ſo made off with the utmoſt ſecreſy. This Eccleſiaſtical Bankruptcy is to be found in a publick Regiſter of the Town, recorded at that time in the following words [7] *Anno Milleſimo Trecenteſimo Octuageſimo Tertio, Obſervantiales ſpoliaverunt Conventum* Sirikzeënſium *de Mobilibus & Immobilibus*. 1383.

The Monks at Zierickſee *fall into great Irregularities.*

The ſcandalouſneſs of ſuch a life ſufficiently betrayed it ſelf. [8] But as to the buſineſs of Doctrine, people began to ſee a little clearer into the corruptions of it, by the preaching of *John Wicklif*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Oxford*, who had oppoſed the incroachments of Popery in *England*, after the manner of the *Waldenſes*, for the ſpace of ſixteen years (ſome ſay, ſeven and twenty years) together; and after ſo long a ſtruggle, having forced his way thorough many ſnares, ill treatment and baniſhment, died peaceably at his Pariſh of *Lutterworth*, the laſt day of the year 1377. [9] The great Trade which the people of the *Low-Countries* maintained with *England*, contributed very much to the propagating his Opinions, and bringing them over hither. 1387.

The preaching of Wicklif *an* Engliſhman, *helps to open the Eyes of the* Dutch.

[1] Vign. 525, &c. Morn. 446, &c. W. Hed. 231. Buch. Not. ad Hed. 236. Pont. Rev. Dan. 406. Carion. Lib. IV. 450. V. 564. P. Æmil. Hiſt. VIII. 256, &c. Mutii Chr. Germ. *p.* 211. Langii Chron. Citizens, 826. Rolwink. Faſcic. Temp f 83. T. Walſingham in Hypodigm. Neuſtriæ. ad An. 1378. *p.* 500. & in Hiſt. Angl. *p.* 99. Lutſenb. Cat. Heret. ad lit. T. Marian. Hiſt. Lib. XV. *p.* 651, &c.

[2] Vignier. *p.* 525.

[3] J. Beka, *p.* 107. W. Hed. *p.* 231. Buch. ad Hed. *p.* 237, &c.

[4] W. Heda, *p.* 259. & Buch. ad Hed. *p.* 263, &c.

[5] Vign. *p.* 377, 528, 562.

[6] J. Fox Epiſtograph. ad Oxonienſ. ejuſd. Comment. Eccl. adjunct. f. 210.

[7] Boxhorn. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 128.

[8] Vign. *p.* 556, &c. Morn. *f.* 500, &c. Cat. Teſt. Verit. Lib. XVIII. *p.* 810. Foxi Comment. Eccleſ. Lib. I. Boxh. Hiſt. Univ. *p.* 884. *Contin. of* Merula, *p.* 859. Eraſ. Epiſt. Lib. XVIII. *p.* 787. Walſingh. Hiſt. Angl. *p.* 191, 312. Ib. in Hypodigm. Neuſtriæ, *p.* 531. & Flor. Remond. al. Lod Richeomus Jeſ. *in his Riſe of Hereſie*, p. 1. Lib. IV. Cap. II.

[9] Boxhorn. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 129.

An° Dom. 1398.

Duke Albrecht opposes the Abuses of the Clergy.

1 Duke *Albrecht* of *Bavaria*, the twenty third Count of *Holland*, in right of his mother (who was daughter of Count *William the Good*) writ to the Magistrates of *Delf*, in the year 1398, that he was informed, That certain fellows frequented the streets, and other publick places of that City, *who led immoral lives, and raised much disturbance, presuming to act as Clergymen, and pretending to their Rights and Privileges, though they were without Tonsure, or Ecclesiastical Habits, neither did they behave like Clergymen; which ought by no means to be endured.* Wherefore he ordered, that *as often as any thing of that nature happened, they should be apprehended, and treated as they deserved.* From this Letter, dated *Friday* after St. *Pontian*'s day, it may be inferred, that the Writer of it did not value the hatred of the Priests, but endeavoured to reform the abuses crept into the Church. 2 And indeed he was Son to that brave Emperor *Lodowick* IV. who, without caring either for Pope or Papacy, or the thunders of the Vatican, defended not only with his sword, but with several strong declarations, the Right of his Election to the Imperial Crown, which Pope *John* XXII. the Son of a Cobler, pretended to be invalid, unless it were strengthned by his Confirmation. Upon the same account some of the most ingenious and learned men of that Age lent the Emperor their Pens; such as 3 *William Ockham*, 4 *Marsilius* of *Padua*, 5 *John* of *Gaudano*, 6 *Henry* of *Chalem*, 7 *Bonagratia* of *Pergamo*, 8 *Michael Cecenas*, 9 *Dantes Aligerius*, 10 *Petrus Cunerius*, 11 *Franciscus Petrarcha*, 12 *Lupoldus* of *Bebenburg*, 13 *Andreas Laudensis*, 14 *Ulricus Hangenor*, and 15 others, who employed a great part of their time in defending his cause.

The Emperor Henry VII. *poisoned by a Monk with a consecrated Wafer.*

1313.

In such disputes of arguments and arms he possessed the Empire near three and thirty years; 16 whereas his Predecessor, *Henry* VII. (a Count of *Luxemburg*, descended also on his mother's side from the Counts of *Holland*) did not reign full five years, 17 having been poisoned by a Dominican Monk, either with the consecrated Wafer or Wine. So dear did it cost this brave Prince, as some think, to have opposed Papal ambition.

1409.

About the year 1409, the inhabitants of *Hoorn* were grievously oppressed by the Dean of *West-Freesland*. When he could extort nothing from them under colour of Law, he seized their Kine, and other beasts of the field, and raised their rents; whereupon the Burghers carried their complaints to *William* VI. then Count of *Holland*, 18 who writ to the said Dean in very strong terms, requiring him to let the men live peaceably for the future. 19 The said Count sent also Letters to the Town of *Delf* in the same year, upon a Remonstrance made by the people against the avarice of the secular and regular Clergy; whereby it was ordered, That all such as betook themselves to Cloisters for the time to come, should only enjoy as long as they lived the income of their estates; and that the Cloister in whch they died should not be capable of inheriting more than one third of their Means. 20 He also forbad the Clergy of the City of *Amsterdam* to purchase any estate, moveable or immoveable, within the jurisdiction of the said City, or to receive any by way of inheritance; which prohibition however, was not to extend to Parishes or Hospitals within the walls of the Town.

Count William VI. *endeavours to curb the avarice of the Clergy.*

1411.

This tended a little to clip the wings of Papal power; but in a few years after there happened something which was attended with much greater consequences.

The rise of the Hussites.

21 The *Hussites* in *Bohemia*, so named from *John Huss* (one of their principal Teachers,

[1] Boxhorn. Ned. Hist *p.* 133.
[2] Cat. Test. Ver. XVIII. *p.* 716, &c. Morn. *f.* 457, &c. Carion. *p.* 589. Vign. *p.* 533. Boxh. Hist. Univ. *p.* 826, &c. J. Van Heemskirk Bat. Arcad. *p.* 326, &c. Scriver. Old. Batav. *p.* 334, &c.
[3] Scriv. ib. *p.* 355. Cat. Test. XVIII. 725.
[4] Scriv. ib. *p.* 358. Morn. f. 468, &c. Cat. Test. *p.* 768. Vign. *p.* 531, &c. Boxh. Hist. Univ. *p.* 848. & *p.* 854.
[5] Scriv. ib. *p.* 361. M. A. de Dom. Rep. Eccl. L. I. C. X. & L. VIII. C. VII. n. 7. Morn. f. 468. Cat. Test. *p.* 767.
[6] Scriv. ib. *p.* 362, &c. de Dom. ib. Morn. 470.
[7] Scriv. ib. 363. [8] Ib. 364.
[9] Ib Morn. 470.
[10] Scriv. ib. 367. Morn. f. 451. Cat. Test. 770.
[11] Scriv. ib 368.
[12] Ib. 369. Morn. 473, &c. Vign. 541, &c. Cat. Test. 721, 774. *Contin. of* Merula, 872, 901. Apol pour Herodote. Cap. XXXIX. *p.* 465. Thuan Lib. I. *p.* 74.
[13] Scriv. ib. *p.* 370. Morn. f. 470. Vign. *p.* 543.
[14] Scriv. ib. 345, &c. Morn. f. 467, 482. Vign. *p.* 533.
[15] Ib. *p.* 534.
[16] Vid. Petrarch. Opera, *p.* 589. & Scriv. *p.* 328.
[17] Rolewink. Fascic. Temp. f. 83. Langii Chron. Cit. *p.* 826. Mutii Chr. Germ. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 219. Compil. Chron. ad An. 1313. *p.* 746. Hed. Hist. *p.* 231. Ibid. ad Bek. *p.* 110. Munsteri Cosmog. Lib. III. *p.* 370. Carion. Lib. V. *p.* 569. Scriv. Old. Batav. *p.* 328, &c. Morn. f. 445. Cat. Test. XVIII. *p.* 715, &c.
[18] D. Velii Chr. van Hoorn, *p.* 17. Boxh. Ned. Hist. *p.* 142.
[19] Boxh. ib. 143.
[20] Pont. Hist Amstel. Lib. I. Cap. VII. *p.* 19. *Privilege of* Amsterd. *p.* 19.
[21] Vign *p.* 571, &c. Morn. f. 553, &c. Sleid. III. 40.

Teachers, and who was burnt at *Conſtance* in the year 1415, though he came to the Synod held there, with the Paſſport of the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, whoſe word and troth was violated by the ſaid Synod, [1] which made that famous declaration, [a] [a] *That the Church was not bound to keep her promiſes to Hereticks.*) Theſe *Huſſites*, I ſay, did openly oppoſe the Papacy, and [2] ſet on foot a Reformation, according to the principles of the *Waldenſes* and of *Wicklif*, who, during his baniſhment, had ſpent ſome time in *Bohemia*: [3] But others are of opinion that ſome of the ſaid *Wicklif*'s books were brought thither from *England* by a *Bohemian* Student; [4] as alſo that *Huſs* himſelf, about the year 1400, had preached againſt the *Indulgences*. [5] With him was likewiſe apprehended *Jerom* of *Prague*, either his Collegue or Diſciple, and both of them were afterwards condemned to the fire. AN° DOM. 1415.

Upon the news of their death, the *Bohemians* roſe and quenched their revenge upon the Churches, Monaſteries, Images and Pictures of the Saints; [6] and with arms in their hands maintained the Doctrines of their martyred Teacher. [7] The next year they petitioned their King *Wenceſlaus*, for, and obtained of him Churches and Liberty of conſcience. [8] But being aſſembled, to the number of forty thouſand, near a certain Caſtle, in order to celebrate the Lord's-ſupper under both the kinds of Bread and Wine; upon their being forbid the exerciſe of their Religion in the City of *Prague*, there happened a great inſurrection, in which the Burgomaſters were ſlain; and even the King, with exceſs of paſſion, drew upon himſelf the Palſie, which was the cauſe of his death. Upon which the ſucceſſion to the Crown coming to his brother *Sigiſmund*, [9] he practiſed ſuch unſeaſonable ſeverities, that they entered into a combination to withſtand him, ſo that both ſides prepared for war. The Pope thundered his Excommunications againſt his enemies. The Clergy preached up a *Cruſado* againſt them. [10] Princes, Prelates, Knights, Eſquires and Burghers were invited into it, both horſe and foot, from as far as *Liege*, *Hainault*, *Holland* and *Zeland*. Great numbers were drawn in by their zeal for the Church, and marched into the field as to a holy War, among whom were many *Hollanders*. [11] *Dort* alone ſent out ſix and fifty of her Townſmen to ſhare in the glory of it; but they got but little; for the *Huſſites* under the command of their General *John Ziska* always baffled them; [12] and our *Dutchmen* having by this means had an occaſion to inform themſelves of the Doctrine and Manners of the ſaid *Huſſites*, returned home with an averſion to the Church for which they had fought.

The Bohemians *plunder the Churches*, &c.

A Cruſado againſt the Huſſites.

Which turns to the prejudice of Popery in the Netherlands.

Thus this *Cruſado*, inſtead of ſtifling the principles of *John Huſs*, tended to ſpread and propagate them, which gave occaſion to the *Waldenſes* to lift up their heads again. [13] At *Douay* in *Flanders*, about the year 1421, there was a great Meeting of theſe people diſcovered, diſturbed, and many of them impriſoned. They who continued ſteadfaſt, which was a conſiderable number, were ſentenced to be burnt. The reſt eſcaped Martyrdom by renouncing their Faith, and re-uniting themſelves to Popery.

1421. *A Perſecution at* Douay.

In *Overyſſel*, about the ſame time, or a little earlier, there was a certain preaching Monk, named *Matthias Grabo*, who had writ a Book againſt the irregular lives of the Clergy, which, being apprehended and examined, he did not only confeſs, but declared beſides, that he intended to go on with the ſame. Upon this Confeſſion he was pronounced a Heretick in the Eccleſiaſtical Court of *Utrecht*; but he appealed to the Pope: whereupon *Frederick van Blenkenheim*, the one and fiftieth Biſhop of *Utrecht*, brought the matter before the Council at *Conſtance*. Here he cauſed the ſaid Monk to be proſecuted by two Priors and two Canons, and tried for his life. The Cauſe was heard, the Book read, and the Writer caſt into a Dungeon; where the threats of fire made ſo ſtrong an [14] impreſſion on him, that the poor man acknowledged himſelf guilty, and retracted his writings. In the mean time, the Contents of his Book prevailed ſo mightily, that the Magiſtrates of ſeveral Towns in the aforeſaid Province, and particularly at *Deventer*, openly aſſerted, *That the Clergy were likewiſe ſubject to the Civil Powers*. On the other hand, the Eccleſiaſticks maintained the contrary with

Matthias Grabo *a Monk of* Deventer *writes againſt the Clergy*.

[1] Morn. ib. Vign. *p.* 577.
[2] Morn. 501.
[3] Vign. *p.* 570. [4] Vign. *p.* 571.
[5] Morn. f. 554. Vign. *p.* 578. Beza in Icon. *p.* A. 1111.
[6] Vign. *p.* 579.
[7] Ib. *p.* 580. Morn. f. 558.
[8] Vign. *p.* 581.
[9] Bucholceri Ind. Chronol. *p.* 379, &c. Vign. *p.* 582.
[10] Morn. f. 558.
[11] Boxh. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 155. Beverwiik's *Hiſtory of* Dort, *p.* 313.
[12] Boxh. ib.
[13] Vign. *p.* 583. ex Enguer. de Monſtralet.
[14] Boxh. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 149.

Anno Dom. 1423. with ſo much violence, that Biſhop *Frederic*, who died in the year 1423, declared on his death-bed; [1] *That among the Clergy every body endeavoured to be uppermoſt; that none would be in ſubjection to another; and that from thence terrible confuſions ſhould ariſe.*

A Schiſm at Utrecht.

After *Frederic*'s death there preſently happened a grievous Schiſm upon the election of *Rudolf van Diephout* for Biſhop of *Utrecht*. [2] Pope *Martin* V. refuſed to confirm him, and gave the Mitre to the Biſhop of *Spire*, who by the conſent of the ſaid Pope, transferred the ſame to *Zueder van Kuilenburg*. *Rudolf* took poſſeſſion of *Utrecht* by force, and *Zueder* fixed his Epiſcopal Chair at *Dort*; thus both ſpiritual and temporal weapons were uſed in this diſpute. The Pope excommunicated *Rudolf* and his Followers, prohibiting the Clergy the exerciſe of Divine ſervice where-ever they diſowned the authority of *Zueder*. On the contrary, the Magiſtrates of ſeveral Towns obliged them either to the diſcharge of their Functions, or to leave their Cloiſters and Country. A great many thereupon choſe baniſhment. A few Prieſts ſubmitting to thoſe terms, continued in the exerciſe of their Office. [3] A certain Monaſtery, the Abbot of which had preſumed to declare the Interdict in the Pope's name, was forcibly broke into by the people of *Utrecht*, and afterwards reduced to aſhes.

1428. *Grievous Bitterneſs of the Utrecht Clergy againſt each other.*

This treatment did ſo provoke the Churchmen on the other hand, that ſome of them raged ſo furiouſly from the Pulpit againſt thoſe that were excommunicated, that they had the boldneſs to aſſert, [4] *That if any one killed an Excommunicate perſon, he ſhould be rewarded by God; and that if a Prieſt, being excommunicated, ſhould diſtribute the Sacramental Bread, ſuch Bread, far from being ſacred, would rather be converted into a Toad, or other venemous Creature.*

This Schiſm, and the Civil War that followed it, laſted at leaſt nine years. The Dukes, *Philip* of *Burgundy* and *Arnold* of *Guelderland*, were engaged in it, owning *Zueder* for the lawful Biſhop, he having been confirmed by the Pope. But after much bloodſhed on both ſides, *Rudolf* prevailed, and the ſaid two Dukes abandoned the unfortunate ſide. Pope *Engenius* IV. likewiſe embraced the Party of *Rudolf*, confirmed him in his Biſhoprick, and thruſt the other out.

This contention of the Biſhops, who were the principal Heads of the Clergy, for ſpiritual Greatneſs was the cauſe that leſs notice was taken of the ſmaller Members. Wherefore the irregularity of Life prevailed yet more in the Monaſteries, and the corruption of Manners was ſo exceſſive, that at laſt ſome of the Fryers themſelves, in whom Religion was not quite extinct, broke out into heavy complaints and ſevere reproaches. The moſt memorable ſtrokes of theſe odious Truths deſerve, for their ſingularity, a place in this Book; though it muſt be owned, that by reaſon of their antiquity, and the negligence of thoſe that recorded them, we cannot point out the exact time when they happened. [5] The firſt that occurs is the Letter of a certain Monk, who writes thus to his Comrades: *They ſpend their days and nights in all kinds of Diverſions, in eating, drinking, ſleeping, ſporting, bantering, their tongues uttering the fulneſs of their corrupt hearts. —— They are diſobedient, unlearned, obſtinate, quarrelſome, impatient, worthleſs, rude in their language; they hate retirement, they love company, deſiring nothing but what ſavours of the world. In their Cells they ſit all day idle, without any ſpiritual employment: They ſpend their time in trifling and uſeleſs matters. At Feſtival times their hearts are full of worldly and brutal thoughts. They are quick at Table, but ſlow at Praying: Very ready to murmur if their Meat or Drink, or any other gratification of their Voluptuouſneſs be wanting —— The places in which their Predeceſſors had planted the ſeat of Virtue and Religion, marching in their ſolitude as it were into the field of battle, againſt the Fleſh, the World and the Devil, the Prince of it, and in which they came off Conquerors, thoſe places are now turned to Brothel-houſes, and to Camps of incarnate Devils, in which nothing now reigns but Impurity, Adultery, Drunkenneſs, Ambition, Rapine, Covetouſneſs, and innumerable other crimes.*

Some of the Monks themſelves complain of the Diſorders of their Brethren.

Henry Loeder, Prior of the Monaſtery called *Fredeſweel*, near *Northorn*, writ to his Brother in the following manner: [6] *Dear Brother, The love I bear your State and Welfare*

[2] Box. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 144.
[3] Hed. Hiſt. *p.* 284 Append. ad Chron. Bek. *p.* 132, 152, &c. Æn Picolom. de Stat. Europ. ſub. Fred. III. Cap. XXVIII. *p.* 75. Boxh. ib. *p.* 208.
[3] Monaſter. Inſulæ B. Mariæ. vid. Hed. *p.* 285.
[4] Buchel. Not. ad Hed. *p.* 289. ex ſcriptis Adverſariis illius temporis.
[5] Boxhorn. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 148, &c.
[6] Box. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 151.

Welfare for the ſake of the Blood of Chriſt, obliges me to take a Rod, inſtead of a Pen, into my hand. I know very well, that under your various difficulties, comfortable words would be welcome to you; but your irregular behaviour deſerves, and greatly requires, a ſevere reprehenſion. I am grieved at your diſobedience towards your Superiors, your coldneſs towards each other; your zeal for ſaying a number of Maſſes every where, and at the ſame time your negligence in the amendment of your lives, and the ſcandal ariſing from thence. You take pains to pleaſe Men, but care not how you diſpleaſe God. Does not the Apoſtle ſay, If I yet pleaſed Men, I ſhould not be the ſervant of Chriſt. *You are for regulating every thing without, in the world, whilſt the filth of your Cloiſter greatly wants the Broom and the Mop. It likewiſe grieves my ſoul, that your avarice and love of pleaſure are unſatiable. You will part with nothing, not even with thoſe things that you can beſt ſpare. O ye cowardly and temporizing ſoldiers of Chriſt! who will not fight the Fight of the Croſs, nor drink of the bloody grapes! Alas! is it poſſible, according to the life that ye lead, ſpending it wholly in gluttony and wantonneſs, to ſet up the Croſs of Chriſt, to which ye are all called in particular. Fie, ye poor deſpiſers of the world! who can gratifie your unſatiable Luſts, and the greatneſs of your Paſſions? I never ſaw thoſe Cloiſters flouriſh and increaſe in Godlineſs, which daily increaſed in Temporal Eſtates and Poſſeſſions; on the contrary, thoſe grow rich in Grace, where Poverty and Patience dwell together. I beſeech you therefore, let your enjoyment of worldly pleaſures be with moderation, and let ſpiritual riches be the Treaſure upon which you ſet your heart and thoughts. Embrace the Croſs, and the crucified Jeſus: therein you ſhall find full content. Be humble in your own conceit, for haughtineſs and ſubmiſſion cannot go hand in hand. Bear with one another Depart for ever from hypocriſie, which has hitherto ſhamefully ſullied all your actions.* [1] They who were ſo zealous for a Reformation, were in thoſe times called *Reformers of the Clergy.*

An° Dom. 1428.

Gal. i. 10.

Reformers of the Clergy.

Not far from *Harlem* there was a Cloiſter named, *The Viſitation of the bleſſed Lady*, where the Prior *John van Kempen* cenſured the Lives and Actions of the Monks in theſe words: *We would be humble, but cannot bear contempt; patient without oppreſſions or ſufferings; obedient without ſubjection, or any coercive power; poor without wanting any thing; virtuous without any troubleſome exerciſe of virtue; penitent without ſmart or ſorrow; beloved, though we know not what it is to love; honoured without giving any proofs of a ſober and a holy life. Our Lord Chriſt never acted thus; but taught expreſly, that the Kingdom of Heaven is to be entered by force, and by bearing all wrongs and evils with patience.*

Johannis à Kempis.

[2] About this time, but the year is not named, *Henry Wilde*, a Regular Monk of *Bois le Duc*, not only ſpake openly at *Amſterdam* in *Holland*, at *Tillemont* in *Brabant*, and elſewhere, againſt the Lives of the Clergy, but attempted to reform ſome of the abuſes that were crept into their Doctrine. Being afterwards choſen Prior of the ſame Monaſtery, he cauſed ſeveral wanton Songs, which ſome of the laſcivious Monks had mixed with the Anthems, for ſtimulating the Luſts of the Fleſh, to be torn out of the Choir-Books. When he was deſired by his Brethren to ſing Maſſes in commemoration of ſome that were deceaſed, and had ordered the ſame, he was wont to anſwer; *Let them pray for us, our Prayers will do them no good.*

Henry Wilde.

[3] *John van Broekhuiſen*, Prior of a Convent at *Leyderdorp* in *Holland*, reſigned his Office, becauſe, as he ſaid, he would have no ſhare in the Plagues which his Monks had merited by their extream vicious courſes.

John van Brookhuiſen.

Gozewin Tyacen, a Monk of *Zwol* in *Overyſſel*, declaimed continually againſt the ſwallowing of Lands and Poſſeſſions; ſaying, that ſuch joyning of Acres to Acres, ſignified nothing elſe but that the hearts of the Clergy forgetting, or knowing nothing of Heaven, cleaved only to Terreſtrial and Corruptible things. But all this was not ſufficient to put a ſtop to ſuch diſorders, which held on their courſe. Many tricks were alſo made uſe of to impoſe upon the ſimplicity of the People. In order to ſupport the honour and reverence for the Church; they talked of heavenly Dreams, of ſpiritual Viſions, and holy Revelations, which ſome of the Monks had either dreamt, ſeen or heard; moſt of which related to the State and Condition of the Dead; of which Purgatory and Maſſes for the Soul were the neceſſary conſequences.

Gozewin Tyacen.

[1] *Henry*

[1] Boxh. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 152, *&c.* [2] Boxh. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 149. [3] Boxh. ib. *p.* 199.

An° Dom. 1428.

Henry Mande *a Monk of* Windeſheim *cheats the People with pretended Dreams and Viſions.*

1 *Henry Mande*, of an honourable Family at *Dort*, ſome time Secretary to Count *William* VI. and to the Counteſs *Margarita*, and well looked upon at Court, became at length weary of a Courtier's Life. He gave out, that Chriſt himſelf had appeared to him, and excited him to a ſpiritual Life. And accordingly he forſook the Court, and put on the Fryers Cowl in the Cloiſter of *Windeſheim* near *Zwol.* Here the fancy of new Apparitions took him again: In his Solitude he converſed with Angels, who diſcloſed unknown things to him. He pretended, and the Monks believed it, that like a ſecond St. *Paul*, he was taken up into the third Heavens. The People were told, that he had there ſeen among a glorious Company, ſeveral Monks that died in his Monaſtery. Waiting in his turn one time at the gate of the Monaſtery, he heard a knocking (as the Story goes) and let in a young Lad of a ſhining aſpect, who upon being interrogated, *What he was?* made anſwer, *the Lamb*; and moreover, *That this Cloiſter was his Father's houſe, and they that dwelt in it, his true Brethren.* The rumour of this Revelation being ſpread abroad, every body was earneſt to know, what and whom he had ſeen in Heaven. The Cloiſter daily ſwarmed with inquiſitive people, and his Anſwers to their Queſtions were richly paid for. After this, to the end his Viſions might yield the more profit, they cauſed him to make a Tour about *Holland*, on which occaſion he was well received in every Town, but eſpecially at *Delf*, where he met with much credit, and not a little money. To the Poor he commonly ſaid; *I ſaw the Souls of your Relations in Heaven, and there I left them:* But to all the Rich, *That he had heard their Friends and Kindred lamenting ſadly in Purgatory.* And then followed an exhortatation to Liberality and Charity, eſpecially towards the Monks of his Cloiſter, to the end, that by their Prayers the tormented Souls might be ſpeedily releaſed. But in time his credit diminiſhed, the number, ſtrangeneſs and improbability of the things that were afterwards related, cauſing all that had been ſaid at firſt, to paſs for Fables.

John de Wit *another Monk expoſes his Impoſture.*

There likewiſe roſe up againſt him another Monk, *John de Wit* of *Utrecht*, who diſcovered the vanity of his Stories. He died afterwards in the Monaſtery of *Sion*, near *Beverwiik*, *An.* 1434.

1434. *Biſhop* Rudolf *publiſhes an Order againſt Proviſors.*

The great Prerogatives and Authorities which the Biſhops of *Utrecht* exerciſed of old times in *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Freeſland*, by their Proviſors, were in the year 1434, brought upon a much more reaſonable foot. The Declaration and Order which Biſhop *Rudolf* iſſued, at the requeſt of *Philip* of *Burgundy*, who was then Count of *Holland*, gives us ſome notion of that intolerable yoke of Eccleſiaſtical power, which ſtill in a great meaſure continued. Among other things we find the following:

" *Item*, [2] If ſo be any Prieſt or Clergyman is guilty of any Miſdeameanor within " the County of *Holland* —— Whether it be by Breach of the Peace in Fighting, " by Drunkenneſs, or ſuch other indecent actions, which no diſcreet Clerk would " commit, our dear Lord the Duke of *Burgundy* —— has liberty to apprehend him " by his Bailies or other Miniſters, and to deliver him up to Us, our Dean or " Proviſor, where the thing happened, as cognizable where they were Clerks; and " any Prieſt or Clerk ſo tranſgreſſing, ſhall not be diſcharged by Us, our Dean or " Proviſor, till ſatisfaction be given to our dear Lord the Duke of *Burgundy*, " according to the nature of their crimes.

" *Item*, Neither ſhall the Subjects of *Holland* be ſummoned to appear in the " Biſhop's Court at *Utrecht*, upon any account whatſoever, if the Perſon ſo ſummoned be willing to appear before the Spiritual or Temporal Judge, to whoſe Juriſdiction he belongs.

" *Item*, If any Perſon, on account of any miſdemeanor ſhould fly for ſhelter to any " Church or Church-yard, in ſuch caſes where the Privilege of the Church does not " abſolutely belong to him, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, our dear Lord the " Duke may cauſe ſuch Perſon to be taken out of the Church-yard, without any " violation of our Rights —— Nor ſhall the Liberties of the Church protect any " one who has maliciouſly or treacherouſly murdered another —— Nor ſuch as " have been baniſhed or outlawed by our dear Lord the ſaid Duke, for ſuch crimes " as they ſhall have committed againſt the Prince of the Country, or againſt the State, " or what may be properly called *Crimen læſæ Majeſtatis*.

" *Item*, Neither ſhall the Deans or Proviſors moleſt any Perſon for having done " any work upon a Holy-day, whereby ſuch Holy-day may be violated, provided " it

[1] Boxh. ib *p.* 161. [2] Boxh. Hiſt. Ned. *p.* 163. Priv. *of* Amſt. *p.* 53. *and* 68. Grot. Rechtgeleert. 31.

" it be a work of Neceſſity, or of Command; ſuch as repairing of Dikes, Fiſhing, Harveſt-work, or other common and neceſſary things, as it ſhall fall out. An° Dom 1418.

" *Item*, The Deans ſhall not exact from the Subjects of *Holland*, exorbitant Fees for Citations, Sentences, and other Eccleſiaſtical matters; but ſhall conform themſelves to the practice of the Court of *Utrecht*.

" And if any body dies Excommunicate for Debts, or other cauſes; and if it be notorious, and can be proved, that it was in contempt, and to the prejudice of holy Church, the Dean ſhall proceed in ſuch caſes diſcreetly, and according to ancient cuſtom: but if the Party was poor and inſolvent, the Dean ſhall take no more than double Contumacy-money of his Executors, *i.e.* twice as much as he ought to have paid living, before he could have been abſolved of ſuch Contumacy, *&c.*

1440. *The Invention of Printing hurtful to* Popery, *but promotes the* Reformation.

1 About the year 1400, or ſomewhat later, *Laurence Johnſon Koſter* found out the Art of compoſing Letters, or *Printing*, which ſoon filled the world with numbers of Books and Sciences, and at the ſame time turned greatly to the prejudice of the Papacy, by publiſhing and diſperſing ſuch Books as were writ againſt it. 2 And whereas before, people uſed none but Manuſcripts or written Books, and for one Copy of the Bible tolerably written upon Vellum, were wont to pay four or five hundred Crowns, it might now be bought for ſixty, and ſoon after, as the Art grew more common, for four or five Crowns. Thus the Vulgar, who could not reach the price of Manuſcript Bibles, found it eaſie to read the Holy Scriptures in Print.

The neceſſary Truths on which Salvation depends, were only to be found here: And by comparing the Lives and Doctrines of moſt of the Churchmen with this only Rule of Faith and Manners, they obſerved therein too much Superſtition, and too little Charity. On the other hand, Self-love, the corrupter of all Manners, prevailed almoſt over all Churches and Cloiſters. 3 Many of the Clergy turned Merchants, which was ſo much the more prejudicial to the common People, as they being Tax-free, were able to under-ſell them, and afford their Commodities at eaſier rates than other Shop-keepers, who ſtarved for want of buſineſs, and complained grievouſly, that the Clergy abuſed, for ſecular purpoſes, the Privileges granted them, to enable them the better to mind their ſpiritual affairs; and ſo took the Bread out of the mouths of thoſe that helped to feed them.

Thus were the Monaſteries converted into Shops and Warehouſes for Burghers and Strangers; and the Manſions of Secular Prieſts, into Inns and Tap-houſes for the Inhabitants, and for Travellers.

4 Some Towns oppoſed theſe practices by ſharp Edicts; and Duke *Philip* found himſelf obliged again to provide againſt the Clergy's inheriting, and purchaſing immoveable Goods, by the following Letter:

1445. *Duke* Philip *of* Burgundy *puts out a Placard, prohibiting the Clergy of* Holland *and* Zeland *to receive Inheritances and to buy Lands.*

5 *WHereas there have been in our Dominions of* Holland *and* Zeland, *within the ſpace of a few years, founded, built, and endowed ſuch a number of Cloiſters and Convents of Monks and Nuns, of Brothers and Siſters of the Order of St.* Francis, *as are by much too many, in proportion to the extent of our ſaid Dominions; and there is yet a daily increaſe of the ſame; and whereas in thoſe Cloiſters, Houſes, and Convents of both Sexes, almoſt all Trades and Handicrafts are carried on, which is by no means decent or proper: And whereas though they be Ordained and Sacred Perſons, or ſhould be ſuch, yet they have hitherto concerned themſelves with the Eſtates and Inheritances of their Anceſtors, and hold them by ſuch tenure without devolving them upon others; ſo that unleſs timely care be taken to put a ſtop thereto, they are like to get into their hands all the Lands and Inheritances, together with the Rights and Immunities thereunto belonging, eſpecially if it be conſidered how they are increaſed in a few years; by which means We and our Succeſſors might poſſibly loſe the advantage of our Subjects ſervices, and our poor Subjects, that of their Trades and Employments —— For theſe Reaſons we have Ordained, Reſolved and Decreed, that from henceforward no Eccleſiaſticks, of what Order ſoever they be, in our Territories of* Holland, Zeland *and* Freeſland, *ſhall take or receive any Inheritances of their Anceſtors, Relations or Friends, in any manner; nor ſhall they be capable of purchaſing any more Eſtates,*

1 H. Jun. Bat. Cap. XVII. *p.* 253. Boxh. Hiſt. Univ. *p.* 946. Ib. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 169. Theat. Holl. *p.* 104. *Contin. of* Merula *p.* 928. P. Bertij de Urb. Germ. *p.* 200. Eraſmi Epiſt. *p.* 1696, &c. Ib. Adag. *p.* 353. Hooft's *Hiſt. p.* 200.

2 Boxh. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 179.
3 Boxh. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 124, 190. 4 Ibid.
5 Boxhorn. ib. *p.* 189, &c. *Privil. of* Amſt. *p.* 55, 56.

An° Dom. 1445. *Eſtates, or of poſſeſſing by virtue of laſt Wills or Teſtaments, or otherwiſe, within our ſaid Dominions, till it ſhall be adjuſted by Commiſſioners, whom we ſhall appoint, how and in what manner they may hereafter inherit, to which they are hereby ſtrictly required and commanded to conform themſelves.*

Given under our Hand this twenty firſt Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1445.

Indulgences and Abuſes thereof.

In the mean while, the Clergy carried on another ſort of a Spiritual and Inviſible Trade, that of *Indulgences* and *Maſſes* for the Soul; both of them inexhauſtible golden Mines. The greateſt Crimes were ſet at a Price, and made pardonable as well as the ſmalleſt. [1] The *Book of Rates*, which the Confeſſors were to govern themſelves in the ſale of ſins, and other matters that were only ſo far lawful as the Pope pleaſed; was adjuſted by the Papal Court, where no Bulls were writ for *Nothing*. In this *Book of Rates*, which *Woolfang Muſculus* afterwards publiſhed in [2] one of his Pieces, we read things that are aſtoniſhing: A *Jew* was allowed to have a Synagogue in his own Houſe, upon paying thirty *Livres Tournois*, ſeven *Ducats*, and ſix *Carolines*; and to ſet up a new one for ſixty *Tournois* and fifteen *Ducats*. A Cunning Woman, or Witch, after abjuring her Superſtitions, was taxed for every Incantation or Charm, ſix *Tournois* and eleven *Ducats*. Abſolution from Hereſie (which muſt be underſtood of ſuch Hereticks as returned to Papal Slavery) was rated at thirty ſix *Tournois* and nine *Ducats*, or twelve *Tournois*, three *Ducats*, and ſix *Carolines*, if the Party were a Lay-man. Abſolution for all ſort of Impurity committed by a Clergyman, even with Nuns, and whether within or without the Walls of the Cloiſters, or with Kindred, or with Bethrothed Perſons, or even with one's Spiritual or God-Daughter, was alſo ſet at thirty ſix *Tournois* and three *Ducats*. Unnatural Sins, at ninety *Tournois*, twelve *Ducats*, ſix *Carolines*. The keeping a Concubine, at twenty one *Tournois*, five *Ducats*, ſix *Carolines*. The Diſcharge or Abſolution from an Oath, in order to carry on one's affairs, coſt for one Perſon, and in one Law-ſuit, ſeven *Tournois*, eleven *Ducats* three *Carolines*. The Murder of a Father, Mother, Brother, Siſter, or Wife, four *Tournois*, one *Ducat*, eight *Carolines*. Upon this foot did *Yonker Henry van Monfort* procure his Pardon for a kind of Parricide, in the year 1448: [3] He had kept his Father in priſon till he died; from which wicked action, *Rudolph*, Biſhop of *Utrecht*, abſolved him for a pecuniary Mulct.

A Book of Rates for Sins.

1450. *Cardinal* de Cuſa *comes into the* Low-Countries.

[4] Soon after, that is to ſay, about the year 1450, Pope *Nicolas* V. ſent the Cardinal *Cuſa*, a *German*, famous for his knowledge in Languages, Learning, and Eloquence, and the Regularity of his Life, both into *Upper* and *Lower Germany*; [5] his buſineſs was partly to preach up the *Indulgences*, and partly to reform the Diſorders of the Clergy. He was received in this Country as a Legate or Ambaſſador from the See of *Rome*, with great Honours; both Clergy and Laity went out to meet him, attending at his Entry with Banners, Croſſes, and ringing of Bells. [6] The People ſang, *Welcome, welcome you, whom we have ſo long expected in our Darkneſs.*

He endeavours to reform the Clergy.

[7] At the time of the Council of *Baſil*, this Cardinal oppoſed the Pope, and with [8] the Cardinal of *St. Angelo* and [9] *Æneas Sylvius* (who himſelf was afterwards Pope) defended the ſaid Council againſt *Eugenius* IV. [10] He adviſed the Emperor to reform the *Romiſh* Court, and to prevent the ſcandalous traffick of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices. But he ſoon ſpoke another language, eſpecially when he was made a Cardinal. However, he did not entirely ſubmit his neck to the Papal yoke; for in diſcharge of his Commiſſion in theſe Parts, he did not only oppoſe and endeavour to correct all corruption in Manners, but likewiſe all abuſes in Doctrine, eſpecially thoſe that had any influence on the lives of men. [11] At *Utrecht*, and elſe where, he aſcended the Pulpit, and thundered againſt all Irregularities.

[2] M. A. de Dom. Rep. Eccl. *p.* 103.

[3] In loc. eorum de Miniſtris verbi, *p.* 401, &c. Vid. Morn. f. 656. Epiſcop. vera Antiq. *p.* 116. S. Curcel. Epiſt. ad S. Sorb. *p.* 17, 18. F. Jun. Reſponſé à l'Apologie de J. Haren. *p.* 71.

[4] Hed. Hiſt. *p.* 287.

[5] Bellarm. de Scrip. Eccleſ. *p.* 234. Cat. Teſt. XIX. 871. Vign. *p.* 589. Morn. Hiſt. Pap. f. 581. Buch. ad Hed. *p.* 200.

[6] Heda. *p.* 287. *Chron. of* Holl. f. 236. Boxh. Ned. Hiſt. 184, *&c.*

[7] Boxh. ib. *p.* 185 & 193.

[8] M. A. de Dom. Rep. Eccl. 69, &c. Vign. *p.* 586, &c. Morn. f. 563, &c. Boxh. Hiſt. Univ. *p.* 290. Vid. Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 673.

[9] Bellarm. ib. *p.* 299. Vign. *p.* 589.

[10] Bellarm ib *p.* 229. De Dom. ib. *p.* 318 & 724. Cat. Teſt. *p.* 870. Vign *p.* 594, &c. Morn. f. 589, &c. Boxh. ib *p.* 958.

[11] De Dom. ib. *p.* 90.

[11] *Chron. of* Holl. ib. Heda ib. & Boxh. ib. *p.* 50.

larities. [1] As to Images, he was of opinion, that there was too much honour ſhewn them, and that they were nothing more than Memorials of the good lives of the Saints, which, by our contemplation on them, excited us to a ſteady imitation. [2] He alſo diſcharged many from their Vows of Pilgrimage to certain Shrines, to which a peculiar virtue was aſcribed. [3] As for *Indulgences*, he was ſometimes heard to ſay, that people were not the better, but the worſe for them, becauſe ſins that were ſo eaſily forgiven, would always ſeem too ſmall, and be too eaſily committed: That *Jubilees* were as deſtructive to the Souls, as to the Purſes of men; and that the true Indulgences, were only to be found in the Scriptures. But he ſpake thus under the roſe only, as we ſay, and among friends; [4] for it is related of him, that he himſelf diſtributed Indulgences, making the people believe, that the money they paid for them ſhould be employed in building Monaſteries, or Hoſpitals, in their own Country. It is likewiſe ſaid, that in preaching up the Indulgences, he uſed this argument; *The Pope could indeed forgive all ſins for nothing, but not the puniſhment that muſt be neceſſarily inflicted upon ſinners.* He declared alſo, that thoſe who did the proper Penance of ſeven years for a mortal Sin, and of fourteen years for a double mortal Sin, ſuch as Adultery and the like, needed not fear a Purgatory after this Life; but they who did not fully perform the ſaid Penances, would lie there *till they paid the utmoſt farthing.* But that for the benefit of thoſe, who being laden with many Sins, were not able to perform ſuch Penances, the Pope had vouchſafed to utter theſe Indulgences, in order to eaſe them of ſuch heavy burthens. [5] Some ſaw through theſe arguments: Penances were expreſly made inſupportable; and then it was given out, that they might indeed be remitted, by vertue of the Indulgence; but that could not be obtained unleſs purchaſed with money.

An° Dom. 1450.

However he preaches up the Pope's Indulgences.

[6] When he viſited the Cloiſters, he enquired into their Endowments, and into the Number, Management and Behaviour of the Monks. He found Societies of no more than ſix or ſeven perſons, who enjoyed Revenues ſufficient for the ſupport of near ten times as many. A certain Abbot was poſſeſt of as many [7] Acres of Land as there are days in the year, the third part of the yearly income of which he appropriated to the maintenance of his Table only. [8] Whereupon Duke *Philip* renewed, in the year 1452, the Placard or Decree, by which the Clergy were forbidden to inherit or buy Lands, except in caſes therein mentioned.

[9] About this time *John Buſh*, a Regular Canon of the Chapter of *Wendeſheim*, took upon him to reprove the Manners of the Monks, in theſe or ſuch like terms: *The ancient Zeal was grown cold and dwindled away. The World and the Fleſh were always uppermoſt in the hearts of the Regular Clergy, who were only devoted to their Pleaſure and Profit, to the Luſts of the Fleſh, to the Vanity of the World, to Adulation of Great Men, to a fond conceit of their own Worth, and to the purſuit of thoſe things in the World, which they, as Perſons ſeparated from it, and conſecrated to a perpepetual Warfare with it, ought to deſpiſe and abhor. This proceeded from the Temporal Goods they enjoyed; from thence aroſe their averſion to Spiritual, and their adherence to Tranſitory things. Devotion had brought forth great Riches to the Church, but theſe Riches had ſwallowed up their Mother. From hence it came, that true Piety, formerly bred and nouriſhed in the Boſom of Humility and Poverty, was now quite loſt and extinct.* Yea, he affirmed, that the eſtabliſhed Rules were obſerved in none of the Cloiſters; that no place was now to be found, in which God might be ſerved in ſolitude, and the world abandoned; the Monks being frightened, and crying out as if they were murdered, upon the leaſt mention of *Reformation.* [10] It is likewiſe related by this ſame Canon, who has left ſeveral Tracts behind him, that when two Monks, Frier *Berthold* and Frier *Nicholas*, of *Schoonhoven*, were a little toucht in their heads, the reſt of the Friers were of opinion, that they had *faſted too long*; and that for the ſame reaſon the three following queſtions were put to all Novices; [11] *Whether they could eat well, ſleep well, and obey their Superiours?*

John Buſh a *Canon of* Windeſheim *rebukes the Lives of the Clergy.*

The Teſt which the Friers put the Novices to.

[1] [2] Boxh. ib. *from a certain MS, in* Latin *of* Fred. Heilo, *a* Dutch *Clergyman of that Age.*
[3] Boxh. ib.
[4] *Chron.* Holl. ib. Boxh. ib. 193.
[5] Boxh. ib. *p.* 194. [6] Boxh. ib. *p.* 197.
[7] Morgen *in the Original.*
[8] Pont. Hiſt. Amſterd 22, &c.
[9] Boxh. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 190.
[10] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. *p.* 469.
[11] Boxh. ib. 192.

An° Dom. 1459. It was very diſpleaſing to the Civil Magiſtrate, that the Clergy ſhould give ſhelter in their Churches, and Church-yards of their Cloiſters, to Criminals, whereby they rendered themſelves very acceptable to the common people, but ſtood in the way of common juſtice. Some proviſion had been made againſt theſe incroachments upon the Rights of the Government in the year 1430, but the Clergy maintained their uſurpations to the utmoſt of their power.

Matters were carried on ſo high at *Hoorn* in the year 1459, that ſome ſeditious perſons (the Townſmen being at variance with each other) ſheltered themſelves by day in the Church-yard, and at night ſallied out, armed with Bows and Arrows, ſcouring the Streets, and ſtorming the Houſes of their Adverſaries; but when they were oppoſed or purſued, or after having accompliſhed their evil deſigns, they retired to the Church-yard, their Ramparts, in which they were ſecure. But their inſolence was ſoon quelled, and an Order was ſent to the *Scout*, or Sheriff of *Hoorn*, by the Duke of *Burgundy*, in the following terms: [1] "We ſtrictly charge and command our "Scout of *Hoorn*, that he apprehend and take into his cuſtody, all ſuch perſons "as lurk and conceal themſelves in Church-yards, and other conſecrated places with- "in the ſaid Town, and that ſally out of the ſaid Church-yards, or conſecrated places, "in order to moleſt and aſſault our Subjects either in their Bodies or Goods, and that "he fetch them out by force from the ſaid places, *&c.*

Duke Philip *forbids the harbouring Criminals in Church-yards, &c.*

In the ſame year there aroſe a bloody Perſecution againſt ſome innocent perſons, whom they would have to be *Waldenſes* or *Vaudois*; by which they underſtood (ſo odious was that name become) not only Hereticks, but alſo Sorcerers and Servants of the Devil. Some of theſe were impriſoned at *Douay* and *Arras*, at the inſtigation of the Inquiſitor, *Peter van Brouſſart*. They confeſſed, when put upon the Rack, all that was laid to their charge; amongſt other things, that they were in the ſervice of the Devil; that they worſhipped him; that he had carnal knowledge of them, and ſuch like horrible, and incredible things. Being condemned to be burnt, they openly declared their innocency at the Stake, cried, they had never been in *Vaudery* (for ſo were thoſe pretended aſſemblies of Witches and Devils ſtiled) but that they were deluded by the Judges, who had prevailed upon them by fair promiſes of ſaving their Lives and Eſtates, if they would own what was propoſed to them. Some ſaid, what we have confeſſed is extorted from us by torments; then they intreated the Spectators to help them to pray; and in the midſt of the flames recommended their ſouls to God.

A terrible Perſecution at Douay *and* Arras *on account of* Vaudery, *as they called it.*

Time has ſince brought Truth and Innocency to light; for in the year 1490, theſe very perſons that were put to death, and divers others impriſoned on the like account, were by the Judgment of the Parliament of *Paris*, declared innocent, reſtored to their Honour and Eſtates, and great Fines ſet upon their Judges.

To obviate in ſome meaſure the ſcandal which both the Secular and Regular Clergy occaſioned by the irregularity of their Lives, the *Romiſh* Church made uſe, in particular, of the Order of the *Franciſcan Mendicants*, who deceived the people by an affected Humility, Sobriety and Poverty; but it was ſtill the ſame Monk in another Hood. This was firſt obſerved at *Amſterdam*, in the year 1462, into which City they had but juſt then crept; which is ſtrange, if we conſider, that above one hundred and fifty years had paſſed ſince the inſtitution of their Order. One of their Monks, *John Brugman*, brought them into the Town, even in ſpite of the Magiſtrates; for being of a hard Forehead, and a ſoft Tongue, he ſo wheedled the good people, that it became a Proverb in *Amſterdam*; [2] *Though you could wheedle like John Brugman.* The ſaid Monk gave them a great deal of trouble, to which *Jelis Krabbeliin*, a Counſellor of the Duke of *Burgundy*, alſo contributed, by a Letter he brought from Prince *Charles*, the Duke's Son, which he would not deliver but in a full Meeting of the Magiſtrates of that City. What happened upon it, may be ſeen in the following Declaration of the ſaid Magiſtracy.

1462.

John Brugman *brings the* Franciſcan *Monks into* Amſterdam.

A Declaration of the Magiſtrates of Amſterdam *about the ſaid* Brugman, &c.

[3] WE the Burgomaſters, Aldermen and Council of the City of Amſterdam, do declare and certifie to every one who ſhall ſee or hear theſe Preſents, That Maſter Jelis Krabbeliin, Counſellor of our Gracious Lord, came not long ſince into this City, one day in the forenoon, and repaired to the Houſe of our Burgomaſter,

[1] Velij Chron. *p.* 40. [2] Pont. Hiſt. Amſt. *p.* 268. [3] Vid. Regiſt. Amſterd.

master, Gerrit Matthews, who has a Commission and Authority during the present quarter of the year, according to the Custom of this City, to receive all Letters coming from other Parts, to return Answers, and treat about such Matters as shall then happen; and the said Krabbeliin acquainted him the said Burgomaster, that he had brought sealed Letters from our Gracious Prince Charles, and from the Lords the Stadtholders, to the Scout, Burgomasters, Aldermen and Council of the said City of Amsterdam: Whereupon the Burgomaster before named, was willing and ready with the utmost Respect, to receive the said Letters; and in a Committee of three or four of his Brethren, that were at hand, immediately to peruse the same, and then, according to the ancient Custom of this City, to give such Orders about that Affair as should appear necessary. Whereupon the said Master Jelis answered, that he could not deliver his said Letters to be perused among a few of them, in such a manner, but desired that the whole Government, and all the most considerable Persons of the Town, might be called together, and that he might deliver the said Letters in their presence. Thus the aforesaid Burgomaster observed from his Words and Actions, that these Letters concerned the afore-mentioned Fryers, who had insinuated themselves into the City in so strange a manner, and had procured a Settlement, from whence, God help us! great Dissentions arise, partly among the Magistrates, and partly among the Commonalty; and he the said Burgomaster suspected, that the calling together all those Persons as was desired, might occasion yet greater Mischief. Wherefore the said Burgomaster (that he might satisfie the Duke, and obey his Letters) according to the Privileges and Custom of this City, called together the standing Magistrates; that is to say, the four Burgomasters and six Aldermen (the seventh being out of Town) and then sent for Master Jelis, and acquainted him, that the said Magistrates were assembled and sitting, with full power not only to receive his Letters, but to bear other Burdens relating to the City, which might be much more insupportable than those Letters: Wherefore, if he would deliver his Letters, they were ready to receive them in a friendly manner, and to act therein according to their Duty. When Master Jelis understood that, he answered, That he was not like those Messengers or Post-men, whose Business only was to deliver their Letters, but repeated it several times, that he was a Privy-Counsellor of our gracious Sovereign the Duke, as also Counsellor of our gracious Prince Charles; that he could Write and Read, which was more than all Messengers could do: He bid them look upon the Superscription of the said Letters, which were directed to the Scout, Burgomasters, Aldermen, and to all the Companies and chief Inhabitants of the City, and therefore he would see them altogether, and have them called over by Christian and Sirname, before he would deliver his Letters. He insisting upon this, and we fearing that this manner of convening all the People, might cause more strife and confusion, declared to him, that we durst not do it, but besought him to deliver the Letters, &c. He again refused, unless we would say, that we were all the Persons to whom the said Letters were directed, and give him ample Testimonials of it. This we looked upon to be treacherous dealing, and projected to involve us in new troubles: we therefore answered, we could certifie no such thing, since our Scout, to whom the Letters were likewise directed, was out of Town, and at the Hague: But that he might have no pretence of complaining, we desired him to stay till he returned, and then we would consider again of this matter, in case he desired it. Hereupon Master Jelis took his leave of us, and never desired any thing more of us after that time. But he stayed in the City above four or five days, caballing and meeting privately with the said Fryers, and daily haunting their Sermons, where many factious and strange expressions were used to exasperate the People, from whom they exacted certain promises before a Crucifix, which Brugman drew out of his sleeve, that they would keep the said Fryers in the City till death: These promises were made in the presence of the said Master Jelis. And although it is credibly reported, that the said Brugman preached daily in the House of the said Fryers, during the Octave of St. Francis, made sad faces in his Sermons, proposed strange Questions, and answered them himself, in order to stir up the passions of the Common people, and to terrifie them; yet, since we neither were present, nor heard these things ourselves, we would not testifie the same; but we have earnestly requested the Reverend Provisor, and the Dean of Waterland and Amsteland, that they would publickly, by their Letters, witness and certifie these things, to the end, that all and every

An° Dom. 1462.

An° Dom. 1462. one may know how these Fryers and their Adherents have carried themselves in direct opposition to the Rights and Privileges formerly granted the said City of Amsterdam by Duke William; which Privileges run thus:

THAT henceforward there shall be no more Cloisters or Religious Houses founded, nor the number of Ecclesiasticks increased; nor shall there be sold, given, or bequeathed any more Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments for the like purposes, except only to Parish-Churches and Hospitals, within our City of *Amsterdam*, or Liberties thereof.

Given in our City of *Midelburg*, 4 *Nov.* 1411.

In opposition to which Privilege, the said Fryers have presumed to possess themselves of a House and Lands (since Whitsuntide and no longer) within the said City of Amsterdam; which they pretend was a promise made to them, in order to found a Monastery there, and to continue therein till death. This whole Matter has past as it is here related; in Testimony whereof we have hereunto annexed the City-Seal.

Given the 20th of *October*, 1462.

The Certificate which the Provisor and Dean of *Amsteland* sign'd at the request of the Magistrates, relating to this affair of *Brugman*, and representing the natural picture of this unpolished age, runs thus *verbatim:*

A Declaration of the Magistrates of Amsterdam *about the said* Brugman, *&c.*

WE the Provisor and Dean of Amsteland, Waterland, *and* Zeevank, *Do by these Presents make known to all men; That whereas not long since the Friers (so called) of the Observants, did celebrate the Octaves of St.* Francis *within the City of* Amsterdam, *it has so happened, that one of the said Observants, named* Brugman, *has presumed without leave of the Parish-Priest, and against the Privileges of the City, to preach strange and seditious things before the People, every day of the said Octaves; and without any regard to the subject of his Text; and instead of instilling good Doctrines into the minds of the People, has rather endeavoured to excite Tumults and Riots against the Government, and to create discord between the Magistrates and the People. And the said* Brugman *on one of the days of the said Octave, in the middle of his Sermon produced a Paper, in which were contained Questions and Answers to himself, tending to his own commendation, and amongst others, the following expressions:* O *Brugman, Brugman!* what a sad Wretch hast thou been? Thou wast wont to go with long Knives, and help to maintain Brothel-houses. Tell me, *Brugman*, to what end art thou now come? to maintain the same? I trow not: Thou art now come to root them out, if so be, God help us! no body else will undertake it. *Brugman*, art thou come to bargain for the Office of Scout, or to buy a Benefice? No certainly, thou wilt not be guilty of Simony; thou art only come to converse with the poor rejected Cowls. *Brugman*, is thy design to destroy or ruin the first Cloister, and all the other Cloisters or Monasteries? I trow, not. *Brugman* will leave the Wool upon the Sheep's Back, and hear Confession for God's sake, without Money. *Brugman*, wilt thou run away from those that are visited with the Plague, as some have done? I trow, not: Thou wilt always stay by them, whether they be rich or poor; thou wilt lay thy mouth upon their mouths, and not forsake them to the death. *These and many more such strange Questions tending to seduce the People, and prejudicial to the Rights of this City, as well as to the Parish-Priests, did this Man propose; but it would be too tedious to relate them all. And at last he pulled a Crucifix out of his Sleeve, which he lifted up on high, shewing it to the People that were met together in great numbers, and spake openly in the following manner:* Good People, ye have heard the Reasons why I and my poor innocent Brethren would gladly live among you, and be possest of a poor Cloister, namely, to show you all the way to everlasting Life, and to assist you therein. But since there be some who would fain hinder it if they could, tho', God be thanked, they cannot, ye shall do well to pray devoutly for them, that they may desist from their evil purposes. And therefore my dear Friends in Christ, as we are resolved to continue here, and as we shall stand in

need of your aſſiſtance, in order to attain our ends, I therefore beſeech you by that Crucified God after whom this Image is made, that all of you who will ſtand by, and not forſake us, [1] lift up your hands. *Whereupon many hands being lifed up, and ſome of the Men who ſat near the Pulpit ſaying*; Sir, we will ſtand by you to the death: Brugman *made anſwer*; That he would venture his old Neck for the Cauſe. *Theſe and ſuch like expreſſions were then uſed, which ought by no means to be ſuffered in a good City, where peace and quiet is neceſſary*; *and it is not doubted but that Maſter* Jelis Krabeliin *was preſent at this lifting up of hands, and at the making theſe unlawful promiſes: And it is reported by many, that he concerted this buſineſs, to the end, that he might ſee and hear the inclinations of the people towards the ſaid Obſervant Friers, that ſo he might teſtifie of the ſame in time and place. And foraſmuch as we the Proviſor and Dean, do look upon it to be our bounden duty, to have an eye upon the exacting all ſuch unuſual kinds of promiſes and engagements from the People, which might tend to the ruin of the Pariſh-Prieſts, to ſay nothing of the City it ſelf, where, if they ſhould go on after this manner, we ſhould fall into utter Confuſion and Diſorder: And ſince it is credibly reported, that every tittle of this Charge is true, whereof we ourſelves have ſeen and heard the moſt part*; *therefore to the end we may regularly certifie the ſame, according to the Forms of Law, we have ſummoned before us two worthy and reverend Prieſts, namely, Mr.* Bartholomew Peterſon, *and Mr.* Hilbrant Willemſon, *Natives of this City of* Amſterdam, *who laying their hands upon their breaſts, and giving their ſolemn Oath according to Law, openly declared before us, that they were then preſent when* Brugman *queſtioned and anſwered himſelf in the manner abovementioned, and lifted up the Crucifix on high, and required a promiſe of the People, which ſome of them made in theſe words*; That they would ſtand by him to the death. *And the ſaid* Peterſon *and* Willemſon *farther depoſed, That they believed the ſaid Maſter* Jelis *and ſome others of the Court of* Holland *were then preſent. And foraſmuch as it is but juſt and equitable that the Truth be teſtified in all righteous matters*; *and ſince all has happened as has been related, we have thought, fit, at the requeſt of the Burgomaſters, Aldermen and Council of* Amſterdam, *to certify the ſame by this our Letter annex'd to theirs, both of them being ſealed with our reſpective Seals.*

Given this 23d day of *October*, 1462.

An° Dom 1462.

Whether any puniſhment was inflicted on the ſaid *Brugman* for this his ſeditious Sermon, does not appear; but it is certain, he did not die at *Amſterdam* [2]; for we find he died at *Nimeguen* in the year 1473. [3] But againſt this *Brugman* and his irregular behaviour, we may oppoſe *Thomas Hamerken van Kempen*, who was his Contemporary, and who by his Life and Works has ſhown, that ſomething good may proceed from Monkery, and even excluſive of the Society of *St. Francis*. This man was a Regular Canon of *St. Auſtin*, belonging to the Monaſtery of *St. Agnes-berg* near *Swol*, under the Chapter of *Windeſheim*. [4] His daily ſaying was; *I ſought Reſt every where, but found it no where, ſave in Books and Solitude*. He left a Book behind him of great value, full of arguments and exhortations to all virtues internal and external; to reading the Holy Scriptures, Repentance, Self-denial, Forſaking the world, Humility, Patience, Acknowledgment of God's Goodneſs, and all other good Works of Piety and Charity. Some are of opinion, that by that Book of his, *De Imitatione Chriſti*, he endeavoured to reduce the Clergy, who were fallen into many errors in Practice and Doctrine, to the true knowledge of Spiritual things, and to a better Life, which is the beſt kind of *Reformation*. After he had lived 71 years in a Monaſtery, and attained to the age of 92, he died on the 24th of *July*, in the year 1471.

Thomas à Kempis, *his Character and Works.*

About four years before the death of *Kempis*, on *Simon* and *Jude*'s day, was born that great miracle of Wit and Learning, *Deſiderius Eraſmus*, at *Rotterdam*, (his name in our Mother Tongue was *Gerrit Gerritſon*) [5] *who has ſo well ſhown us the way to a true Reformation*, (I deſcribe him in the words of that Great Man of *Delf*, that was afterwards ſo like him in many things, that fell ſhort of him in very

1467. *The Birth of* Eraſmus *of* Rotterdam.

[1] *As to this kind of Preaching, ſee* Journal du Regne de Henri III. *p.* 120.
[2] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. *p.* 462.
[3] Bellarm. de Script. Eccl. *p.* 224, 235. Val. Andr. ib. *p.* 739. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Latin. *p.* 806.
[4] Vita Th. Kemp. ab Herib. Roſweiid edit.
[5] Grotius *in a Letter to* Uitenbogaert. 26. 1632.

Anº. Dom. 1467. *His Character by* Grotius.

very few, and in ſome exceeded him) [1] *never ſuffering himſelf to be enſlaved by diſputable queſtions, nor by the ceremonies of either Party. We* Hollanders *can never ſufficiently thank this Man; and for my own part, I think my ſelf happy, that at this diſtance I can in ſome meaſure comprehend his virtues.*

1467. *The Death of* Philip *of* Burgundy.

Philip Duke of *Burgundy*, ſurnamed the *Good*, who by the help of the (ſo called) [2] *Kabbeljaw* Faction, had thruſt himſelf, by force, into the Inheritance of [3] his Niece *Jacoba*, the lawful Counteſs of *Holland*, [4] in her life-time, [5] died in the ſame year.

Thus the Earldom of *Holland* and *Zeland*, and other Territories, by the extinction of the ancient Counts in [6] *John* I. [7] paſſing thro' the Houſes of *Hainault* and *Bavaria*, [8] centered all in *Charles the Bold*, the only Son of *Philip*. The ſaid *Charles* did not only merit that epithet by the Wars he made, but alſo by his couragious Behaviour againſt the Clergy. His Treaſury having been exhauſted by War, and his Subjects impoveriſhed by numerous Taxes, he ſought for money where it was, namely, among the Eccleſiaſticks. He ſent his Letters Patent, dated *September* 1474, throughout *Holland* and *Zeland*, to all the Abbots and Abbeſſes, Provoſts, Deans, Priors and Prioreſſes, and other Spiritual perſons; to all Cloiſters, Chapters, Churches, Chapels, Hoſpitals and Almſhouſes, and commanded, that they ſhould return an account in writing of all their Goods, Lands, Rents, Tythes, Rights and Privileges which they had been poſſeſſed of in ſixty years laſt paſt; and to deliver the ſame to ſuch as he ſhould impower to demand it of them. Some obeyed, but the moſt part refuſed, and held a General Diet on the 5th of *January* of the following year, in the Monaſtery of St. *Jerome* near *Leyden*, where it was unanimouſly concluded neither to pay, nor conſent to any Taxations. Meaſures were taken to compel them. They appealed to the Parliament of *Mechlen*, or, if that were not allowed, to the Pope. To induce them to ſubmit, the Clergy of *Brabant* were brought to pay by *Namptization*, or Free Gift; thoſe of *Zeland* were for the moſt part drawn in after the ſame manner: but they of *Holland* having bound themſelves by mutual promiſes to maintain their Rights, would not lend an ear to ſuch a propoſal. For which cauſe they were firſt ſummoned by Maſter *Anthony Hanneron*, the Dean of St. *Dona* at *Bruges* (whom the Duke had ſent to demand the Tax) to the *Hague*, and afterwards to *Woerden*. They appeared at the *Hague*, but would agree to nothing: They delivered alſo in writing, the Reaſons of their refuſal, ſupported with innumerable arguments drawn from the Canon and Civil Law. But upon their declining to appear at *Woerden*, for fear of being detained in the Caſtle, and only ſending a Letter, *Hanneron* cited them before [9] Biſhop *David* of *Utrecht*, who was Baſtard-Brother of Duke *Charles*, at *Wiik-te-Duurſtede*, in order to awe them by the Epiſcopal Authority. The Reaſons of both Parties were there heard, but nothing prevail'd: Whereupon *Arthur* of *Bourbon*, the Pope's Protonotary and Paſtor of *Gouda*, who was come to ſecond the Dean *Hanneron*, ſpake thus to the Clergy:

1474. *Duke* Charles *his Son endeavours to raiſe Taxes from among the Clergy.*

1475. *Some of whom refuſe to comply.*

Antony Hanneron, *ſent into* Holland *to quicken the Tax on the Clergy.*

[10] *Gentlemen, I would not have you be angry at, or ſuſpect Maſter* Anthony, *who does much leſs than he is commanded: For I am afraid, that in caſe you do not hearken to him, there will be ſent into this Country, Officers or Executioners, who will make no difference between the Church and the Stable, between the Chalice and the Pot, the Patin and the Platter; for ſo alas it has happened in* Flanders. *Hanneron* added; *Neither Appeals nor Privilege, nor Namptization, nor Pope, nor Emperor, will be able to help you: whatever you or the Law may alledge to the contrary, nothing leſs than the value of two or three years income ſhall excuſe you; even tho' you ſhould be obliged to ſell all the Goods and Ornaments of your Churches.*

The Deputies of the Clergy made anſwer, That they were not inſtructed to ſay any thing to it. After this they were again cited to *Schoonhoven*, whither they likewiſe ſent a Paper, in which they plainly ſignified, that they would give nothing. Then were they called before the Parliament of *Mechlen*, but they refuſed to appear there alſo, ſending Letters which imported, that they could not, without violating

†

[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] Scriv. Old Bat. *p.* 405. Buch. ad Hed & Eraſm. Epiſt. 583. *concerning the two Factions, nicknamed* Kabbeljaw *and* Hoecks. Vid. *Chron. of* Holland, *p.* 241. Scriv. ib. 139. Heemsk. Bat. Arcad. *p.* 335. Uitenb. *Church Hiſt. p.* 820. Ned. Hiſt. 244. Boxh. Hiſt. Univ. 937, &c.

[6] [7] [8] *Chron. of* Holland. Diviſ. XXI. *p.* 194. & Diviſ. XXX. Old Batav. *p.* 286, &c. Phil. de Commin. Lib. I. &c.

[9] Hed. Hiſt. *p.* 291. *Chron. of* Holland, *Chap.* XXIV. Bat. Arcad. *p.* 362, &c.

[10] *Chron. of* Holland, *p.* 401.

lating their Conſciences, ſubmit their Eſtates to this burthen; that neither the Emperor, nor any other Prince or worldly Potentate had any right to tax them without the conſent of the Pope, to whom they moreover appealed. An° Dom. 1475.

Hereupon *John de Leeuw*, a Counſellor of the Parliament, was ſent into *Holland*. For which reaſon ſeveral Priors and other Eccleſiaſtical perſons fled; three were apprehended, and ſix were again cited to *Mechlen*, and *de Leeuw* notified to them the following Sentence: *All thoſe Church-men that writ laſt to the Parliament, have forfeited Life and Goods, foraſmuch as they have deſpiſed and diſhonoured the Parliament by appealing to the Court of* Rome, *and by putting the word* Greeting *at the head of their Letter, it not being lawful for Subjects to uſe ſuch an expreſſion to their Sovereigns; and therefore, it was a token of diſobedience.* At *Delft* he obliged the Abbeſs of the Nuns of St. *Agatha* to ſurrender all the Writings and Deeds of their Houſes and Lands: And, the more to terrifie the reſt of the Clergy, thoſe three that had been ſeized, were carried privately to *Mechlen*, whither he likewiſe cited others. Upon which they deſired, and obtained ſome delay; and in the mean while Biſhop *David* prevailed ſo far with them, as to induce them to recede from their Appeal to the Pope. But that this delay was no diſcharge, they found by the coming of *John van Boſhuiſen* the Duke's Chamberlain. This Gentleman being a Soldier and a Knight, was ſurnamed the *White Hawk:* He ſummoned them all to the *Hague* in *Lent*, 1476; where he hectored and thundered at them moſt terribly: *Let the Clergy of* Holland, cried he, *take care what they do in theſe Matters, of which they have had time enough to conſider; for I have now authority, as well as courage and inclination, to ſeize and impriſon all ſuch as ſhall refuſe to pay the Tax; and don't fancy that any one of you all ſhall ſtand out againſt the Duke, and ſhelter your ſelves behind I know not what Rights and Privileges; for there is neither Wiſdom nor Power againſt him; for depend upon it, I ſhall not ſcruple to make uſe of that authority wherewith he has intruſted me, to compel you to it, by ſuch ways and means as you have never yet ſeen or heard of.* At the ſame time he acquainted them with the methods he had formerly uſed againſt the Clergy in many places, concluding; [1] *None of you that are refractory ſhall fare any better.*

John de Leeuw *ſent again on the ſame Errand. He impriſons ſome of the Clergy, and cites others to* Mechlen.

1476. John van Baſhuiſen *the Duke's Chamberlain makes uſe of Threats to raiſe the ſaid Taxes.*

Theſe threats induced the Clergy of the *Hague* and *Delft*, and their Dependencies, to conſent to the Tax, and the three that had been impriſoned were diſcharged. Afterwards the ſame Tax was agreed to by ſeveral others of the Clergy, on condition that it might be paid at twice; one half on St. *John*'s day in Summer, and t'other in Winter, about *Chriſtmas*. However, many of the Clergy about *Leyden*, *Harlem*, *Amſterdam*, and in *Weſt-Freeſland*, held out a while, and ſome to the very laſt. Some of thoſe that had ſtipulated as above, made their firſt payments, to which, that he might compel the reſt, *Boſhuiſen* was obliged to drive the Cattle of the Monks at *Lopſen*, near *Leyden*, out of their Meadows; and likewiſe laid his hands upon other Goods of their Monaſtery, and ſold them openly to raiſe the Tax. For which purpoſe, he broke open the gates and doors of the Regular Clergy at *Leyderdorp*. [2] It is related of him, that at a certain time, having ſeized upon the ſilver Veſſels, and other conſecrated things of value, in a certain Cloiſter of Regulars, he ſpake thus to the Monks: *I do this by order of* my *Lord*; and, pointing to a Crucifix that hung againſt the Wall, he added, *There is* your *Lord too, let him help you on this occaſion.*

Being thus preſt, the moſt part of the Clergy found it neceſſary to come to an agreement with the Tax-gatherers. They promiſed to anſwer all that was demanded of them, at two payments; the firſt at *Michaelmas*, and the ſecond at *Chriſtmas*. Yet the money not being ready at the laſt term of payment, the Receivers gave them time till [3] *Twelfth-tide*; but before any thing was done againſt thoſe that were in arrear, [4] news came of the defeat and death of the Duke, which put a ſtop to this Tax. The Clergy called it an introducing of Sacrilege, and complained of the force and violence uſed againſt them on this occaſion. Others were of opinion, that this their oppoſition ſavoured of Sedition and Rebellion, ſince the Government and Country could not be defended without War, nor War ſupported without an Army, nor an Army without Taxes. Now it is not on the Poor, but the Rich

1477. *The Death of the Duke puts a ſtop to the Tax.*

[1] Chron. *of* Holland, *p.* 402.
[2] Heid. Hiſt. *p.* 293.
[3] *It is callid Thirteen-tide in the Original. See* Scriv. Old. Batav. *p.* 419.
[4] *The 5th of* Jan. ib. *p.* 412, &c. *Chron. of* Holl. *Chap.* 92.

Anº Dom. 1477.

Rich that Taxes are to be raiſed, and conſequently on the Clergy, who in thoſe Times were the richeſt of all, and therefore did very unreaſonably, and with an ill grace, plead thoſe Laws which only freed them from burdens during their poverty. But now the times were well mended with them. This was alſo the ſenſe of the Court of *Holland* on another occaſion, with reſpect to the five Cloiſters of *Hoorn*: [1] *That ſince they were likewiſe defended by the Arms of the Community, it was but juſt they ſhould bear their Quota in the common Burden and Expences.* Theſe things affected the *Goods* of the Church, and that which follows, the *Doctrine.*

Dr. Weſſel *of* Groninghen *oppoſes the Papacy.*

There flouriſhed about this time, one Doctor *Weſſel Hermanſon Grandsfort* of *Groninghen*, who by reaſon of his great knowledge in the three learned Languages, and skill in divine and human Sciences, did ſo far exceed others in thoſe ignorant Ages, as to merit the title of *Lux Mundi.* He was very zealous in promoting the *Hebrew* Language: [2] For which purpoſe having made a Journey to *Rome*, he became ſo acceptable to Pope *Nicolas*, that he offered him great Preſents and Employments to ſtay there; but the ſaid Doctor refuſing all, made this only requeſt to his Holineſs, That he might be allowed to take out of the Vatican Library, and carry along with him to *Holland*, a certain Manuſcript *Hebrew* Bible. The oppoſition he made afterwards to the abuſes of the Papacy, procured him the name of *Magiſter Contradictionis.* " [3] He ſpoke and writ againſt the Maſs, Indulgences, praying for the Dead, and the " Supremacy of the Pope. He maintained, that Popes might err, and that when " they did err, they ought to be oppoſed: That their Decrees did not bind otherwiſe, nor farther than as they were conſiſtent with the word of God: That the " Pope could not command any thing upon pain of deadly ſin, unleſs God had commanded the ſame before: That people ought to value more the Opinion, yea, even " the Excommunication of a good Man, than of the Pope himſelf; as formerly many " had more regard for [4] St. *Bernard*, than for Pope *Eugenius*; and [5] the Council " of *Conſtance* for *John Gerſon*, than for Pope *John* XXIII. That the Hearers could and ought to judge of the Doctrine of their Teachers, and ſhould not take " every thing from them ſo implicitly and upon truſt, without diſcernment; and " that the Faithful were not bound to believe what is not contained in the Rule of " Faith. This he maintained as a Fundamental of Religion. He ſpake of the Maſs, " as of a bare Communion. As for Indulgences, he taught, that our Sins being forgiven, the puniſhment of them was remitted at the ſame time; and that the Holy

Ch. i. *ver.* 5, &c.

" Spirit of God had eſtabliſhed, by *Peter*, the only effectual Bull of Indulgence, where- " by the entrance into God's Kingdom is ſo richly manifeſted in the ſecond Epiſtle of " that Apoſtle: *Add to your Faith, Virtue*; *and to Virtue, Knowledge*; *and to* " *Knowledge, Temperance*; *and to Temperance, Patience*; *and to Patience, Godli-* " *neſs*; *and to Godlineſs, Brotherly Kindneſs*; *and to Brotherly Kindneſs, Charity.* " *For if theſe things be in you, an entrance ſhall be miniſtred unto you abundantly,* " *into the everlaſting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.*" He was likewiſe of opinion, " That the Weak, who could not live chaſt without Marriage, " might break their Vow of *Celibacy.*

Theſe free Speeches, joined with his great Parts, awakened the hatred and envy of the Clergy againſt him: They obliged him to quit the Univerſity of *Paris*, where he had taught ſome time, and to betake himſelf to the practice of Phyſick. They took a deal of pains to make a Heretick of him. Maſter *Engelbrecht* of *Leyden*, and *Jacob Hoek*, Dean of *Naldwick*, diſputed againſt him upon the Doctrines of Purgatory, Indulgences, *&c.* He had notice given him in the year 1497, that the Inquiſitor ([6] who had cauſed his friend Dr. *John van Weſſel* to be burnt at *Mentz*, for preaching againſt the Papacy) aimed at his Life, and intended to ſteer his courſe that way, in order to examine him and bring him before the Eccleſiaſtical Tribunal. However, by God's wonderful Providence, he ſurmounted the danger. Some think, that being warned and afrighted by the ill-conduct and fate of his ſaid Friend, who, as he thought, had too raſhly and unſeaſonably attacked the Clergy and their Errors from the

[1] Velii's *Chron. of* Holl. *p.* 123.
[2] Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg. 349.
[3] Cat. Teſt. Ver. *p.* 885. Vign 619. Morn. f. 620. Ubb. Emm. Hiſt. Friſ. *p.* 456. Chemnit. Ex. Con. Trid. *p.* 742. Pont. Hiſt. Amſt. *p.* 236. Geſner. Bibliot. 628. Val. And. ib. *p.* 750. Bert. de Urb. Germ. 137.
[4] Cat. Teſt. Verit. *p.* 438. Morn. 313, &c. Vign. 367, &c. M. A. de Dom. de Rep. Eccleſ. *p.* 273, &c. Hiſt. Eccl. Madg. Col. 1632, &c.
[5] Cat. Teſt. *p.* 804. Geſn. Bib. *p.* 420. Ind. Chron. Buchaceri, *p.* 382. M. A. de Dom. ib. *p.* 621. Eraſ. Epiſt. *p.* 1154.
[6] Cat. Teſt. Ver. *p.* 884. Vign. *p.* 616. Morn. f. 619, &c. Hiſt. Mart. f. 81. Chemnit. Conc. Trid. *p.* 742. Geſn. Bib 462.

the Pulpit, he grew more moderate, and acted with greater caution afterwards. 1 *Erasmus* also declares of him, for his honour, that he proposed his Doctrine with a more Christian Temper than *Luther* did his afterwards. 2 He said, when he was grown very old, to *John Ostendorp*, since one of the Canons of St. *Levinus*'s Church at *Deventer*, *You diligent young Man, you shall live to see the day, when the Doctrines of these disputing Doctors,* 3 Thomas, 4 Bonaventura, *and others of the same sort, will be exploded by all truly Christian Divines.* An° Dom. 1477.

To this good old Man, who died at *Groninghen* in the year 1489, we shall add 5 the learned *Rudolphus Agricola*, his famous Contemporary, worthy Countryman, and familiar Friend. *Josquiin van Groninghen* used to say (6 according to *Melanchon*) that when he was a young Lad, he had seen those two Friends sighing and lamenting together, over the Corruptions of the Church. He heard them also declaiming against the Profanation of the Eucharist in the Mass, the Celibacy of Priests, the extolling human Works and Traditions. 7 Nevertheless, *Agricola* was interred in a Frier's habit; whether it was that he had desired the same by his last Will and Testament, or whether those who had the care of his Funeral, habited him as they thought fit. He died at *Heidelberg*, the 28th of *October*, in the year 1485, and in the forty second of his Age. Rudolphus Agricola *does likewise bemoan the Corruption of the Church.*

Among *Wessel*'s Friends is likewise counted 8 *John* of *Amsterdam*, his grateful Disciple, who vindicated his Master after his death, by a long Letter, on account of his dispute with Master *Engelbrecht* of *Leyden*, concerning the Doctrines of Purgatory, Indulgences, and the like. John *of* Amsterdam *vindicates* Wessel.

About the same time *John van Goch*, surnamed *Pupper*, a Priest, and Superiour of the Nunnery of *Thabor* at *Mechlen*, preached against the Doctrines of the Papacy. He lived, as 9 *Valerius Andreas*, a Popish Writer, affirms, with *Wessel* of *Groninghen*, and entertained the same opinions, as his Writings testifie. He had the courage to assert, "That 10 the Writings of *Thomas*, 11 *Albertus*, and other School-"men, did more obscure and perplex, than illustrate the Truth: That we ought to "follow only the Holy Scriptures, and to make them the Touchstone of all other "Writers, not even excepting the Decrees of Popes and Councils. The making "Vows of things unrequired, was rejected by him, as unprofitable to godliness, "and inconsistent with Christian liberty. He condemned the chimeral Doctrine of "*Supererrogation*. He complained, that Christianity was degenerated into Judaism "and Pharisaism. He maintained, that we are only justified by Faith and the Me-"rits of Christ; but he subjoined, that godly men did really and actually continue "in sin, but that it was not imputed to them, but forgiven for Christ's sake." This was going too far, as some thought, if he meant those Sins in which men wilfully persisted, and not those infirmities against which they daily strove. 12 There are but few of his Writings published, and those maimed and imperfect. 13 However, all of them, as well as the Books of *Wessel*, have been since prohibited by the Council of *Trent*. John van Goch *writes against Popery.*

There was likewise at *Groninghen* at the same time, a very ancient Frier 14 named *Tileman*, who made answer to a certain Burgher, *John Ludeck*, that complained to him in Confession, that his mind had been perplexed with I know not what human inventions: "That a great deal might be said upon that head, but no body durst do "it, for those who spake truth, ran great risques; yet however he was of the fol-"lowing opinion concerning the same, to wit, **That Christ died for us, and is our only Saviour, on whom we are to rely; that all other matters, as Indulgences and the like, are nothing but pure fiction and banter, and therefore not to be regarded.** Tileman *a Monk of* Groninghen *rejects Indulgences.*

15 The untimely death of Princess *Mary* of *Burgundy*, only Daughter of *Charles*

1 Tom IX. *p.* 1332. Epist. *p.* 2134. d.
2 Car. Test. *p.* 887. Morn. f. 624. b.
3 Thomas Aquinas. Vid. Bellarm. de Script. Eccles. *p.* 200. Gesn. Bibl. *p.* 615. Vign. *p.* 491, &c. Hist. Eccl. Magd. Col. 1193. Erasm. Epist. *p.* 706. Sleid. Lib. VII.
4 Bel. ib. 148. Hist. Magd. 3201. Vign. ib. 491, &c.
5 Erasm. Adag. *p.* 145. Epist. 1985. Ubb. Emm. 457. Bert. de Urb. Germ. *p.* 236. Val. Andr. 704.
6 In Orat. de Vita R. Agric. Cat. Test. 888. Morn. f. 120.
7 Val. And. ibid. *p.* 704. Bert ib. *p.* 137. *See about this Superstition,* Erasm. Colloq de Exeq. Seraph.
8 Pont. Hist. *p.* 236.
9 In Bib. Belg. *p.* 490.
10 Cat. Test. 887. Vign. *p.* 613. Morn. f. 520.
11 Albertus Magnus, *the Master of* Thomas Aquinas. Vid. Bellarm de Script. Eccl. *p.* 198. Gesn. Bib. *p.* 18. Vign. *p.* 495, &c. Cat. Test. *p.* 663. Hospin. de Templ. Lib. III. Cap. V. Magd. Cent. Col. 1071.
12 Cat. Test. ib. Gesn. ib. f. 422.
13 Val. And. ib. *p.* 490, 750. *They were also forbid before in several Placard-Books.* Vid. *that of* Flanders, *p.* 108, 141, &c.
14 Cat. Test. 903.
15 *Chron. of* Holl. *Chap.* XLI. Old. Bat. 423. Bat. Arcad. 905.

the Bold, married to *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, [1] afterwards Emperor of *Germany*, and the minority of their Son *Philip*, brought the *Low-Countries* under the Regency of the ſaid *Maximilian*, in the year 1483. During his Government, [2] the *Franciſcan* Friers of *Bruges* were expelled their Monaſtery, on account of the horrible ſin of Sodomy.

An° Dom. 1483.

Maximilian *Emperor governs the* Netherlands *in the Minority of his Son* Philip.

In the year 1486, there was a Placard iſſued in the Name of *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, and *Philip*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, bearing date the 24th of *Auguſt*, at *Bruges*; [3] whereby **all perſons, being Laymen, were ſtrictly prohibited to go to Law, about Civil or Temporal matters, before the ſpiritual Judges of the Biſhops Courts** at Terouanne, Cambray and Utrecht; and wherein it was alledged, **that though of right they had no manner of jurisdiction in Temporal affairs, yet, on account of the non-appearance of the perſons that were ſummoned or cited before them, they were wont to proceed againſt them by Excommunication, or other cenſures, even on the moſt trifling occaſions, to the utter ruin and deſtruction of the Subject. By which means ſome had been forced to come to a prejudicial agreement with their Adverſaries, that they might avoid the trouble and charge of travelling or ſending to the ſaid Courts, ſome of which were ſix, eight, ten, or more Leagues out of** Flanders; **ſome alſo, being unable to give ſatisfaction, had died Excommunicate, to the great danger of their Souls. They therefore that cited any one before other than the uſual Tribunal, for Civil matters, ſhould for each ſuch offence forfeit the value of ſixty pounds, or** Livres **of** Paris, **in** Flemiſh **Money.**

1486. *The Monks of* Bruges *are driven out of their Convent for* Sodomy.

A Placard againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, &c.

Count *Engelbrecht* of *Naſſaw*, who acted as Stadtholder-General of the King, and of his Son the Archduke, did likewiſe in the year 1493, by a Placard, **forbid the people of** Flanders **to receive or execute any Briefs, Mandates, Proviſions, Bulls or Commiſſions, that were ſent from any foreign parts, without Letters of Permiſſion of his Majeſty, or of the Council of** Flanders; **in order to prevent the Subjects from being called in the firſt inſtance, to any Courts of Juſtice out of their own Country.**

1493. *A Placard againſt executing the Pope's Bulls*, &c.

4 The year after, *Maximilian* put his Son *Philip*, then ſixteen years old, in poſſeſſion of the *Low-Countries*, which he had governed ſince the death of his Wife, and departed to *Germany*.

Philip married *Joan* of *Arragon*, the ſecond Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, in 1596; [5] who afterwards, by the death of her only Brother, Siſter and Mother, added *Caſtile* and other Kingdoms to the *Netherlands*, but to their prejudice; for the Union of theſe Nations, ſo unlike in Manners, Power, and Intereſts, tended to great diviſions, and produced afterwards that long War with *Spain*, that laſted eighty years, and had like to have ruined theſe Countries.

1496. Philip *marries* Joan *of* Arragon.

In the year 1497, there was another Placard iſſued in the name of *Philip*, whereby **the people of** Flanders **were forbidden to execute any Bulls or Proviſions of the Court of** Rome, **of what nature ſoever, without leave of the Sovereign; as alſo to ſue in the ſaid Court,** &c.

1497. *Another Placard againſt the Proviſions of the Court of* Rome.

In the ſame year the Archduke granted to the Town of *Horn* a Privilege of reſtraining their Regular Clergy from purchaſing any Lands within a League of the ſaid Town: [6] For the Monks of *Horn* had poſſeſſed themſelves by Gifts, Legacies, or Purchaſe, of near half the Lands belonging to that place; beſides what belonged to the Clergy of other parts, as appears by the Regiſters.

The Clergy of Horn *forbidden to purchaſe Land within a League of the Town.*

[1] Carion. 688. Boxh. Hiſt. Univ. *p.* 1032.
[2] Hooft. Ned. Hiſt. *p.* 969.
[3] *Placard Book of* Fland. *p.* 48, 49.
[4] Chron. *of* Holl. *p.* 447.
[5] Ib. *p.* 454, *&c.* Bat. Arcad. *p.* 907.
[6] Velij Chron. *of* Horn, *p.* 91.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION AND OTHER Eccleſiaſtical Tranſactions IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK II.

THE Year one thouſand five hundred, or the beginning of the XIVth Century, ſoon ſaw great alterations in the buſineſs of Religion. *Charles*, the Heir of theſe Provinces, born the 24th of *February*, in the year above-mentioned, [1] to whom the *Low-Country* Abbots made a Preſent of a fine Bible, with this Inſcription, SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES, upon the day of his Baptiſm; at the ſame time as his Father *Philip*, and others gave him likewiſe Gifts: This Prince, I ſay, lived at that happy Criſis, in which many were enlightened with the knowledge of that ſacred Book. *Anno Dom.* 1500. *The Birth of Arch-Duke* Charles *of* Auſtria.

The Papacy, which was now chiefly ſupported by Monkery, as Monkery itſelf was propagated by dull and ſtupid Ignorance, as well as by arbitrary Power; began to feel more violent ſhocks than formerly, thro' the Writings of ſeveral learned men, which were publiſhed in the world by the new Art of Printing, and flew about in great numbers: for whatever appeared in favour of Learning or Piety, was diametrically oppoſite to Monkery; [2] which bore a greater hatred to Letters and Sciences than to Witchcraft and Hereſie. *Popery attacked anew by the Learned.*

In every part of Chriſtendom there now aroſe men of knowledge and judgment, who with their tongues and pens made war againſt Papal corruptions, and prepared the way for a farther Reformation. The principal perſons who now ſet their hands

[1] Buchel. in Indice Chron. *p.* 449. [2] Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 278.

An° Dom. 1500. to this work were [1] *John Francis Picus Mirandula*, and [2] *Baptiſta Mantuanus*, Prior of the *Carmelites* in *Italy*. In *France* were [3] *James Almain*, [4] *Johannes Major*, [5] *James Faber* (or *le Fevre*) of *Stapel*, and [6] *Budæus*. In *Germany*, [7] *Bernard van Lublin*, [8] *Sebaſtian Brandt*, [9] *Ludolf Caſtrick*, [10] and *Conrad Celtes*. In *Holland* aroſe [11] *Eraſmus* of *Rotterdam*. This laſt, by the direction of his Guardians, was thruſt into a Cloiſter of Regulars, named *Emmaus*, or *Steen*, near *Gouda*, and drawn out again by the Biſhop of *Utrecht*, at the requeſt of *Henry van Bergen*, Biſhop of *Cambray*. After which he lived as a Canon Regular out of the Convent, in *Paris*, *Louvain*, *England*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, but moſtly at *Baſil* in *Swiſſerland*. [12] He publiſhed his Book of *Adages*, or Proverbs, in the year 1500, to the number of eighteen hundred, with their Explications: [13] In 1501, his Manual of the *Chriſtian Knight*: [14] In 1508, his *Praiſe of Folly*; [15] as alſo, his *Adages* much augmented: [16] In 1516, his *Latin Tranſlation* of the *New Teſtament*, with Notes for illuſtrating and explaining it; [17] ſuch as Pope *Leo* X. himſelf approved and commended. In ſome of theſe Books, and even in his *Annotations*, he lays open, and chaſtiſes with great liberty, the Lives and Doctrines of the Monks; their ſtupid Ignorance; their obſtinate Superſtition; their Luxury and Intemperance; their Ambition; their bloody Perſecutions; their Compulſion of Conſcience; and their maſſacring of Hereticks: He adhered nevertheleſs to the Church of *Rome*, which he thought might and ought to reform herſelf, when admoniſhed by him and others, without a Schiſm or Separation.

And particularly Eraſmus,

Who nevertheleſs continues in the Church of Rome.

But *Maximilian* the Emperor, obſerving how the Popes abuſed their power, was of opinion, that it would conduce very much to the good of Chriſtendom in general, and to the reformation of the abuſes crept into the Church, in caſe the Imperial and Papal authority were united; endeavouring thereby to ſet this triple Crown upon his own head: which did not ſeem ſo ſtrange an attempt or project to ſome, who were convinced that the Popes ſought to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſame double dignity: witneſs *Boniface* VIII. who once ſhewed himſelf to the people with a Sword by his ſide, and an Imperial Crown on his head, [18] crying, *I am both Pope and Emperor.*

The Emperor Maximilian *ſeeks to unite the Papal to the Imperial Crown.*

[19] The account we have of this deſign of *Maximilian*, is to be found in his own Letter, dated the 16th of *September*, 1511, and directed to Baron *Paul* of *Lichtenſtein* from *Breſcia*; of which the following is an Extract.

Truſty and Well-beloved;

WE doubt not but you remember what diſcourſe we formerly had with you concerning the cauſes and reaſons that induced us to aſpire to the Roman *Papacy, if it were in our power: For we know, and have learned by our own experience, and the nature of the thing is ſuch, that nothing can happen to us more advantagious or honourable, than to unite the ſaid Papacy, which properly belongs to us, to the holy* Roman *Empire. Foraſmuch then as Pope* Julius II. *fell not long ſince into a dangerous diſtemper, ſo that all the people of* Rome *ſuppoſed him to be dead (as it has been ſignified to you from our Court, and as you have been farther informed by our Chancellor of* Tyrol, Cyprianus Serentinus.) *We have therefore fully reſolved with our ſelves to purſue our ſaid deſign as far as poſſible, and to act and proceed in that matter with ſo much caution and diligence, that we may not ſeem to neglect the means of attaining to the ſaid Papacy: Wherefore we have propoſed the above-mentioned grounds and reaſons to* [20] *Cardinal* Hadrian, *who as you know, has long reſided with us in* Germany, *as Legate from the Pope; and he did not only approve the ſame, but adviſed and excited us to proceed in our deſign; being of opinion, that we ſhould not meet with much oppoſition from the Cardinals in effecting it, nor that it would coſt much pains; nay, he was ready to weep for joy, ſo much did he appear pleaſed with our project. Now, if the Pope ſhould die of this illneſs (which is very likely, ſince he has loſt all appetite to meat, and eats nothing but unripe fruits, drinking ſo much at the ſame time, that every body thinks his health utterly ruined) — in ſuch caſe we*

[1] Cat. Teſt. 893. Morn. f. 642. Vign. *p.* 623.
[2] Morn. 644. Cat. Teſt. 894.
[3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11] Cat. Teſt. 891, ad 910. Vign. 627, &c. Morn. 637, &c. Eraſm. Epiſt. 132.
[12 13 14 15 16 17] Bucholc. Ind. Chron. 450. Eraſm. Adag. 401. ejuſd. Op. 905, &c. Ibid. Epiſt. 1747, &c. P. Servit. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. 428. al. 384
[18] Paralip. Urſperſgenſ. Jo. Cuſpin. vita Alberti.
[19] Vid. Waremnal. de Erenberg. in Veriſimilib. de Regni Subſid. ac Onerib. Subdit. *p.* 19. Item Monita Polit. de Immenſ. Cur. Rom. Potentia. edit. Frankof. 1609 *p.* 13.
[20] *Since Pope* Hadrian VI.

we have given direction to [1] *the Biſhop of* Gurk *to repair to* Rome, *in order to watch over our affairs with regard to the recovery of the Papacy. And ſince, as you very well know, nothing is like to be effected without a conſiderable expence, we have thought it the beſt way, towards attaining our ends, to diſtribute among thoſe Cardinals, and leading men at* Rome, *whom we would gain over to us, the Sum of three hundred thouſand Ducats, which we will take up of the* [2] Fuggers, *and cauſe to be paid at* Rome *to their reſpective Agents*——

AN° DOM. 1500.

The reſt of the Letter mentioned what ſecurity he intended to give one of thoſe *Fuggers* for the aforeſaid Sum. But *Julius* lived on to the year 1513, and was then ſucceeded by Cardinal *John de Medicis*, afterwards called *Leo* X. ſo that the Emperor's project proved abortive.

[3] After this, in the year 1517, ſprung up *MARTIN LUTHER*, awakened and provoked at the abuſes of the Indulgences which Pope *Leo* cauſed to be preached, with promiſe of an entire forgiveneſs of all ſins, and gift of eternal life, on condition, that people paid the rates and prices annexed to every ſin. This kind of novelties practiſed in the Declaration of the Indulgences, together with the ſpending and gaming away the money thus raiſed at Dice, at Tick-Tack, or in Brothel-houſes and Taverns, moved *Luther*'s ſpleen. [4] At firſt he only declaimed againſt the abuſe, not intending to reject the Bulls of Indulgence wholly; [5] much leſs to ſet up for a Reformer of all the corruptions in Religion: [6] But afterwards exaſperated by the unſeaſonable Zeal of many of the Clergy, who would have made him paſs for a Heretick, he went on farther. At the beginning, all the world encouraged and joyned with him unanimouſly in his chaſtiſing Monkery; that is to ſay, not only the Common people, but even Princes, Divines, Biſhops, [7] ſome Cardinals alſo, and [8] Monks themſelves too: [9] yea, all ſuch as were Patrons of Learning in *Germany* and *Swiſſerland*, encouraged his deſign. *Eraſmus* too had a good opinion of *Luther*'s intentions, [10] believing that God had ſent him [11] to reform Mankind, and Churches and Schools in particular, which were entirely corrupted: [12] However, he then obſerved ſome things that diſpleaſed him, and of which he advertiſed *Luther*. [13] He ſaid to *Frederic*, Elector of *Saxony*, "That the Cauſe of *Luther* was invidious, ſince he at "once attacked the Bellies of the Monks, and the Diadem of the Pope:" Beſides, that he juſtly cenſured the Errors, and that the reformation of them was neceſſary for the Church; confeſſing that moſt of his Doctrines were true, [14] but wiſhing he had ſhewn a little more temper. *Eraſmus* likewiſe complained, that the Adverſaries of this zealous man had aſſaulted him more with invectives and reproaches than good arguments; that in hatred to his perſon they condemned what was true, perverted and miſ-interpreted what was right, and [15] made him paſs for a Heretick, for ſaying the ſame things which they allowed to have been pious and orthodox in St. *Bernard*, St. *Auſtin*, &c. [16] He added, "We ought not to pre-judge what we "have not read, nor conſidered, nor ſo much as underſtood." [17] He alſo endeavoured, as far as was in his power, to hinder *Luther* from being oppreſſed unheard, by a Faction of raging Zealots. [18] "Generous minds, *ſays he*, deſire to be "inſtructed, but not forced. Inſtruction is the work of Divines, Force of "Tyrants." [19] It grieved him that a man of ſuch fine Parts ſhould be rendered deſperate by the mad cries and bellowings of the Monks. [20] This was the reaſon that a ſmall Spark was blown into a mighty Fire; [21] ſince the more he (*Eraſmus*) endeavoured to pull him back, the more eagerly he went forward. [22] Thus our ſagacious *Hollander* ſaw, even at that diſtance, that this Work would break out in tumults and inſurrections; but he laid the chief blame at the door of the Clergy. "We [23] ſhould take notice, *added he*, of the "ſource or ſpring of this evil. The world was burthened with humane inven-"tions in the buſineſs of Religion, loaded with the opinions and doctrines of "the

1517. *The Riſe of* Luther.

Eraſmus's Opinion of Luther.

[1] Mat. Langius, *afterwards Cardinal and Biſhop of* Saltsburg.
[2] *Certain famous Bankers*, &c.
[3] Thuan. Hiſt. *p.* 34. Guicciard. Hiſt. Ital. Lib. XIII. n. 15. Serv. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. *p.* 4. Lang. Chron. Citiz. *p.* 896. Sleid. f. 214. Chemnitz. Ex. Conc. Trid. 744. Vign. 635. Bert. 308.
[4] Carion. 704. Melanc. vita Lutheri.
[5] Melanc. ib. Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 1073.
[6] [7] [8] [9] [20] [21] [22] [23] Eraſm. ib. 887, 941, 2044. *See the Letter* Eraſm. *writ to the Elector of* Sax. 14 April, 1519. *In* Luth. *Latin Works, f.* 222. Sleid. Bert. Carion, &c.
[14] Melanct. in vita Luth.
[15] [16] Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 585.
[17] Ibid. *p.* 652. [18] [19] Ibid. *p.* 594.
[20] Ibid. *p.* 1074. [21] [22] Ibid. 2044.
[23] Ibid. *p.* 586. & 585—

An° Dom. 1517. " the Schools, and oppreſſed with the tyranny of the Monks and begging Friers. " I do not condemn them all, but many of them are ſo mad, that for the ſake of " intereſt and rule, they hamper the Conſciences of men on purpoſe: laying aſide " *Chriſt* and Modeſty, they preach nothing but their own Innovations, and often- " times ſcandalous Doctrines. They ſpeak of Indulgences after ſuch a manner, as " is inſupportable even to the Laity. By theſe and ſuch like methods, the power " of the Goſpel is dwindled to nothing; and it was to be feared, that matters becom- " ing continually worſe, the little ſpark of Chriſtian piety, by which the ſtifled " ſpirit of Charity might be rekindled, would be entirely quenched: The chiefeſt " parts of Religion were loſt in Ceremonies more than *Judaical:* Good men la- " mented and wept for theſe things; and even Divines, who were not Monks, ac- " knowledged the truth of them, as alſo ſome of the Monks in their private con- " verſations. Theſe things, I believe, firſt put *Luther* upon the dangerous work of " oppoſing ſome of the moſt intolerable and ſhameleſs abuſes. For what can we " think otherwiſe of a man, who neither aims at worldly honour nor riches? I " do not enter now into the conſideration of thoſe Articles they charge him with, " but only of the manner and occaſion. *Luther* had the boldneſs to call in queſtion " the Good of Indulgences; but others had firſt ſpoken too much and too boldly of " them. *Luther* has dared to ſpeak indecently of the Power of the Pope of *Rome*; " but others had firſt exalted it too indecently; and in particular three preaching " Friers, *Alvarus*, [1] *Sylveſter*, and the [2] Cardinal of *St. Sixtus*. He durſt deſpiſe " the Decrees of *Thomas Aquinas*; but the *Dominicans* had extolled them almoſt " above the Goſpel. He durſt diſcloſe ſome Doubts in the matter of Confeſſion, " but the Monks continually perplexed the Conſciences of men upon that head. " He durſt reject the Concluſions of the Schools in part; but others aſcribed too " much to them, and yet diſagreed with them as well as he, altering them often, " and introducing new in the place of thoſe they aboliſhed. It was matter of grief to " pious minds, to hear almoſt nothing ſaid in the Schools of the Doctrines of the " Goſpel—That in the Sermons little mention was made of *Chriſt*, but much of " Papal power, and of the Opinions of new Writers—*Luther* has writ a great " deal that reliſhes more of imprudence than irreligion; but the greateſt offence he " has given, is, his want of reſpect to *Thomas Aquinas*; his leſſening the profits of " Indulgences; his deſpiſing the *Mendicant Friers*; his preferring the Goſpel to the " Doctrines of the Schools; his oppoſing the Sophiſtries of Diſputants; [b] all theſe [b]
" are intolerable Hereſies.

Eraſmus, by thus interpoſing between both parties, drew upon himſelf the ill-will of the hot men on both ſides. [3] His *Paraphraſe* upon the *New Teſtament*, publiſhed in the years 1522 and 1523, was nibbled at by the Monks; [4] as likewiſe his Tranſlation and Notes above-mentioned, [5] but eſpecially his *Colloquies* or *Dialogues*. The Pulpits ecchoed with Invectives; they pelted him from all parts with Paſquils: [6] In ſhort, he was attacked by a whole Army of Friers. [7] *Steunica*, [8] *Leus*, [9] *Sutor*, and [10] *Bedda* were their Leaders, with ſeveral Doctors of *Louvain*, *Cologne*, and of the *Sorbonne* at *Paris*. [11] They nicknamed him *Erraſmus*, [12] *Eraſinus*, [13] *Behemoth*, [14] *Devil*, [15] *Enemy of Religion*, [16] *Blaſphemer of God*, [17] *Blaſphemer of the Virgin* Mary, [18] *Schiſmatick*, [19] *Impoſtor*, [20] *Fore-runner of Antichriſt*, [21] *Antichriſt himſelf*, [22] *Arch-heretick*, [23] *the Original and Head of the* Lutheran *Faction*, and [24] *a worſe Heretick than* Luther *himſelf*. [25] They affirmed, that *Luther* had gathered his fatal Seed in *Eraſmus*'s Garden; [26] that this latter had laid the Egg, and the former had hatched it. But when any of the Monks, who expoſed him from the Pulpit in ſuch filthy colours, were asked, *What Hereſies they found in his Books?* They made anſwer, [27] *That indeed they had not read them, but they muſt needs be very dangerous, becauſe they were writ in ſuch obſcure* Latin. Theſe were the Champions by whom the Majeſty of the Pope was vindicated, and the Church ſupported.

† On

[1] Sylveſt. Prieras. Sleid. Hiſt. *p.* 7. Servit. Hiſt. Trid. *p.* 6. Vign. *p.* 637. Eraſm. Epiſt. 887. Ibid. Oper. 898. Chimnitz. 708.
[2] Tho. de Vio. Cajetanus. Vid. Eraſm. Oper 902.
[3] Eraſ. Ep. *p.* 1117. Op. 374.
[4] Ibid. 1879. [5] Ibid. 947, &c.
[6] [7] [8] [9] [10] Ibid. 725, 842, 912, 1000, 1151, 1878, &c.
[11] [12] [13] [14] [15] [16] [17] [18] [19] [20] [21] [22] [23] [24] [25] [26] Vid. Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 669, 786, 814, 1058, 1089, 1412, 1905, &c. Et ejuſd. Colloq. *p.* 572. Ejuſd. Opera, *p.* 897. Vign. *p.* 638.
[27] Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 665, &c.

On the other hand, ſome were diſſatisfied with him for *bearing too much.* He, who had ſo openly oppoſed ſo many errors and abuſes of the Church of *Rome*, ought, in their opinion, entirely to have ſeparated from it, and have joined with *Luther*. He was even reproached, [1] *That it was his fault only, that the Pope and Papacy were not blown up at once.* There were ſome, however, that extolled this his impartial temper to the ſkies. His obſerving the middle way between the two extreams, they ſtiled Prudence; but they were more particularly pleaſed with his diſtinguiſhing between Error, Hereſie, and Sedition. [2] From hence proceeded his Cenſure of the Eccleſiaſtical Doctor *Hillarius*, for his furious zeal againſt the *Arians*, in calling them *Impious Fellows*, *Devils*, *Satans*, *Blaſphemers*, *Plagues*, and *Antichriſts*. AN° DOM. 1517.

Upon the firſt day of the year 1519, began [3] the famous Canon *Ulrich Zuinglius* (who had already oppoſed Popery at [4] *Glaris*, and other places of *Swiſſerland*, in 1516, where the name of *Luther* was not yet heard of) to preach up Reformation at *Zurich*. A certain *Franciſcan* Monk attempted about the ſame time to vend his Indulgences there: but *Zuinglius* bravely withſtood him, and expoſed the Cheat. 1519. Zuinglius *promotes the Reformation in* Swiſſerland.

In the mean while died the Emperor *Maximilian*, at *Welſen* in *Auſtria*, upon the twelfth day of *January*. [5] He was a Prince endowed with Royal and Chriſtian virtues. The unjuſt proceedings of five or ſix Popes that filled the See in his time, had taught him to know in part what the Court of *Rome* was. *Joachim Cureus* ſays, in his [6] Annals of *Sileſia*, that this Emperor, upon a certain time lifting up his eyes to Heaven, burſt out in theſe words: [7] *O eternal God, if Thou didſt not wake, how ill would the World be governed by me a weak Huntſman, and that vile Drunkard Pope* Julius! [8] It is alſo related of him, that having been over-reached by Pope *Leo* X. in ſome affairs between them, he ſhould ſay, *Now I can affirm with truth, that none of the Popes ever kept their word with me:* Leo *is the laſt whom I ſhall truſt.* *Death and Character of the Emperor* Maximilian.

[9] His Son *Philip*, who in 1506 had ſucceeded to the Kingdoms of *Caſtile*, *Leon*, and *Arragon*, upon the death of Queen *Iſabella* his Mother-in-law, deceaſed likewiſe this year. Soon after, his Grandſon, *Charles* of *Auſtria*, Sovereign of the *Netherlands*, who upon the death of his Mother's Father, King *Ferdinand*, and upon his inheriting the *Spaniſh* Kingdoms, was ſtiled the [10] *Catholick King*, was choſen Emperor of *Germany*. 'Twas in his Reign that *Luther* went on with the Reformation. [11] The Clergy being at a loſs to juſtifie the Doctrine of Indulgences by Scripture-arguments, were obliged to have recourſe to the Power and Infallibility of the Pope. This induced *Luther* to call thoſe in queſtion, and, being cited to *Rome*, to demur to his Juriſdiction. He was treated very ſharply by the Pope's Legate *Cajetan*, who had been impowered to hear him at *Augſburg*. [12] The Legate inſiſted upon the retractation of his Doctrine. [13] *Luther* acknowledged, that it was his duty to honour and ſerve the Church of *Rome*; wherefore if he had ſaid any thing amiſs of her, he was ready to ſubmit himſelf to the lawful judgment of that Holy Church. [14] Thus he ſought to pacifie the Pope; [15] but refuſed to retract what he had ſaid, [16] unleſs they could convince him, that he had taught what was not true. [17] He likewiſe promiſed the Legate in a certain Letter, that he would behave himſelf more moderately for the future, [18] and that he would even content the Pope by his manner of preaching, and make no farther mention of the *Indulgences*, provided his enemies would alſo be ſilent. But his offer was anſwered with ſcorn and threats. [19] Upon this he appealed from the Legate to the Pope, [20] and from him, when they were going to condemn him unheard, [21] to a *future Council*, which he placed above the Pope. And perceiving that his Doctrine was approved and embraced in other Countries, [22] he grew ſo bold as to enquire into, and refute other Doctrines of Popery. In the buſineſs of Confeſſion and Communion, he rejected the opinions of the *Romiſh* Church, and the Schools. He commended the Participation of the Cup in the Lord's-Supper, as practiſed in *Bohemia*. He thought that Repentance did Luther *goes on with his Reformation*, &c.

†

not

[1] Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 1012. [2] Ibid. *p.* 1640.
[3] Sleid. Com. f. 23, &c. Thuan. Hiſt. Lib. I. *p.* 56. Servit. Hiſt. Trid. 8, 15, &c. Vign. *p.* 637.
[4] Op. Zuingl. Tom. I. f. 37. Calixti Judicium, *p.* 82.
[5] Carion, *p.* 689. Montaig. Lib. I. *p.* 98.
[6] Vign. 632. Morn. 632.
[7] Cat. Teſt. 931. Hiſt. Con. Trid. *p.* 3. Vign. 625, &c. Morn. f. 628. Guicc. Lib. VI. n. 4, &c. Eraſm. Epiſt. 89. Ib. Adag. 861.
[8] Cat. Teſt. 820.
[9] *Chron. of* Holl. *Ch.* XXXVI. Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 1718.
[10] Thuan. *p.* 35.
[11] Sleid. f. 7. Serv. Hiſt. Trid. *p.* 6.
[12] Ibid. *p.* 7. [13] Sleid. f. 10.
[14] [15] [16] [17] [18] [19] [20] [21] [22] Sleid. 11, &c. Vign. *p.* 637. Melanct. in vita Lutheri. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. *p.* 8, &c.

An° Dom. 1521.

not ſo much conſiſt in Auricular Confeſſion, as in a ſteadfaſt Purpoſe of amending our lives. From thence he proceeded to Vows, to the Abuſes of Monkery, and other corruptions in the Church.

Charles coming into the Empire, found the Reformation in this condition. [1] The Pope thundered againſt *Luther* with the Eccleſiaſtical Ban. [2] The Univerſities of *Louvain* and *Cologn*, which had already condemned him, [3] burnt his Books: [4] He, on the contrary, burnt the Pope's Bull of Excommunication, together with the Papal Decretals. After this, he was cited to the Diet at *Worms*. His Friends endeavoured to diſſwade him from the Journey, by ſetting before him the fate of *John Huſs*. [5] To which he anſwered, *I am reſolved to go to* Worms, *though there were as many Devils in my way, as there are Tiles on the tops of the houſes*. When he arrived there, he defended himſelf bravely, [6] refuſing to retract any thing of what he had ſaid or writ, unleſs he could be refuted by the Holy Scripture or good Arguments. The Biſhop of *Trier* asking him, What were the propereſt means to heal theſe Evils? [7] *Luther* anſwered, *Thoſe which* Gamaliel *propoſed to the* Jews. But the Emperor being ſet on by the Creatures of the Pope, had recourſe to a Cure that was ſharper and more dangerous than the Diſeaſe it ſelf: [8] He put *Luther* under the Ban of the Empire; [9] but *Frederick*, the Elector of *Saxony*, hid him a long time in a certain Caſtle, which he afterwards called his *Pathmos*; and when he appeared again, the ſaid Elector defended him openly.

Luther *goes to* Worms *againſt the Advice of all his Friends.*

To ſtop the progreſs of *Luther*'s Doctrine, which had now ſpread it ſelf over all *Germany*, and made its way into the *Low-Countries*, Placards were put in uſe. The firſt that appeared in theſe Provinces (which were then governed, under the Emperor, by the Lady *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, his Father's Siſter) againſt *Luther*, his Doctrine, Books and Followers, was in the year 1521; and it was to this purpoſe:

The firſt Placard publiſhed againſt Luther, *his Books, and Followers in the* Low-Countries.

FIrſt, [10] ſays the Emperor, for it was publiſhed in his name, to the honour and praiſe of God our Creator, by whoſe favour and mercy the Government not only of the Roman Empire, but of other Kingdoms is conferred upon us---it becomes us, and belongs to us to compel the Enemies of our Faith to the obedience of his Divine Majeſty, by extending, as much as we can, the Glory of the Holy Croſs, and of our Saviour's Sufferings, to the utmoſt corners of the Earth, and to maintain the Chriſtian Religion pure and unſpotted from all ſuſpicion of Hereſie, in purſuance of the Laws and Cuſtoms formerly practiſed in the Holy Roman Church, to which we are particularly and ſincerely devoted, as well for our own ſake, as for the illuſtrious actions of our Anceſtors of immortal memory, who through the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt, have, beyond all other Chriſtian Princes, proſecuted the Enemies of our Faith, baniſhing and expelling them out of their Lands and Dominions; and with inexpreſſible Charge, Pains, and Dangers, have enlarged and defended the Poſſeſſion of the Faith of our Redeemer; having it always at heart, not to ſuffer the leaſt appearance, or the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of Hereſie or Infidelity, either to ſpring up or to continue in their Countries and Lordſhips.——Then the Emperor proceeds, and relates what he knew of *Luther*, his Life and Doctrine, concluding with theſe Words: And not to repeat all the ſaid Luther's Errors, for that would be endleſs, it ſeems to us, that the perſon of the ſaid Martin is not a human Creature, but a Devil in the figure of a Man, and cloaked with the Habit of a Monk, to enable him ſo much the better and more eaſily to bring the Race of Mankind to everlaſting death and deſtruction.—— Next he gives an account of what was done againſt him at the Diet of *Worms*, and ſo declares the aforeſaid Martin Luther, purſuant to the Contents of the Pope's Bull publiſhed againſt him, to be a foreign and rotten Member, cut off from the Body of the holy Mother the Church, as an obſtinate and hardened Schiſmatick, and a notorious and open Heretick; and therefore, he adds, we expreſly command, that no man hereafter be ſo bold or preſumptuous, as to receive, protect, ſupport, or encourage the ſaid Luther, by Word or Deed, charging and commanding all People to ſeize and apprehend him, and bring him to condign Puniſhment, as an obdurate Heretick.—— The Emperor farther requires, that as for his Abettors and Accomplices, and the Goods and Eſtates of all ſuch Perſons, the ordinary Judges or Magiſtrates, or the Parliaments, Councils, and all others to whom the cognizance

[1] Ib. *p.* 9, &c. [2] Sleid. f. 26.
[3] Hiſt. Conc. Trid. *p.* 12. [4] Sleid. f. 35.
[5] Hiſt. Trid. 12. Sleid. 36. [6] Ib. 37, &c.
[7] Ib. 39. Acts V. 38, 39.
[8] [9] Ib. 42, &c. Corputs *Life of* Melanct. 26.
[10] *See the Placard-Book of* Flanders, *p.* 89, &c.

cognizance of those Matters belongs, shall proceed against them in such manner as their Accusers, or the Fiscals, Attorneys, and other Officers shall think proper—— in all things conforming themselves to the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Laws, and godly Ordinances, made and promulgated against such as are guilty of Heresie, or of High Treason: And such Prosecutions, continues he, shall be set on foot and carried on at the request of any person whatever, against all that infringe and disobey these our Commands, let them be of what state, condition, and quality soever, nor shall they be protected or screened by any kind of Privileges. —— And we farther will and command, that all the Estates of persons who shall be convicted of the said crimes of Heresie, shall be forfeited and escheated, one half to our own use, and the rest to the benefit of the Accusers and Informers against the Criminals. We likewise command, that our Fiscal, or Attorney-General (in case there be no Accuser) shall proceed against such Criminals by Inquisition or Interrogatories, in our Name, and at our Suit; and where there be any Accusers or Prosecutors, they shall join in the said Suit. —— We do also most strictly order, upon the pains and penalties abovementioned, that no person, of what state or condition, authority or dignity soever, do buy or sell, keep, read, write, print, or maintain and defend any of the Books, Writings, or Opinions of the said Luther, whether in Latin, Flemish, or other modern Language; as well those that are condemned by our Holy Father the Pope, as any other already composed, or that may here after be composed by the said Luther, his Disciples Favourers, in what manner and kind soever; even though it should happen, that in the said books there might be contained or interspersed some good and christian Doctrines, the better to impose on simple people. Our will and pleasure therefore is, That all the said books shall be accounted every where, as universally forbidden, and as such, burnt and entirely destroyed: In doing which, besides the righteous execution of the Sentence of the Papal Chair, we follow the laudable Ordinances and Customs of the good primitive Christians, who caused to be burnt and destroyed the Books of the Hereticks, such as the Arians, Priscillianists, Nestorians, Eutychians, and others; and the whole Contents of the aforesaid Books, as well the good as the bad of them; which was rightly and properly done: For if it be necessary to forbid the use of that food in which there is the smallest mixture of poison, for fear of the danger of infecting our bodies, much more ought we to reject those Doctrines (how good so ever they may be) in which the venom of Error or Heresie lurketh: forasmuch, as under the Cloak of Charity, it corrupts all the good, to the great hazard of our Souls. And all Magistrates are hereby straitly required to be readily and faithfully aiding and assisting to the Pope's Nuncios, or those that are commissioned by them, in burning the said Books, as often as they shall be called upon to do the same. It was likewise forbidden by the said *Placard*, to make, print, buy, sell, or to have in one's custody any satyrical Writings or Pictures, or such as contained any disrespectful expressions, or errors against the Christian Faith, or the traditions and customs of the Roman Church; or tended to lessen or defame the Pope, the Prelates of the Church, temporal Princes, Universities or Schools —— All such Writings or Pictures were likewise to be burnt. Lastly, the Emperor commanded (declaring, that it should have all the force and effect of an inviolable and perpetual Law): That from thencefowards, on the forfeiture of Life and Estate, no Bookseller, Printer, or any other person whatever, should presume to print, or cause to be printed, any Book or Writing in which mention was made of the Holy Scriptures, or any Interpretation of it, though never so little, without leave first obtained from the Ordinary of the place, or of those appointed by him for that purpose; together with the advice and consent of the Faculty of Divines of the nearest University, approving (under the Seal of the said University) all such Books and Writings —— As for the printing and publishing all other kinds of Books, the Leave of the Temporal Magistrate was first to be obtained, which was not to be given but by the advice of the Ordinary of the place, or his Substitute. —— All Offenders against the Premises to be guilty of the Crimen læsæ Majestatis, or High Treason; to wit, all such as having had due notice of this Ordinance, should be found disobedient and rebellious against the same; and every one was required to seize upon their Bodies and Goods actually and effectually, and to put in execution against them all the Penalties directed both by the Ecclesiastical and Civil Constitutions.

An° Dom. 1521.

An° Dom. 1521.

That Capital puniſhments were included, and intended in this *Placard*, experience has but too ſadly convinced us. The promulgation of it, which bears date the 8th of *May*, was a violation of the Privileges of the Land: For whereas formerly the old Counts of *Holland* never made any Laws of importance [1] without conſent of the Nobility and Commons; [2] the Emperor by vertue of his own authority only, made this *Placard* at *Worms*, without ever communicating a matter of that weight to the States of the Land, otherwiſe than by requiring them to promulgate the ſame; which no body durſt oppoſe. The mention likewiſe in the *Placard* of proceeding by Examination of the Parties themſelves, when Evidence againſt them was wanting, looked like a deſign of introducing the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*.

The ſaid Placard publiſhed without the Advice and Conſent of the States, &c.

1522. [3] And accordingly, in the year 1522, the Emperor impowered Maſter *Francis vander Hulſt*, his Counſellor in *Brabant*, to make a ſtrict enquiry into Peoples opinions and belief in Religious matters, throughout all the *Netherlands*; of which notice was publickly given at *Antwerp*, and elſewhere. [4] *Eraſmus* ſtiles him in one of his Epiſtles, *a wonderful Enemy to Learning*; and [5] his Fellow-Commiſſioner, one *Nicolas van Egmont*, a *Carmelite* Monk, *a mad-man with a ſword put into his hand, and who hates me*, ſaid he, *worſe than he does* Luther. [6] Theſe Faith-Tryers firſt threw men into priſon, and then conſidered what they ſhould lay to their charge. *Such proceedings*, continues *Eraſmus*, *were unknown to the Emperor, and yet it was very fitting he ſhould have been appriſed of them.*

The Emperor appoints certain Perſons to inquire *into Matters of Religion, &c.*

Cornelius Grapheus *Secretary of* Antwerp, *falls into great troubles on account of Religion.*

This Seed of Inquiſition ſoon brought forth Fruit. *Cornelius Grapheus*, alias *Schrijver*, of *Aelſt* or *Aloſt*, and Secretary of the Town of *Antwerp*, a man of uncommon Learning, a good Poet, and dear Friend of *Eraſmus*, quickly taſted the bitterneſs of this weed. What befel him on account of a *Preface* writ ſome years before, and a Relation he publiſhed of the Cruelty of his Judges, who turned him out of his Employment, notwithſtanding his modeſt behaviour and ſubmiſſion, may be ſeen in a certain Latin Letter which he writ from *Bruſſels*, then his Priſon, to *John Carondolitus*, Archbiſhop of *Palermo*, and Chancellor of the Court of *Brabant*. The ſaid Letter, which fell into my hands accidentally, and which deſcribes the miſerable ſtate of thoſe times in ſuch eloquent terms, and ſets it before our eyes in ſo pathetical and moving a manner, will, I make no doubt, be read with as much ſatisfaction by others, as it is here tranſlated by me. He ſpeaks in the following Terms:

To the Moſt Reverend the Lord Archbiſhop of Palermo: *Health and Happineſs.*

I Know well, my much eſteemed Father, that your Reverence will wonder, that I, a mean and doubly miſerable man, unknown to you, dare apply my ſelf to you by this Letter; eſpecially conſidering to what a degree of Honour you are exalted, and with what great and numerous affairs you are encompaſſed, that, as one may well imagine, you are hardly able to give audience to your neareſt friends. But the neceſſity of my extream miſery, and your condeſcenſion and affability, the fame of which reaches the moſt diſtant parts, have compelled me even to become troubleſome, by flying to you as a kind Father, and to repreſent my unhappy condition to you with ſighs and bitter tears, beſeeching you to have compaſſion on me, preſuming upon your goodneſs, and knowing your power, who as Preſident in the Council of this Court, are able to aſſiſt me both with your advice and favour. So it is, that I, as you may poſſibly have learnt before, from the Petition of my Wife, as well as from the Relation of others, being ſummoned in the name of the Emperor to appear before the Judges, immediately obeyed —— and upon my appearance found my ſelf heavily charged with the Lutheran Hereſie. *I had written a* Preface *to a certain little Book of* John van Gooch, *entitled*, The Liberty of the Chriſtian Religion; *which was printed long before the Emperor's* Placard *came out. In the ſaid* Preface *I did, more out of imprudence than malice or litigiouſneſs, cenſure thoſe who burden Chriſtians with any unneceſſary yokes; but I did it at a time when ſuch things were allowed to be ſaid and writ, nay, when they were received every where with much applauſe. I am of a temper naturally inclined to undertake any thing; yet what I writ ſomewhat raſhly, was only for the exerciſe of my mind, without*

† [1] Grot. de Rep. Bat. 78. Hooft's Hiſt. XXVII. 305. [2] Vel. Chron. of Horn, 120. Grot. ib. 87. [3] Hooft's Hiſt. *p.* 32. [4] Epiſt. *p.* 1922, *&c.* [5] Ib. 1067. [6] Ib. 1922.

without design of giving the least offence. Thus I learned of my self, Poetry, Musick, and the Art of Drawing, or Painting. Thus I acquired some taste of Greek *and* Latin. *Thus am I desirous to learn other Tongues that are subservient to the knowledge of good and liberal Sciences, as far as my time and fortune will permit. For this cause have I travelled in a manner over all* Italy, *not without great pains, and sometimes great poverty too. For the same reason have I resolutely contemned all opportunities of heaping up riches, always contenting my self with the common necessaries of life. Whatever evil has been committed by me, is the result of an active mind, but not a malicious one. If the humane Mind, exposed in any respect to error, purely from a desire of exercise, without any ill intention, without perverseness or obstinacy, but with submission to the correction of better judgments; I say, if a Mind so disposed should be the occasion of our ruin, how much better were it that we should be brute beasts, or inanimate creatures, than men? Since man cannot change his nature, if he be of an active and generous soul, he must, some way or other, exert his faculties. If a Genius, which was neither ill-natured nor satyrical, but always pleasant and agreeable, exposed* Ovid, *the sweetest of the Poets, to a dismal and perpetual banishment into* Pontus, *it had been better for him, that instead of singing of Love and Pleasure, he had spent his days far from the sight and company of men, in desart places; and like* Timon *of* Athens, *had become a second Man-hater. In case an Understanding neither obstinate nor perverse, but always disposed to amend itself upon every the least admonition, has involved me in these troubles, which overwhelm me on all sides, how much more advantagious had it been to me, to have been deprived of my senses, or to have been a Fool, a Buffoon, a Comedian, or a Parasite and Flatterer, or any such despicable creature, than by my wit, such as it is, to have attained to any honour or reputation in the world? For those people are allowed every where, openly, and without any punishment, to publish, vend, and act their Fables, Tragedies, Comedies, Farces, and Satires, let them be as sharp and biting; let them be as obscene, filthy, and villainous as possible; and the people will receive them with approbation. Certainly then a good Genius, especially such as is tractable, and ready to listen to good advice, ought not to be immediately oppressed, but handled gently; not terrified by force and severity, but allured with rewards and promises, and helped forwards by all possible means, even tho' it should chance to have done amiss through ignorance or imprudence, which is the common effect of humane frailty.*

AN° DOM. 1522.

After my Preface *to the said* Gooch's *Book had been examined by Commissioners, from point to point, and I know not how many Inferences drawn from thence, and turned into Articles against me, immediately, as one better informed, I acknowledged my indiscretion, and testified my sorrow; and was ready to retract my errors, to detest my obstinacy, and to ask pardon for my rashness; when on a sudden I was thrust into a Dungeon like a Heretick: whereas, according to all Laws both humane and divine, no man, tho' guilty of notorious errors, ought to be deem'd a Heretick, till, as the Gospel directs, he has been first privately and christianly admonished, and afterwards, being reproved in the presence of two or three witnesses, he continues obstinate in known errors, or relapses into his former heretical notions; neither of which is my case. Nor have I ever been, according to* Christ's *and* St. Paul's *command, admonish'd privately. On the contrary, when I confessed my fault before the Commissioners, and afterwards was carried to prison, without hearing any sentence, tho' I was called up to the Court for that purpose, I was brought like an obstinate Heretick to the open Market, and set upon a Scaffold; where, in the presence of the said Commissioners, and a vast number of people of all sorts, I was ordered to retract all the Articles they had drawn out of my* Preface, *and obliged to throw my said* Preface *into the fire. And then, even after such publick retractation, and after the burning of the aforesaid* Preface, *there was pronounced against the recanting person, tho' testifying his sorrow for what he had writ, the following sentence:* First, *That all my Goods, moveable or immoveable, were confiscated; (my moveables are indeed few, for excepting my Industry, such as it is, I am possessed of nothing.)* Secondly, *That I had forfeited my Employment, and was for ever incapable of any other.* Thirdly, *That I should make the like Recantation at* Antwerp. Fourthly, *That I should be carried from thence to* Bruffels, *and confined to a close Prison for the space of two months; all which I have undergone with patience and courage.* Fifthly, *That after those two months, like another* Shimei, *I should be banished to the utmost walls of the town of* Bruffels,

An°. Dom. 1522. *and remain there a Prisoner all the days of my life.* Lastly, *I find my self obliged, like a* Jew, *or* Turk, *or* Heathen, *or I know not what besides (for Heretick I am not; for tho' possibly I offended out of imprudence and temerity, I did not persevere in it, but manifested my sorrow upon the first admonition) I say, I find my self compelled to receive a certain mark of intolerable scandal, unworthy of a Christian man descended from an honest and creditable family, and not from the dregs of the people. Hitherto I have fulfilled, with incredible patience, every point and part of my Sentence. But who is there, that does not see that it is no longer to be endured? Tho' loaden with the heavy burden of Wife and Children, I am stript of all my Goods; and if there be any thing remaining to me, unhappy man! I am deprived of that too, I mean my industry. All that I had has been spent here by me and at* Antwerp *by my Wife and Children, who are now ready to perish for Want. My Creditors dun me for what I owe them, but I have nothing to answer their demands: I have no way of earning a penny, but many of spending. I have been turned out of my house ever since* Lent, *and parted from Wife and Children. Our holy Matrimony is in effect dissolved, and those whom God has joyned, are separated by man. I am an offence to all, but chiefly to my poor Wife and Children. Who shall feed me? Who shall feed them? Who will supply us with the means of living for the future? At present I have none my self; my faculties and talents are now of no longer use to me; for who will employ so ignominious a person? If I should bring my sorrowful Spouse, with my miserable Children from* Antwerp, *who will receive them into their houses? Or who will put these unknown and despised creatures in a way of earning their bread? And if I leave them there, what will they do without Husband without Father; especially since the Children are some of them so little, that they can hardly speak? Wherefore it only remains that the Husband should be restored to his Wife, the Father to his Children; or that they beg from door to door; or lastly, that they lay violent hands on themselves: For it is much better, and more desirable for such miserable wretches to die any kind of death, than to live with shame in the utmost distress. My dejected Wife petitioned time after time (as I doubt not but your Reverence knows) that her Husband being restored to his former good name and honour, might have the whole town of* Antwerp, *instead of* Brussels, *for his prison. This Petition was sent by the Council, together with a Letter to Master* Francis van Hulst, *that they might know his opinion. But that Gentleman has delayed giving it, to my great prejudice, even to this very day, often using several evasions when called upon to do it. We daily beg and intreat, without advancing, without prevailing on him, tho' he, calling God to witness, has so often promised and assured us of his mercy and favour. But what signify these assurances of mercy, when he will not do so small a thing as we have requested of him? to wit, the giving his opinion. But he cries, 'tis not yet seasonable. When will it then be so? For at this rate he may put us off for seven years together. He says, that new errors start up every where; but what is that to us? If there be several others, who, having neither Wife nor Children, that is to say, are not loaden with such miserable burthens as I am, are yet discharg'd, after having shewn their repentance for the like crimes; Why am I alone so cruelly distinguished? why am I alone unreleased? I, who according to common right ought to be released and restored: for, as your Reverence knows, it is ordained by the Holy Canons, and confirmed by the Doctors, as it likewise agrees with Christian Forbearance, and the Spirit of the Gospel, that condemnation shall not be pronounced against a penitent offender; and that where it is already pronounced, it shall be of no effect; as also that the Penitent shall be restored. But supposing that Mr.* Vander Hulst *has no power to determine any thing in relation to me, without knowledge of the Emperor, why does he protract his Answer to the Letter of the Council, and the Petition from my Wife? Why did he, when my Wife delivered him the said Letter, promise to return his opinion within ten days? Why were the imprisoned Monks of St.* Austin, *and several others, after having recanted, delivered by his advice? Why should he not help me with his advice, since it was by his advice that such a Sentence has been pronounced against me, as it plainly appears from the contents of it? And when will it ever be more seasonable to help me, than now that the* Austin Monks, *the occasion of these troubles, are driven out of* Antwerp? *Certainly it cannot be thought, that the Council in which you preside, should ever have required his advice, if that same Council, according to its wonted*

diſcretion, had not known before-hand, what power he had in theſe matters. But perhaps he defers giving his advice, that he may weigh the matter more maturely. He has fed us poor Wretches now almoſt theſe three months with doubtful hopes: If three months were not ſufficient for ſuch a buſineſs, when will he come to a final reſolution upon it? If he be in travail ſo long, when will he be delivered; when will he bring forth the fruit of his opinion? In truth, this delay is not more grievous to me and my poor Wife, than it is ſuſpected by us. For, if his advice be equitable, and ſuch as may be born, he then wrongs us in having ſo long delayed doing us right; but if it prove hard and unreaſonable, then will it be extreamly grievous, to have expected with ſo much patience ſo unjuſt a Sentence. But what occaſion is there at all for his opinion; ſince the Sentence has been executed on me in all its points and parts; and ſince my only petition is, That I may have the privilege of freely uſing my Underſtanding and Induſtry, or at leaſt of living with my family in a more enlarged priſon, favours which the Council may grant without advice? For which cauſe we moſt humbly beſeech and conjure you, for Chriſt's ſake (who is the Protector and Avenger too of thoſe that truſt in him) to take compaſſion on the miſerable and diſconſolate condition of me, my Wife, and my doubly unhappy Children; and that by your means, that moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Gracious Princeſs, the Regent, together with the Council, may vouchſafe to require Maſter Vander Hulſt *at laſt, without further delay or ſubterfuge, to communicate his opinion: And if he ſhould ſcruple to do it, or if he ſhould determine any thing inconſiſtent with our reaſonable petition, that then, making uſe of that authority which the Emperor has devolved upon them, they would grant me this favour; to wit, That I be reſtored to my ancient name and fame, and declared free from all miſdemeanours, and allowed to have the town of* Antwerp *for my priſon at large, and there (if I muſt not expect to be readmitted to my employments) be ſuffered to get my bread for my ſelf and diſtreſſed family among my friends and acquaintance, which I can do much more eaſily than at* Bruſſels, *or elſewhere among ſtrangers.——Nor will you, I hope, think this to be an unreaſonable requeſt, when you conſider how great my inclinations and deſires have been to ſerve the Emperor to the beſt of my power; for which purpoſe I ſend you ſome little Tracts which I had publiſhed juſt before my impriſonment, in honour of his Majeſty; ſuch as,* A Welcome to him from *Spain:* His Illuſtrious Pedigree, *and the like.——Help therefore, O ye Friends and Servants of the Emperor, a Perſon who has not been altogether uſeleſs to him!———*

An° Dom° 1522.

Dated from my Priſon at *Bruſſels*, *Nov.* 18th 1552.

Signed, C. GRAPHEUS.

WHAT effect this Letter produced, does not appear to me. [1] But among the Epiſtles of *Eraſmus* we meet with one writ about twelve years after; in which he takes notice, that the affairs of this *Grapheus* were in a better condition. [2] And in another (in which he acquaints *Conradus Godenius*, that he had made his laſt Will) he makes mention of his Friend in the following Words: *I bequeath fifty Gold Florins, and forty ſeven* Rheniſh *Guilders to* Cornelius Grapheus, *who I think ſtands in need of them, and deſerves a better fate.*

The Friers of the Convent of St. *Auſtin* at *Antwerp* (mentioned in the Letter of the ſaid *Grapheus*) fell into great trouble about this time. The whole Society had been ſuſpected; the Writings of *Luther*, who was likewiſe an *Auſtin Monk*, had ſcattered his notions among them: they laid hold on ſeveral of them, but one of them (Prior *Henry* of *Zutphen*) eſcaped out of priſon. Some of them that were impriſoned, recanted; but three remained ſteady, and were publickly ſtript of their Holy Orders, and declared Hereticks on a Scaffold at *Bruſſels*, the firſt of *July*, 1523. Two of them, namely *Henry Voes* and *John Eſch*, cheerfully underwent the fiery trial the ſame day, teſtifying a wonderful conſtancy. [3] As they were leading to the ſtake, they cried with a loud voice, *That they died as Chriſtians*; and when they were faſtened to it, and the fire was kindled, they rehearſed the twelve Articles of the Creed; and next to that, the Hymn *Te Deum Laudamus*, which each of them ſang verſe by verſe alternately, 'till the flames deprived them both of voice and life.

Two Auſtin *Monks burnt on account of* Luther's *Doctrine.*

It

[1] Epiſt. 1952. [2] Ejuſd. Epiſt. Lond Edit. Præf. [3] Eraſm. Epiſt. 1278. D. E. Hiſt. des Martyrs, Liv. II. *p.* 85. Weſenbeck's *Deſcription of Religion in the* Netherlands, *p.* 10, 11.

An° Dom. 1522. It is related of one of theſe, that ſeeing the fire kindled under his feet, he ſaid, *It ſeems as if they ſtrewed Roſes in my way.* [1] To avoid the imputation of cruelty, and at the ſame time to get honour to the Popiſh Religion, ſome Monks ſpread the following ſtory among the Common people: That one of thoſe who had been burnt had appeared to a certain *Auſtin Monk*, and told him, That his own and his Companion's ſouls were in a ſtate of ſalvation; becauſe they had been converted juſt before they left the world, even in the midſt of the fire; and that this happened through the interceſſion of the Bleſſed Virgin, for they were burnt the day before her Viſitation. But they who were neareſt to the fire, could witneſs the contrary. [2] As for the third of theſe reputed Heretical Monks, he was brought back to the priſon, and there privately diſpatched. This was the firſt blood that was ſhed in the *Low-Countries*, on account of Religion, ſince the riſe of *Luther*.

[3] *Eraſmus*, in one of his Epiſtles, deſcribes the conſequence of this Perſecution in the following manner: *Two were burnt at* Bruſſels, *from which time* Luther's *doctrine began to be in requeſt in that town. Lutheraniſm*, which at firſt lay in a very narrow compaſs, made the greater progreſs by the reſiſtance it found both from fire and ſword, and ſoon ſpread it ſelf far and near, ſo as to become dreaded by the greateſt Kings of the earth: to ſtop which, the Church and State made uſe of very prepoſterous methods: [4] *Cauſticks* and *Amputation* might poſſibly have done ſome good, if the diſeaſe had been only in one limb or joint; but as it had infected the whole body, and penetrated through all the inward parts, ſofter medicines were neceſſary, and ſuch as might drive it out by degrees.

[5] *Eraſmus* likewiſe ſays of this putting Hereticks to death, That it was *the work of Hangmen, and not of Divines.* And upon the words in the Goſpel about pulling up
Mat. xiii 29. the good wheat, he writes thus: [6] *He that deſtroys an evil thing which might be made good, does, in ſome ſenſe, deſtroy the good.* [7] His opinion was, that if men proceeded in the preſent ſtate of affairs with ſhedding of blood, [8] it would be the ready way to deſtroy many good and godly men; for the event of war, which he foreſaw would be kindled by putting Hereticks to death, was very uncertain. [9] In another place he writes, [c] That *Eccleſiaſtical Excommunication was the greateſt puniſhment which the ancient Biſhops inflicted on Hereticks.* He ſeemed alſo to be of c
opinion, that no other external coercion ought to be uſed againſt thoſe who ſeparated from the Church, but the refuſal of Communion; nor ſhould they be debarred from hearing the word of God and preaching: That was an exciſion which affected the mind more than the body.

Adrian Floris *of* Utrecht *comes to the Popedom.*

[10] In the mean time *Adrian* VI. aſcended the Papal Throne. He was born in the year 1495, at *Utrecht*, of mean Parents; [d] his Father *Floris Booyens*, who lived by d
the labour of his hands, being a poor Boatwright, though of a good Burgherly family, died whilſt he was very young; and his Mother being unable to maintain him at ſchool at her own charges, [11] procured him to be ſent to the Univerſity of *Louvain*, and educated there upon the publick Purſe, or on God's account, as we call it. His Induſtry, good Life, and Fortune, brought him to this high State. He was firſt made Dean of St. *Peter*'s Church at *Louvain*, and afterwards Canon and Provoſt at *Utrecht*: In the year 1508, he was appointed Tutor to the young Prince *Charles* of *Auſtria*; and being afterwards ſent upon an Embaſſy to *Spain*, King *Ferdinand* gave him the Biſhoprick of *Tortoſa*; and after that King's death, he was made Regent in *Spain*. By the favour of *Leo* X. he attained to the Cardinal's Hat; and by the diſagreement of the Conclave, to the Triple Crown. Upon his exaltation to the Papacy, the people of *Utrecht* and *Holland* ſhewed great tokens of joy, and [12] writ upon the Tapeſtry Hangings, and on the Walls of their Houſes, Utrecht *has planted*, Louvain *watered, and the* Emperor *given the increaſe.* Under which an arch fellow writ; *God has done nothing at all in this matter.* But the new Pope underſtood it otherwiſe; as appears by the following Letter, which he writ to his friend *Floris Oom van Wiingarden*, Penſioner, about this time, of the Town of *Dort*:

† [1] Maſter

[1] Eraſm. Epiſt. 1278. [2] Eraſm. ib.
[3] Ibid. *p.* 1076.
[4] Eraſm. Epiſt. ad J. Bothem. ejuſd. op. prefix.
[5] Epiſt. *p.* 585. F.
[6] Eraſm. op. Tom. IX. *p.* 362.
[7] D. V. Koornhert. III. 81.
[8] Ib. Epiſt. 861.
[9] Ib. Tom. IX. *p.* 478, 863, *&c.*
[10] Val. And. Bibliot. Belg. *p.* 19. An. 1643. Beverwiik's *Deſcript. of* Dort, *p.* 329. Sleid. Com. III. 48. Hiſt. Trid. *p.* 17. Thuan *p.* 37.
[11] P. Jov. Vit. Adr. *p.* 100.
[12] Manlius in loc. Com.

ANº DOM. 1522.

1 Maſter Doctor, and dear Friend,

EVery body is ſurprized and amazed, that a poor man, unknown almoſt to all, being in a manner out of the World, ſhould by the unanimous voice of the Cardinals, be called to the Vicegerency of Chriſt. *But it is an eaſie thing for God to exalt the Poor in an inſtant. I take no pleaſure in this Honour, and I tremble at the greatneſs of the burden. I had much rather have continued to ſerve God in my own Provoſtſhip at* Utrecht, *without the dignity either of Pope, Cardinal or Biſhop; but I dare not withſtand the Almighty calling me, truſting that he himſelf will ſtrengthen my Weakneſs, and fully enable me to bear this burden. I beſeech you, pray to God for me; and by your godly prayers prevail on him to teach me to perform his commands, and make me worthy to build up his Church.*

This Letter was writ at *Victoria* the 15th of *February*, 1522. He writ to the ſame purpoſe to the Emperor's Chancellor the ſame day; in which having firſt related how thick Compliments and Congratulations came upon him from all parts of the world, he ſubjoins; *I am in a manner overwhelmed with ſorrow; and, oh! that it were but lawful for me to caſt off from my ſhoulders this mighty weight, which is at the ſame time ſo burdenſome and dangerous, without fearing to diſpleaſe my God; and rather to lead a poor and private life in a corner, where my own ſoul would be my only care, than to be thus bound to give account of the ſouls of all mankind.*

To the five Chapters of *Utrecht* he writ thus:

'Tis your Duty to pour out fervent prayers to God; to the end, that he who has raiſed us from the duſt to the higheſt dignity on earth, may likewiſe vouchſafe to beſtow upon us ſtrength of body and of mind too, that we may diſcharge that Office faithfully and worthily.

He found himſelf much perplexed with the differences in religious matters, that had riſen in the time of his Predeceſſors, being naturally of a mild and ſweet temper.

2 He exhorted *Eraſmus* in a Letter dated the 1ſt of *November*, 1522, to employ thoſe admirable talents which he had received from the hand of God, to the honour of the ſame God, as he had done hitherto; for which end he would do well to write againſt *Luther*. And ſo, as he the Pope thought, many of thoſe that had ſtrayed, might, through the grace of God, be brought into the right way; others, that had not yet fallen, might be ſupported; and thoſe that wavered, be confirmed. *You muſt alſo,* ſaid he, *reflect upon the words of the holy Apoſtle* James, *ver.* 20. He which converteth the ſinner from the error of his way, ſhall ſave a ſoul from death, and ſhall hide a multitude of ſins. *Indeed,* ſubjoined he, *it is not to be expreſſed how acceptable a ſervice you will render to us, if it could be brought about by your means, that thoſe who are infected with this vile Hereſie, ſhould rather be converted, than ſtay till the correcting rod of the Church's Canons, or of the Imperial Laws, be employ'd againſt them. Now how greatly this runs counter to our inclinations and temper, is, we think, well known to you, ever ſince we paſt our lives together at* Louvain, *in the moſt agreeable learned leiſure of that Univerſity.* 3 But his innate goodneſs was by the prejudices which he had ſucked out of the divinity of the ſchools (in which he had been brought up from his childhood) ſometimes turned into heat againſt *Luther*, and other Doctors of his opinion, who, as he thought, carried matters too far. 4 He was eaſily perſwaded, that theſe people did really believe the Doctrines of the *Romiſh Church* to be true, but through worldly views had occaſioned ſuch a Schiſm. From hence proceeded 5 the advice he gave to the Diet aſſembled at *Nuremberg* by *Cheregatus*, Biſhop of *Fabriana*; to wit, that if they could not prevail by fair means, they ſhould make uſe of ſeverity. Nevertheleſs his prejudices and partiality had not ſo far blinded him, but he ſaw and acknowledged, that many abuſes had crept into the Church, which ſtood in need of reforming. He alſo endeavoured to amend them; but ſo many difficulties and obſtructions met him from all parts, that he once confeſſed in a Letter to two familiar friends, *William van Enkevort* and *Richard Hez*, " 6 That the condition of Popes was very unhappy; for he ſaw they had not power " to do good, even when they were moſt in earneſt to ſet about it. Since therefore " he

This Pope owns the want of Reformation in the Church.

[1] Beverw. *Hiſtory of* Dort, *p.* 329. [2] Eraſ. Ep. 1203. [3] Eraſm. Epiſt. 1487. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. *p.* 18. [4] Conc. Trid. ib. [5] Conc. Trid. *p.* 22. [6] Ib. *p.* 21, 22. ex Exphemeride Epiſc. Fabr.

An° Dom. 1522.

" he could not effect any of thoſe purpoſes which he had in his mind, before he ſet " out on his intended journey for *Germany*, in order to a *Reformation*, they muſt be " contented to rely upon his promiſes, which he fully reſolved to perform, though " he were ſure to loſe all his Temporal Dominions, or in imitation of an Apoſtolical " life, ſee himſelf reduced to the utmoſt poverty." Accordingly, he ſtrictly charged them Both, (one being his Datary, and the other his Secretary) that they ſhould be very backward in granting *Indulgences*, *Diſpenſations*, *Regreſſions*, and *Coadjutories*, till all thoſe matters ſhould be ſettled by good Laws and Conſtitutions. He likewiſe freely owned by the mouth of the Biſhop of *Fabriana*, at the ſame time that he ſtirred up the Princes of the Empire at the Diet againſt *Luther*, as the Author of all the evils that had happened; [1] " That theſe troubles were owing to the ſins of men, " and eſpecially of the Prieſts and Prelates: That even thoſe who ſat in the Holy Chair " ſome years paſt, had been guilty of many abominable actions: That many abuſes " and indecencies had been committed in diſpenſing the Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical " Ordinances: And laſtly, that all things had been ſo changed for the worſe, that " the diſeaſe extending it ſelf from the Head to the Members, from the Pope himſelf " to the meaneſt Prieſt; was ſpread far and near, and that hardly any could be found " that did right, and was entirely free from the contagion. And ſince he was ob- " liged, by virtue of his Office, to do his beſt towards healing the diſeaſe, he would " exert his utmoſt diligence, to the end, that the Court of *Rome*, from whence poſ- " ſibly a great part of the evil proceeded, might be reformed. And he was reſolved " to labour in it the more ſtrenuouſly, as perceiving that a Reformation was earneſt- " ly called for from all parts. It ought not, however, to be thought ſtrange, if " abuſes were not immediately removed: for ſince the evil was become inveterate, " and very powerful, the cure muſt proceed gradually, and by little and little, be- " ginning with thoſe things that were of the greateſt importance; leſt, *ſaid he*, while " we, through an unſeaſonable zeal of working ſudden cure, undertake to accom- " pliſh all at once, the whole Frame and Conſtitution be brought into confuſion, or " even entirely diſſolved."

And that the Troubles which Luther *had excited were to the Sins of the Clergy.*

[2] This ingenuous confeſſion of the Pope, whereby the ſource of all the evil was imputed to the Churchmen, was very much reſented by them. It was the way, as they thought, not only to render them more odious and contemptible to the people, but alſo to make the *Lutherans* more bold and obſtinate. But what was moſt grievous of all to them, was, that thus a door was opened whereby to introduce the moſt hateful diminution of their Temporal advantages; or through which the whole world would otherwiſe ſee and be convinced, that the corruption of their Manners was incurable. [3] But the *Germans*, who were the moſt animated againſt the Papacy, underſtood this acknowledgment in a quite contrary ſenſe, affirming, that this was a trick which was very common with the Popes; *To own the Evil, and promiſe Reformation, without ever intending to perform it; in order to lull the Innocent aſleep with ſuch kind of banter, ſo to gain time, and uſe it to their advantage.*

As for what *Adrian* ſaid, about proceeding gradually in the buſineſs of Reformation, they made a jeſt of it, explaining it ſarcaſtically in the following manner: *That indeed the Popes always proceeded cautiouſly, and ſtep by ſtep in theſe matters; for they put the diſtance of an Age between every ſtep they made.* But people of honour and virtue, who had been well acquainted with the good deſigns he had always teſtified by his words and actions, whilſt he was both Biſhop and Cardinal, were ſatisfied with this his Declaration, not doubting but he made it in the ſincerity of his heart; and they were perſuaded that he was thoroughly diſpoſed to mend what he could, even ſooner than he had promiſed it. [4] He likewiſe deſired that *Eraſmus*, whom he invited to him very kindly, and with great hopes of his favour, ſhould ſend him his advice in the moſt private and ſpeedy manner, how the troubles of *Luther* might be compoſed. But *Eraſmus* excuſed himſelf from taking a journey to *Rome*, by reaſon of his age and infirmities; alledging alſo, that all his behaviour and actions would be more obnoxious to miſconſtruction in caſe he went to *Rome*, than if he continued at *Baſil.* [5] Beſides, he had already ſeveral times communicated his thoughts to the Pope, touching the appeaſing of thoſe Eccleſiaſtical troubles; but *Adrian* never returned him an anſwer;

The Pope invites Eraſmus *to* Rome *to give him his Advice.*

†

[1] Conc. Trid. ib. Sicid. 50. 173.
[2] Conc. Trid. *p.* 26.
[3] Ib. *p.* 26, 27.
[4] Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 1204.
[5] Ib. 787, 1116.

ſwer; [1] offended it may be, with his *Dutch* plainneſs and freedom of ſpeaking; for that learned man gave him to underſtand, [2] "That this evil had penetrated too deep "to be cured, either by cutting or burning. *He owned*, that the Sect of the *Wick-* "*liviſts* was formerly cruſhed by the power of the Kings of *England*; but main- "tained, that it was rather ſtifled than extinguiſhed: But he queſtioned whether "that which then happened in a Kingdom where there was but one Lord, could "obtain in ſo extended a Region as *Germany*, governed by ſo many Princes. And if "it was determined to root out this evil by ſtripes, impriſonments, confiſcations of "Goods, baniſhments, excommunications, and even by death it ſelf; then, *ſaid* "*he*, there is no occaſion for my advice (*for being of a very ſweet temper, he* "*inclined more to ſoft than violent methods.*) Nor would it, *ſaid he*, be ſo "difficult to cure it by ſoft methods, if every body elſe were as well diſpoſed as "the Pope himſelf, and, as [3] he adviſes in his Letter, would lay aſide all pri- "vate views and affections, and only ſeek to promote the honour of *Chriſt*, and "the ſalvation of the Chriſtian Community in ſincerity of heart. But if every "man aimed at nothing more than the proſecuting his own intereſts; if the Secu- "lar Clergy were for preſerving their authority inviolably in all caſes; if the Regu- "lar Clergy, or Monks, would not recede one tittle from any of their privi- "leges; if Princes were ſo ſtiff, as not to forego any of their Rights; it would "be exceeding difficult to conſult the publick Good. The cauſes from whence "theſe evils ſo frequently ſpring, ſhould be firſt examined into, and removed. "In the next place, it would not be amiſs to ſuffer thoſe who had been miſled "by the advice or example of others, to eſcape unpuniſhed; or rather, that the "paſt evil, which ſeemed to have happened by a kind of fatality, ſhould be covered "by an Amneſty, or Act of Oblivion.——And in the mean while, that all thoſe "innovations, which were owing to a factious and ſeditious Spirit, rather than to "tenderneſs of Conſcience, ſhould be reſtrained by the Magiſtrate."

An° Dom. 1522. *The Advice of* Eraſmus.

[4] To admit ſuch Councils, and long to remain Pope, were impoſſible in ſo critical a ſituation of affairs. Accordingly, his death, which fell out two years after, put an end to all theſe Plans. When he was dead, his face ſwelled very much, which ſome aſcribed to poiſon; others, to the heat and ſteams proceeding from the crowds that thronged about his corpſe, as that of a Saint.

[5] *Eraſmus* ſays, "Had he continued ten years on the Chair of St. *Peter*, he "would have greatly purified the City of *Rome*, if I be not deceived." But the *Roman* Court was, [6] in the opinion of *Paulus Servita*, wholly unworthy of ſuch a Pope. He died the Thirteenth of *Auguſt*, 1523. [7] His Epitaph deſerves to be recorded: HADRIANUS SEXTUS HIC SITUS EST, QUI NIHIL SIBI INFÆLICIUS IN VITA, QUAM QUOD IMPERARET DUXIT. *Here lies* Adrian *the Sixth, who eſteemed the Papal Government to be the greateſt misfortune of his Life.*

1523. *The Death of Pope* Hadrian

In this ſame year 1523, Lady *Margaret*, the Regent of the *Low-Countries*, ſet herſelf with great earneſtneſs to reform the avarice of the *Zeland* Clergy. She had obſerved, that the abuſes of the Eccleſiaſticks of that Province, particularly of the Regulars, were grown to a much greater heighth than formerly; ſince without any ſhame or decency, they endeavoured to draw to themſelves all the temporal goods, either by Sale, Gifts, Legacies, or the like; inſomuch that it was to be feared, they would in time have got into their poſſeſſion the whole Territories of *Zeland*, to the great prejudice not only of the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, but likewiſe the Dignity and Prerogative of the Sovereign. This cauſed her to renew the Placard of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, made for the purpoſe in the ſame year 1452.

The Regent renews the Placard againſt the Clergy's purchaſing Lands, &c.

About this time there was holden at *Groningen* a publick Conference, upon ſome points of Religion between the *Dominican Friers* and the Prieſts of St. *Martin*'s Church; by which means the Light of the Goſpel began to ſhine among them.

In *Holland* there was a Placard publiſhed, bearing date the firſt of *April*, 1524, whereby it was forbidden to print any books, unleſs they had been viewed and approved by ſuch as were impowered to do it. In the ſame month died at *Wijk-te-Duurſtede*,

1524. *A Placard in* Holland *about Books, &c.*

[1] Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 1487. [2] Ibid. *p* 787. [3] Andr. Epiſt. Lib. XXIII. [4] P. C. Hooft, *p.* 59. [5] Epiſt. 1457. Jovii vita Andr. *p.* 127. Zuingeri Theatr. 3088. [6] Conc. Trid. *p.* 27. [7] Jovius in vita Andr. *p.* 129.

An° Dom. 1524. *Duurſtede*, *Philip* of *Burgundy*, Biſhop of *Utrecht*, Baſtard-Son of *Philip the Good*. [1] *Heda* relates of him, that he troubled himſelf very little about Religion, and yet leſs with the Clergy. [2] But others think, that the ſuperſtition and abuſes of the Churchmen were ſuch as he could not bear, and that he likewiſe meditated a Reformation. He was formerly ſent on an Embaſſy to *Rome*, where he ſaw and heard too much. [3] Being asked how he liked that City? he made anſwer, "That "no place would have pleaſed him better, if that ſcum of Rogues the Courtiers "had been baniſhed out of it. That the Citizens of *Rome* in ancient times were "worthy men, but that at preſent the Pride and Luxury of the Prieſts, Biſhops "and Cardinals, and particularly of the Supreme Biſhop, were as barefaced as ex-"ceſſive: That he doubted not, but the lives of the Pagans and Infidels were "more chaſt and innocent than the lives of thoſe who took upon them to pre-"ſcribe laws to *Chriſtendom* in the buſineſs of Religion. *He added*, That he had "ſeen ſome of the principal Cardinals laugh and point, and loll out their tongues in "an unworthy manner at the ſimplicity of the people, and particularly of our *Ne-"therlanders*, whilſt the holy Reliques were ſhewn to them, and offered them to kiſs. "With that ſort of people nothing was holy but Gold, and ſomething elſe that "ought not ſo much as to be named." It is related of the aforeſaid Prelate, [4] that the Biſhoprick of *Utrecht* was in a manner forced upon him. [5] *Eraſmus* praiſes his excellent qualities, gifts, and virtues, and eſpecially his love of Peace. [6] And indeed he made it his buſineſs to countenance and promote all kinds of Learning, Arts and Sciences, that flouriſh in peaceful times. *Henry* of *Bavaria*, Son of *Philip*, Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, ſucceeded him in his Biſhoprick, who [7] four years after yielded up to the Emperor, as Duke of *Brabant*, and Count of *Holland*, the temporal juriſdiction of the Province of *Utrecht*, and ſo brought it under the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

[8] On the twelfth of *Auguſt* there was a Placard publiſhed in the name of the Emperor, as Count of *Holland*, aſſerting his right of appointing Paſtors and other Eccleſiaſtical Officers; for anciently the Counts of *Holland* nominated to all the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Cures of Souls, unleſs perhaps where ſome private Perſons, or Aſſemblies, by endowing or augmenting any Churches, might have acquired or obtained ſuch a Privilege. [9] The ſaid Placard was couched in the following Terms:

A Placard by the Emperor Charles, *about his Right of Nomination to Benefices as Count of* Holland, &c.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, elected Roman Emperor, always Auguſt, King of Germany, of Spain —— Count of Holland and Zeland —— ſends greeting to the chief of our Door-keepers, Exploictier, or Serjeant at Arms of the Chamber of the Council of Holland. Whereas it has been lately repreſented to us, that many ſpiritual Benefices, ſuch as Churches and Prebends, Vicarages, and other Eccleſiaſtical Offices within our Territories and Counties of Holland and Weſt-Freeſland (ſome of which are in our Collation, Preſentation, and Diſpoſition, and ſome of them in the Collation of our Stadtholder of our ſaid Counties, purſuant to the Ordinances enacted many years ſince) have been poſſeſſed and enjoyed without our knowledge, and without ours or our Stadtholder's Collation, Preſentation and Diſpoſition, and are daily given away to the prejudice of our Prerogative and Dignity. We therefore being deſirous to prevent theſe Evils, and to maintain our own Rights, do charge and command you to take a progreſs about our ſaid Countries, and to repair to ſuch places as you ſhall think neceſſary, and there openly in the Churches declare and require, that every perſon who is poſſeſt of, or ſerves any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice or Promotion whatever, either in his own name, or in the name of any other, ſhall within the ſpace of one month after the publication of the premiſſes, bring or ſend his Title, or an authentick Copy of it, and ſafely deliver it into the hands of our truſty and well-beloved Aernt Sandelijn, Secretary of our Council of Holland, whom we have commiſſioned for that purpoſe; to the end that it may be regiſtered by him, and communicated to us, upon pain, that if any ſhall tranſgreſs theſe our Orders,

[1] Hiſt. Ultraject. *p.* 327.
[2] Buchel. Not. in Hed. *p.* 328.
[3] Gerard Noviomagus in vita ejuſ. Tom. III. Script. Germ. edit. à Frehero.
[4] Eraſm. Ep. *p.* 583. Suffr. Petri Append. ad Chron. Bekæ, *p.* 186.
[5] Eraſm. ib. & *p.* 1707.
[6] Suf. Petr. ib.
[7] Suf. Petr. ib. Ellerd de Veers Chron. Netherl. *p.* 36, & L. Hortenſii Hiſt. Ultraject. *p.* 173, & in calce Libri.
[8] Vid. Grot. Piet. Ord. Holl. *p.* 89, &c. Idem de Imp. Sum. Proteſt. circa Sacra. Cap. X. Uitenbog. *on the ſame*, *p.* 94 *to* 100.
[9] Vid. Grot. Piet. Ord. Holl. *p.* 104.

Orders, and continue to poſſeſs their reſpective Livings or Promotions, without producing their Titles to the ſame within the time limited, we ſhall proceed to a new Collation and Diſpoſition, for the advantage of thoſe on whom we ſhall think fit to beſtow them, to the end that our Prerogative and Dignity may ſuffer no diminution or prejudice. For doing which we do hereby veſt you with full powers and ſpecial directions. For which reaſon, we require and command all our Officers of Juſtice, and other our loving Subjects, to be aiding and aſſiſting to you herein, if deſired, as they tender our high diſpleaſure. An° Dom. 1524.

Given under our Seal of Fiefs, the twelfth Day of *September*, 1524.

We likewiſe find in the publick Regiſters, a Table or Catalogue of all the Spiritual Promotions that were in the Gift, and did of right belong to the Counts of *Holland*, or their Stadtholders, written in the *French* Tongue.

The Reformation goes on in Brabant.

But to return to the buſineſs of the Reformation. About this time the Paſtor of *Mels*, a little place near *Antwerp*, took upon him to preach againſt Popery, which he did ſometimes in the open Fields, when his Church could not contain the Crowds of people that came to hear him. He told them in one of his Sermons, in which he declaimed againſt the Prieſts of his time: *We are worſe than* Judas; *for he both ſold, and delivered the Lord*; *but we ſell him to you, and do not deliver him.* This produced a Placard or Proclamation againſt the ſaid Paſtor, and an *Auſtin* Monk, who taught at *Antwerp*. Their Aſſemblies were prohibited, and a reward of thirty gold *Carolus*'s was ſet upon their heads. However, upon a certain *Sunday* great numbers of people came together in a Shipwright's yard, to hear the ſaid Monk; but ſince the Teacher, by ſome chance or other, could not appear, one of the Company, named *Nicolas*, a perſon well verſed in the Scripture, thought it was a ſhame that ſuch a Congregation, hungring after the food of the Word, ſhould depart without a little ſpiritual nouriſhment; wherefore climbing up the Maſt of a Ship, he taught the people according to his capacity; and upon that account, and for the ſake of the reward that was ſet upon the Preacher, he was ſeized by two Butchers, and delivered to the Magiſtrates, who cauſed him to be put into a Sack, and thrown into the River, where he was drowned.

One Nicolas *a Layman, preaches up the ſame, and is put to death for it.*

[1] *Henry* of *Zutphen*, ſome time Prior of the *Auſtin* Monks at *Antwerp*, fled away upon the perſecution raiſed againſt his fraternity, [2] and about the end of this year was put to a cruel death by the Peaſants of *Ditmarſch*, who were ſtirred up by the Clergy againſt him.

In this ſtate of affairs many forſook their Cloiſters. *In* Holland, *my Country*, (ſays *Eraſmus* [3] in one of his Letters) *the Nuns every where take their flight, and marry in the Lord.* The Inquiſitor *Nicolas van Egmont*, was for ſome miſdeamenour turned out of his Office by the Emperor and the Pope; and [4] *Francis vander Hulſt*, his Collegue, was in danger of capital puniſhment, but [5] ſoon after he was armed with new powers, and the ſword of the Inquiſition put into his hands.

1525. *The Low-Countries filled with* Luther's *Doctrine. Several learned Men embracing, or favouring the ſame.*

[6] In the mean while the Doctrine of *Luther* prevailed among moſt of the Inhabitants of the Provinces of *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Flanders*; which made the Monks to rage with a mortal hatred againſt it. [7] At *Bois le Duc*, which was beſieged by the Lady *Margaret*, the Emperor's Aunt, and Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, they drove all the *Dominicans* out of the City. At *Antwerp* the out-of-Town Meetings went on and increaſed, without regarding the Placards of the Emperor and Government. *Martin Dorpius* himſelf, of *Naldwick*, that learned *Hollander*, and Profeſſor of Divinity at *Louvain*, who was thought to be not very averſe at firſt from *Luther*'s Doctrine, was in danger of his life, together with *Eraſmus*, at *Louvain*: It was even believed that *Philip de Lens*, the Emperor's Secretary in the Court of *Brabant*, was alſo a well-wiſher privately to the Reformation. In *Brabant*, [8] *Walter Deleen*, a learned man, who was afterwards Profeſſor of the *Greek* Tongue at *Embden*, declared himſelf likewiſe of the ſame opinion; and ſo it is thought did *Peter Nannius* of *Alkmaer*, a Prieſt, and a perſon of no ſmall note among the learned, together with one *Laurence*, another Clergyman. At *Naerden* [9] began *Antony Fredericks* to take this work in hand, and he was followed by many of the principal inhabitants, together with

[1] Camer. *and* Corput's *Life of* Melanct. Beverwijk's *Hiſt. of* Dort, *p.* 170.
[2] Hiſt. des Martyrs, f. 87.
[3] In Epiſt. *p.* 1924.
[4] [5] [6] [7] Ib. *p.* 1927, &c.
[8] *Hiſt. of the Matyrs in* Dutch, p. 310.
[9] *He was afterwards put to Death. See* Henr. *Ant. Pref.* p. 3.

An° Dom. 1525. with Paſtor *Herman Cock*, and *Nicolas Quick* the Under-maſter of the School there. At *Utrecht* the doctrine of the Reformation was embraced by *John* (ſome name him *Henry*) *Rhodius*, Principal of the College of St. *Jerome*; and in *Holland*, *Cornelius Honius*, a learned Civilian, and Counſellor in the Courts of *Holland*, renounced the Popiſh Religion, and interpreted the Text, *This is my Body*, as applied in the Holy Supper, by the word, *Signifies*, or *Denotes*. This interpretation [1] (which he found among the papers of *Jacob Hook*, ſome time Dean of *Naldwick*) was ſuppoſed to be two hundred years old; and being tranſmitted from hand to hand down to the preſent age, was ſent by the ſaid *Rhodius* and *George Sylvanus* to *Luther*, *Zuinglius* and *Œcolampadius*, to learn their ſentiments of it. *Luther* oppoſed, but the other two approved it. To *Honius* there acceded a Monk named *Bernard*, together with *Gerard Wormer*, *William* of *Utrecht*, *John de Backer* of *Woerden*, who to pleaſe his Father, had entered into Holy Orders, and *William Gnaphæus*, Rector of the *Gymnaſium*, or High-School in the *Hague*. But theſe ſix perſons were all thrown into priſon at ſeveral times in the *Hague*, together with *John Sartorius* of *Amſterdam*. *John de Backer*, who was ſcarce twenty ſeven years old, was in the month of *Auguſt*, 1525, bound and ſtrangled at a Stake, and burnt to aſhes in the *Hague*: The cauſes of this Martyrdom were, that he had preached contrary to the late Decrees, and [e] was married to a lawful wife. [2] Maſter *Nicolas Copinus à Montibus*, *Godſchalk Roſemunds*, and *Ruard Tapper* of *Enkhuiſen*, were his chief Examiners, as touching his Faith, among the Clergy; and Maſter *Jooſt Lovering* preſided at his Trial as Civil Magiſtrate: this laſt was alſo a principal Member of the Inquiſition, and is deſcribed by [3] *Eraſmus* in a Letter to *Bilebald Pirkheimer* as a mortal enemy to Learning. During his impriſonment they had ſeveral conferences with him, in which they laboured to prove, that people were obliged to ſubmit to all the Decrees and Traditions of the *Romiſh* Church, and receive them as Rules of Life and Manners: That Hereticks were to be conſtrained, or elſe extirpated by the Sword: And that Prieſts ought not to marry. He on the contrary aſſerted, [f] "That he could not ſubmit to any other Rule of Faith than "what was expreſſed in the Holy Writ, in ſuch a ſenſe as the Holy Ghoſt, by "whoſe inſpiration the ſame was delivered, required it to be underſtood; and "that for the interpretation of it, no other words were neceſſary to be uſed than "thoſe of Scripture itſelf. *He confeſſed*, That we ought not lightly to violate the "Decrees and Canons of the Church, but to obſerve them ſo far as they agreed "with the Word of God. *He added*, [g] that Chriſtians were not at liberty to "compel any one by outward violence to embrace the Faith: That men were "no otherwiſe to be forced *to come in* than as God forces, or requires them to be "forced; which is not by Priſons, Stripes, or Death; but by Gentleneſs, and by "the ſtrength of the Divine Word, a force as ſoft and lovely as it is powerful; "and that the beſt compulſion, was living and preaching well. *He complained*, "that [h] the Whoredoms of the Prieſts, which they daily practiſed, were daily con- "feſſed and forgiven: That the Governours of the Church connived at thoſe evils, "becauſe of the multitude of offenders, tho' their Eccleſiaſticks fell into them again "after every Abſolution; and yet at the ſame time they would not tolerate in him "a chaſte and honourable marriage, which God had allowed: That he had uſed "his utmoſt endeavours to reſiſt the deſires of the Fleſh, and to abſtain from all car- "nal converſation of women; but the more he reſiſted, the more theſe deſires grew "and prevailed." When he was interrogated, what methods he had oppoſed againſt this evil, he anſwered, "Such, by which this kind of Devils were commonly "caſt out, namely, much faſting, continual praying, and laborious toyling; *to which* "*he added*, that whilſt he lived in this ſtate of mortification he abſtained from all "ſtrong drinks, neither was his marriage performed in ſecret, nor without wit- "neſſes." Upon their objecting to him that he had tranſgreſſed the Canon Law, the obſervation of which he had ſworn to when he was made a Prieſt; he anſwered, "That he had only ſworn to obſerve the Canons according to the utmoſt "of his skill and powers, and that he had not broken the ſaid Oath. *He ſaid*, It "was his opinion, that the Church had authority with reſpect to Order and De- "cency, but not to impoſe any thing upon mens conſciences as a neceſſary Article "of

John de Backer *ſtrangled and burnt at the* Hague.

[1] *See the Life of* Weſ. Gansfort, *by* Alb. Hardenberg, *in* Dutch.

[2] Gnaph. Hiſt. de Mart. J. Piſt. à Worden. Hiſt. des Mart. f. 86. *Hiſt of Maryrs in* Dutch, f. 55, &c. [3] *P.* 1931.

" of Faith: That this was no leſs true in relation to the Celibacy of Prieſts, which " was not required by any Scriptures truly Canonical; concerning which therefore, " even an Angel from Heaven could not introduce a new Article of Faith, much " leſs the Church, which was ſubordinate to the Word of God, but had no autho- " rity over it." What was further objected againſt him, and how he defended himſelf, is to be found in the Hiſtory which *William Gnaphæus* his Fellow-priſoner has publiſhed concerning his ſufferings; as likewiſe in the relations extracted from thence, and inſerted in the *Dutch* Book of Martyrs. When he received his Sentence, *Jooſt Laurence*, who preſided at his Trial, dropt ſome words, which I am aſhamed to repeat; but the ſubſtance was; *That he wiſhed that this poor man had had to do with ten pocky whores, when he thought of marrying, rather than have given him ſo much trouble.* This Wiſh, or rather Curſe, was heard with horror, and condemned with deteſtation. His aged Father, *John Dirkſon* the Sexton, who for his ſake was turned out of his place, comforted him, when he could have acceſs to him, with theſe or the like words; *Be ſtrong, and perſevere in what is good: as for me, I am contented, after the example of* Abraham, *to offer up to God my deareſt Child, that never offended me.* The next day, which was the laſt of his life, being the 15th of *September*, he was ſecularized, or diveſted of his ſacred Character, upon a high Scaffold; then they dreſſed him in a ſhort yellow Coat, and put on his head a yellow Hat with flaps, like a Fool's Cap. When they were leading him away to execution, as he paſſed by the priſon where many more were ſhut up for the Faith, he cried with a loud voice; *Behold, my dear Brethren, I have ſet my foot upon the threſhold of Martyrdom: have courage, like brave ſoldiers in Jeſus Chriſt; and being ſtirred up by my example, defend the Truths of the Goſpel againſt all Unrighteouſneſs.* He had no ſooner ſaid thus, but he was anſwered with a ſhout of joy, triumph, and clapping of hands by the Priſoners, and at the ſame time they honoured his Martyrdom with Eccleſiaſtical Hymns, ſinging *Te Deum Laudamus* —— *Certamen Magnum* —— and *O beata Martyrum Solemnia* —— Nor did they ceaſe, till he had given up the ghoſt. When he was at the ſtake, he cried, *O Death! where is thy Sting? O Grave! where is thy Victory?* And again, *Death is ſwallowed up in the Victory of Chriſt.* And laſt of all; *Lord Jeſus forgive them, for they know not what they do. O Son of God, remember me, and have mercy on me.* And thus, after they had ſtopped his breath, he departed as in a ſweet ſleep, without any motions and convulſions of his head and body, or contorſions of his eyes. This was the end of *John de Backer*, the firſt Martyr in *Holland* for the Doctrine of *Luther*. The next day *Bernard* the Monk, *Gerard Wormer*, *William* of *Utrecht*, and perhaps alſo *Gnaphæus* himſelf, were to have been put to death, had not the conſtancy of our Proto-martyr ſoftened a little the minds of the Judges. The ſaid [1] *Gnaphæus* and [2] *Cornelius Honius* had been firſt apprehended and thrown into Jail, without being heard; where, after they had lain three months, they were obliged to give ſecurity to continue in the *Hague*, as in a Priſon at large, for the ſpace of two years. During that time no accuſers appeared againſt them. In the mean while *Honius* died; and when the two years expired, *Gnaphæus* was diſcharged, upon promiſe of appearing upon the firſt ſummons. But his adverſaries having gotten into their hands a certain Paper, which he had drawn up at the requeſt of ſome friends, for the conſolation of a poor Widow, he was again apprehended, during the impriſonment of *John de Backer*: After much examining and ſifting by the Inquiſitors and other perſons deputed by the Court for that purpoſe, he was confined to a certain Monaſtery for the ſpace of three months, and condemned to do penance with Bread and Beer, for having, as they pretended, vilified a Monaſtical life; for he had ſaid in the above-mentioned Paper, that the ſaid Widow ought not to be concerned for her Son's caſting off the Friers Cowl, ſince, as *Paul* teaches, the Kingdom of God does not conſiſt in meats or drinks, or in the diſtinction of ſeaſons, places and habits, (which, in great meaſure, was the caſe of a Cloiſter-Life) but in Temperance, Faith, and Love unfeigned; which virtues her Son was as capable of exerciſing now as before. Afterwards reflecting upon the troubleſome times with which they were threatened, partly on account of the Perſecution in the *Low-Countries*, and partly by reaſon of the inſurrections and war of the Boors in *Germany*, whereby the number of Widows and Orphans was greatly increaſed, he compoſed a little Book, the matter of which was extracted

An° Dom. 1525.

Gnaphæus *and* Honius *apprehended.*

An Account of the Writings and Sufferings of the ſaid Gnaphæus.

2

[1] J. Revij Præf. Hiſt. J. Piſtorij præfix. [2] Eraſm. Epiſt. p. 1059.

An° Dom. 1525. tracted from the Holy Scriptures, under the title of, *A comfortable Mirrour for the Sick, in a Colloquy, or Diſcourſe, between* Theophilus, Tobias, *and* Lazarus. This Treatiſe being publiſhed, tho' without his knowledge and leave, becauſe it was not ſufficiently poliſhed, did much harm to Popery, and a great deal of good among the people. It was frequently reprinted in a ſhort ſpace of time, and [1] one of the Printers was executed on that account. At laſt, he was forced to fly his native country. There was a new ſtorm raiſed againſt him on account of a little piece of Sauſage that was found in a pot with Peaſe in his Kitchen, in the time of *Lent*, and which a longing woman had conveyed thither. The Court of Juſtice was taken up two whole days in weighing this affair. The Phyſicians were ſent for, and asked; *Whether it could fall out, through a natural inclination, that women big with child could be incited to a longing for fleſh in the time of* Lent? And then they paſſed the following ſentence upon him: That he ſhould be taken alive or dead whereever he was to be met with. His Mother, an ancient feeble woman, was put in irons, and his only Siſter caſt into priſon. He himſelf by good fortune eſcaped, and was at a conſiderable diſtance from the *Hague* when all this happened; but ſome Officers of Juſtice were placed in his houſe, and their hunger ſatiated at his expence. Nor would they take any ſecurity that was offered for the preſervation of his effects, 'till he could give publick proof of his innocence. Such treatment forced him to ſeek for ſhelter in foreign countries.

A Point in Law about longing for Fleſh *in* Lent.

Soon after the murder of *John de Backer*, on the 25th of *September*, a ſtrict charge was given to the Stadtholder, Preſident and Council of *Holland*, to explain and declare the Placard againſt the *Lutherans*, according to the true intent and meaning; and there was alſo publiſhed another, bearing date the ſaid day, Whereby were forbidden **all open and ſecret meetings, in order to read and preach the Goſpel, the Epiſtles of St. Paul, and other ſpiritual writings; or to talk of and interpret the ſame; as likewiſe all diſputes about the Holy Faith, the Sacraments, the Power of the Pope and Councils, and other Eccleſiaſtical matters, in private houſes and at meals.** And laſtly it was required, **That all Heretical books ſhould be burnt, and nothing printed that was not firſt approved by the Council.**

The ſame month the Lady *Margaret*, the Governeſs, had writ to the Cities of *Holland*, that they ſhould keep a watchful eye over the Preachers, Pariſh-Prieſts and School-maſters within their reſpective juriſdictions; and upon the 27th *ditto*, ſhe ſent a Circular Letter to all the Cloiſters; which was very remarkable, and which we have therefore thought fit to preſent to the Reader *verbatim*.

Margaret, &c. *To the Reverend, Truſty, and Well-beloved, &c.*

A Circular Letter from the Lady Margaret *to all the Monaſteries in* Holland.

WE having been informed, and fully ſatisfied, that the Errors and Hereſies lately ariſen among the common people, do chiefly proceed from, and are to be aſcribed to the indiſcreet Sermons of Preachers both Secular and Regular; for the remedy thereof, we will and declare, That from this time forwards you ſhall ſend forth no perſons to preach abroad, nor ſuffer any to preach in your Convents, but ſuch as are learned, prudent, and of good life and manners, and that have been well exerciſed in the methods of preaching; and before you allow them to preach, you your ſelves ſhall admoniſh them that they take heed not to ſcandalize their hearers with improper fables, tales, and diſcourſes, as has been often done; and that they make no mention of Martin Luther, *and his doctrine, nor meddle with the opinions of other Hereticks of former ages: Acquainting all of them, that if they preſume to act contrariwiſe, they ſhall be corrected and puniſhed, firſt by a ſuſpenſion* ab Officio, *and upon perſevering, by a deprivation from their Function. We do alſo further declare, That thoſe who* determine *in your Convents, ſhall not continue longer in their* Terms *than the week of their preaching; which being expired, they ſhall return home to their reſpective Convents, without exerciſing themſelves either before or after the ſaid week: Whereof we think fit to warn you, leſt upon the violation of theſe our Orders, we ſhould take ſuch meaſures as might turn to your ſhame and damage; which we forbear now to do, in hopes of your dutiful acquieſcence; having, nevertheleſs, given directions to our Magiſtrates and Civil Officers to inform us from time to time of*

[1] Hen. Ant. van de Lind. præf. Syntag. Theol. B. III.

of all Contraventions. We recommend you to God, Reverend, Truſty and Well-beloved, &c. An° Dom. 1525.

Given at the *Hague*, 27 *Sept. Ann.* 1525.

It had been forbidden before, to receive or harbour in any places of *Holland* ſuch Eccleſiaſticks as had deſerted their Cloiſters.

Whilſt all theſe precautions were taken to ſtop the courſe of the *Reformation*, there aroſe a diſpute among the Reformers themſelves, about the doctrine of the *Lord's-Supper*, [1] which broke out afterwards into a bitter *Sacramental war*, as it was called; [2] firſt between *Luther* and *Andrew Karelſtad*, and [3] afterwards between *Luther* and *Zwinglius*, [4] the latter of whom was ſupported by *John Œcolampadius* and others. *The Riſe of the Controverſy about the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, among the Proteſtants.*

The Schiſm which ſprang from thence, occaſioned chiefly by an obſtinate and domineering humour, gave a much greater check to the progreſs of the Reformation than all the Tricks and Contrivances, Placards, Priſons, Swords, Gibbits, Stakes, and ſuch like weapons of the Pope. Each had his followers, and the *Low-Countries* were divided by them into Parties. [5] *Eraſmus* had before this written againſt *Luther*, but with great temper, upon the buſineſs of *Free-will*: [6] Whereupon followed *Luther*'s furious Book *de ſervo Arbitrio*, in *April*, 1526. [7] *Eraſmus* replied in the ſpace of twelve days, by his *Hyperaſpiſt* or Apologiſt, which ſpoke a more ſharp language: for *Luther* had before expoſed him in ſeveral Letters for [8] *a blind man, a pitiful fellow, one that knew not Chriſt, of a raw mind, and ſtill adhering to the Letter.* [9] But in this laſt Book he proceeded farther, calling him an Atheiſt, and affirming, that, like *Lucian*, he did not believe a God; an *Epicurean*, who with his Maſter would not believe that God concerned himſelf with worldly affairs; a *Sceptick*, who doubted of the things contained in the Chriſtian Confeſſion; a *Mocker* at the Holy Scriptures; an *Enemy* of Revealed Religion; and a *Blaſphemer*. [10] It was alſo given out by ſome of the moſt zealous among *Luther*'s friends, that *Eraſmus* was bribed to write againſt him, and that he made merchandize of the Word of God. [11] Some gave him the name of *Balaam*; but the moſt reaſonable and moderate, eſpecially *Melanchon*, made a good uſe of his Inſtructions, and they became much leſs rigorous [12] in the Article of [13] *Predeſtination* and *Free-will* [14] than *Luther* was at firſt; [15] and even that great Man himſelf, as ſome think, was in time ſoftened by the force of Truth, though he did not ſhow it ſo openly as *Melanchon*. In the mean while the Perſecution went on. [16] In *Holland*, the Funeral Piles began to ſmoak again very freely, by the management of ſome who underſtood much better the burning than the converting of Hereticks. Eraſmus *writes againſt* Luther, *but with temper; to which he replied angrily and ſcurrilouſly.*

[17] On the 14th of *March* there was again publiſhed a Placard againſt Hereſie, of the ſame tenor as the former. After which there was another ſet forth, which on the 17th of *July* had been drawn up by the Emperor himſelf in Council. [18] The Contents of the ſaid Placard were to this effect:

1526. *A Placard at* Mechlen *againſt* Lutheraniſm, *on the 14th of* March; *and another on the 17th of* July *following, drawn up by the Emperor himſelf.*

——That the Vulgar had been deceived and miſled, partly by the contrivance of ſome ignorant Fellows, who took upon them to preach the Goſpel privately, without the leave of their Superiors, explaining the ſame, together with other Holy Writings after their own fancies; and not according to the orthodox ſenſe of the Doctors of the Church, racking their brains to produce new-fangled Doctrines. Beſides theſe, divers Secular and Regular Prieſts preſumed to aſcend the Pulpit, and there to relate the errors and ſiniſter notions of Luther and his Adherents, at the ſame time reviving the Hereſies of ancient times, and ſome that had likewiſe been propagated in theſe Countries, refreſhing mens memories with the ſame, mentioning other falſe and

[1] Hoſpin. Hiſt. Sacramentaria. L. Lavateri Hiſt. Sleid. Comment. & Eraſmi Epiſt. *p.* 774.

[2] Uitenb. *Church Hiſt. p.* 104. Corp. *Life of* Melanct. *p.* 27. G. Calixti Judicium de Controv. inter Luth. & Reform. *p.* 71. Ant. Hulſij *relation of the diſputes between the Reformed and* Lutherans, *p.* 113. *See alſo* Corput ib *p.* 43. *about* Karelſtad.

[3] Uitenb. ib *p.* 27, &c.

[4] Corput. ib. *p.* 65, &c. Calixt. ib *p.* 79, &c. Eraſmi Epiſt. *p.* 780. 819, &c.

[5] Eraſm. op. T. IX. *p.* 997. Epiſt. 821.

[6] Ib. Epiſt. *p.* 789, &c. Luth. op. T. III. *p.* 165. Uitenb. ib. *p.* 39.

[7] Eraſ. Ep. *p.* 796, &c. Ejuſ. op. T. IX. *p.* 1026.

[8] Ejuſd. Epiſt. *p.* 822.

[9] Ejuſd. Epiſt. *p.* 1095, & Hyperaſpiſt in T. IX. *p.* 1029. item Purgat. adverſ. Epiſt. Luth ib. *p.* 1279.

[10] Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 1109. [11] Ib. *p.* 951.

[12] *See* Melanchon's *judgment concerning the Writings of* Eraſm. *againſt* Luther *in his Letters*, Lib. IV. Epiſt. 28, &c.

[13] Vid. Melanct. Loc. Com. Baſil. 1546, *p.* 70, &c. Ibid. Epiſt. Lib. IV. Ep. 796. Uitenb. Hiſt. *p.* 40, &c.

[14] Neceſſ. *Anſwer*, p. 82.

[15] Uitenb. ib. *p.* 41.

[16] Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 230. [17] Repert. *p.* 16.

[18] Plac. *of* Fland. *p.* 103.

An° Dom 1526. and damnable opinions, that had never till now been thought, heard or spoken of; and with great indiscretion, charging particular persons that had been defamed, or but lightly suspected, with entertaining some of those errors; by which means they caused such as might have been brought off, if they had dealt with them prudently and privately, to persevere in the same ——But these Heresies, says the Placard, happened in some measure, and were augmented by reason that some of the Laity, who were weak and unlearned persons, read the Flemish and Walloon Gospels, explaining them according to their own private judgment, and according to the Letter, and held divers disputes among themselves, and in publick meetings, about them; choosing such opinions as pleased them best.----Wherefore it forbids, in the Emperor's name, *all Assemblies* (calling them unlawful) in order to read, speak, confer, or preach concerning the Gospel, or other holy writings, in *Latin*, *Flemish*, or in the *Walloon* languages ——As likewise to preach, teach, or in any sort to promote the *Doctrines* of *Martin Luther*; especially such as related to the Sacrament of the Altar, or to Confession and other Sacraments of the Church; or any thing else that affected the honour of the Holy Mother Mary, or the Saints and Saintesses and their Images; or to speak against the power of Councils, the Pope, and the Bishops and Prelates of the Church; Prayers for the Dead; the Observation of Lent, and other Fasts; and in a word, all other matters ordained and commanded by Holy Church. Moreover it ordains, that no man either in publick or private, either within or without his house, either at table or in common discourse, presume to do or say in preaching, reading or disputing any thing that might incite and move against, or divert and distract the minds of the common people from the Faith, and from all that is taught by Holy Church. And all this upon the penalty, for the first time that any person shall be discovered and convicted, of forfeiting twenty gold Carolus's; and on failure of payment, then to be banished for the space of three months; in which time, if he return, he shall be liable to arbitrary correction. For the second offence, he shall forfeit forty of the like Guilders, or be banished half a year out of the Country of Flanders, not to return within that time upon pain of death, and loss of estate. But it is left to the Judges of the respective places to lessen or increase the Fines according to their discretion——The pecuniary Mulcts are to be divided in the following manner; one third part to the Informer, one third to the Officers of the place where the Conviction is made, and one third to the Emperor. And these Fines and Punishments having been once adjudged, shall be forthwith levied and executed, notwithstanding any Reclaim or Appeal. And all this shall be without prejudice to the Office of Inquisitor-General, in cases where Heresie may be incurred.——By this Placard it was further ordered, That together with the Books of M. Luther, Pomeranus, Carolstad, Melancthon, Œcolampadius, Franciscus Lamberti, Justus Jonas, and all their Adherents of the same sentiments, all the Gospels, Epistles, Prophecies, and other Books of the Holy Scriptures, in High-Dutch, Flemish, Walloon or French, that had marginal Notes or Expositions according to the Doctrines of Luther, should be brought to some publick place, and there burnt; and that whoever should presume to keep any of the aforesaid Books and Writings by them, after the promulgation of this Placard, should forfeit Life and Goods.

1527. *A Widow of* Monickedam *martyred in the* Hague.

In the following year, *viz.* 1527, one *Wendelmoet Klaas*, a Widow of *Monickedam* in *North-Holland*, was taken up on account of Religion, and carried to the *Hague*; where being interrogated what she thought of the Sacrament of the Mass? she answered boldly, That she took it for *nothing but a piece of Dough*. In relation to the Saints, and their Pictures and Images, she confessed, that she *knew no other Mediator but Jesus Christ*. Being threatened with the fiery Trial, she continued steadfast, and said; [x] *If this power be given you from above, I am prepared to suffer.* To one that said to her, *You do not fear death, because you have not tasted it*; she returned this answer; *That's true, neither shall I ever taste it; for Christ has said,* John viii. 51. IF A MAN KEEP MY SAYINGS, HE SHALL NEVER SEE DEATH. After she was sentenced to die, they advised her to confess her sins to a Priest; but she cried aloud, *I have confessed all my sins to Christ my Lord, who taketh away all sins: But if I have offended any of my neighbours, I heartily ask them forgiveness.* Thus she went with meekness and courage to the place of execution, where she was first

[x] Hist. des Martyrs, Lib. II. *p.* 93. Wesenbeck, *p.* 10.

ſtrangled, and then burnt to aſhes. [1] She is by ſome reckoned in the number of the Anabaptiſt Martyrs, though I do not find that ſhe was accuſed of any Heterodox Opinions about Baptiſm. It was, however, about the ſame time that thoſe people began to ſpread their opinions in the *Low-Countries*. An° Dom. 1526.

i [2] The Reformation, [i] excluſive of Infant-baptiſm, was ſet on foot in *Swiſſerland* about the year 1522, by the zeal of *Conrad Grebel* and *Felix Mans*, both men of learning, who fell out with *Zuinglius* about the ſaid opinion. Upon account of this difference [3] was the firſt Edict againſt *Anabaptiſts* publiſhed at *Zurich*; in which there was a Penalty of a **ſilver Mark (or two Guilders** Dutch **Money) ſet upon all ſuch as ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be Re-baptiſed, or ſhould with-hold Baptiſm from their Children.** And it was further declared, **That thoſe who openly oppoſed this Order, ſhould be yet more ſeverely treated.** Accordingly, the [4] ſaid *Felix* was drowned at *Zurich* upon the ſentence pronounced by *Zuinglius*, in theſe four words; *Qui iterum mergit, mergatur*; that is, *He that re-baptizes with water, let him be drowned in the water.* This happened in the year 1526; but [5] about the ſame time, and ſince, there were more of them put to death: A procedure which appeared very ſtrange to ſome: "The *Zuinglians, they ſaid*, were ſcarce got out of the reach of "Perſecution themſelves, and ſaw thoſe fires in which their fellow-believers "were burnt, ſtill daily ſmoaking. Moſt of them condemned the putting Hereticks "to death, where it came home to themſelves; ſuffered it, where they could not help "it; and practiſed it themſelves, where they were uppermoſt. Thus doing to others "what they would not have done to them. Others abuſed fire, they water. Thoſe "that knew better things ought to have done better. Neither were they acted by k "a good ſpirit, that could [k] lead the Wanderer into the ditch, inſtead of ſetting him "in the right way; that could drown the infected, inſtead of waſhing and cleanſing "him; or burn the Blind, inſtead of reſtoring him to the light."

The Riſe of Anabaptiſm.

Anabaptiſts fined for their Opinions at Zurich, *and one of their Leaders drowned there, by the Sentence of* Zuinglius.

The firſt Anabaptiſts, as far as I can gather from their own Writings, that were put to death for their perſwaſions in *Holland*, during the Reign of Popery, were [6] *John Wadon*, and two of his fraternity of *Waterlandt*; and all theſe three were, with a ſlow fire, rather roaſted than burnt to death in the *Hague*, in the year 1527. [7] At *Bruſſels* the Dean of *Louvain*, Inquiſitor of *Brabant*, *Holland*, and the neighbouring Countries, condemned partly, and partly received as Penitents, above ſixty perſons. At the ſame time, the Provoſt of the Regular Canons of *Ypres* was Inquiſitor in *Flanders*, and the parts adjacent, and the Provoſt of the Scholars of *Mons* in *Hainault*, was Inquiſitor in that Diſtrict. 1527. *In this year were* Anabaptiſts *firſt put death in* Holland.

On the 28th of *January*, in the year 1528, there was a new Placard put out againſt prohibited Books, and Monks that had abandoned their Cloiſters. And by another publiſhed at *Bruſſels* on the 20th of *February*, the Emperor again forbad his Subjects in *Flanders*, **to give or convey any immoveable Goods, Incomes and Inheritances to Cloiſters, Churches, Colleges or Hoſpitals; ſtrictly charging, that no Eccleſiaſtick ſhould preſume to become Heir or Executor to any dying perſons, nor receive any Gift or Bequeſt on ſuch pretence.** He likewiſe forbad them **to drive any Trade, or to Merchandiſe, or to Leaſe or Rent Eſtates, on pain of paying Rates and Taxes as well as the Laity.** 1528. *Another Placard publiſhed about Books,* &c. *And in the ſame year another againſt the Clergy.*

[8] There lay in the priſon at *Tournay*, a certain *Auſtin* Monk, named *Henry*, who was condemned to die for having thrown off his Frock, married a Wife, and preached againſt Popery. They offered him his life if he would own that the Woman he had married was his Whore or Concubine; but he refuſed to lengthen out his days on ſuch terms, and ſo was burnt alive.

In the year 1529, there appeared at *Bruſſels* a new Edict againſt the *Lutherans*: It was dated the 14th of *October*; whereby, **all ſuch as had in their cuſtody any prohibited books, which they had not brought forth to be burnt, as they were required to do by former Placards, publiſhed againſt Hereſie, or had otherwiſe contravened the ſame, were condemned to death, without pardon or reprieve: That is to ſay, all ſuch as had firſt abjured their Errors, and were again fallen back into Hereſie, were** 1529. *A new Placard againſt the* Lutherans.

[1] *Hiſt. of the Anabaptiſt Martyrs, in* Dutch, *p.* 89.
[2] *See* J. H. V. P. N. *The Beginning of the Schiſm among the Baptiſts. Extract from an old Writer of the* Swiſs *Baptiſts*, p. 3.
[3] *Hiſtory of Anabapt. Martyrs*, p. 89.
[4] *Beginning of Schiſm*, &c. *p.* 4.
[5] *Letters by* John Rieuwerts, *in* Dutch, *at* Amſterd. 1662. *p.* 413. Min. Celſ. Tract. de non occid Hæret. *p.* 49.
[6] Hooft's *Hiſt. p.* 32. [7] Ib. *p.* 33.
[8] Hiſt. des Martyrs, *p.* 95. Weſenb. *p.* 10.

An° Dom. 1529. sentenced to die by fire; and as for others, the Men were to die by the Sword, and the Women by the Pit, (that is, to be buried alive) offering at the same time to receive to mercy all Converts, in case they were not either of the number of the relapsed, or already in custody. People were likewise prohibited to harbour or conceal any Heretick upon pain of Death and forfeiture of Goods. [l] None that lay under the suspicion of Heresie were to be admitted to any honourable employ. The better to discover Hereticks, the half of their Estates (not exceeding one hundred pounds Flemish) was promised to their Accusers; if it exceeded that Sum, then, besides the half, they should enjoy the tenth penny of the remainder; and the overplus was to be employed in works of Piety and Charity. —— Lastly, it was directed, That they who were commissioned to put this Placard in execution, should proceed without the tedious formalities of Trials, and as summarily as in reason and equity might be done; and that an account thereof should be returned every three months to the Emperor, or in his absence to the Lady Margaret the Governess; to the end, that they might judge of their diligence; and in case of failure, the Penalty was a forfeiture of their Offices.

1530. *A young man burnt at the* Hague *this year, for his zeal against Popery.*

[l] On the 20th of the same month, one *William* of *Zwol* was burnt at *Mechelen* on account of *Lutheranism*. In the *Hague*, one *Teunis Teekson* of *Narden*, a young man of twenty four years of age was likewise burnt for his zeal against Popery in the year 1530. He was first a Scholar or Student of *Louvain*, where he led a very irregular life; but after his return home, whilst he was one day walking, he fell down suddenly, as it were struck from heaven, and was carried to his house for dead; after his recovery he was converted from his wicked life, and at the same time from Popery. He preached up the Reformation, and confuted many Popish errors, travelling about for that purpose; whereupon being complained of, and summoned to the *Hague*, he freely went thither. They suffered him to depart the first time, then they admonished him; and the third time secured him; even whilst in prison they gave him opportunities of escaping, but he did not seek it. When he was led to the stake, he sung a Hymn of praise to God; and pulling off his Shoes and Stockings, gave them to the Poor.

Erasmus *writes to some in* East-Freesland, *exhorting them against Schisms,* &c.

About this time our *Erasmus* was so offended at the Reformation in *Germany*, that he writ a long Letter to those of the *Low-Countries* and *East Freesland*, in which he admonished them not to be concerned with the manner of propagating *Lutheranism* in some places by Uproars and Tumults, but only to build upon the Rock *Christ*. These are his words: [2] "Keep your selves in the Ark, that you do not perish in the Deluge. "Continue in the little Ship of our Saviour, lest you be swallowed by the Waves. "Remain in the Fold of the Church, lest you become a prey to the Wolves or to Satan, "who is always going to and fro seeking whom he may devour. Stay and see what "Resolutions will be taken by the Emperor, the Princes, and afterwards by a General "Council: For by them, I hope, the Lord will assuage these storms. —— From "one Sect there daily spring new ones: [m] Let them first agree among themselves, [m] "before you cleave to this or that Party."

He was particularly scandalized at the persecutions which the *Zuinglians* raised against the *Anabaptists*; for it was about the same time that those of *Zurich* had ordained by a [3] second Decree, **That the** Anabaptists **should be no where tolerated within their Canton; but taken up, in order to be brought to Capital Punishment.** "They insist and argue, [4] *says he*, that Hereticks ought not to be punished with death; "whereas they themselves inflict the same upon the Anabaptists, a people against "whom there is very little to be said, and concerning whom we are assured there are "many who have been reformed from the worst to the best lives: and though per- "haps they may foolishly err in certain opinions, yet have they never stormed Towns "nor Churches, nor entered into any combinations against the authority of the "Magistrate, nor driven any body from his Government or Estate." He farther relates how the *Reformed* endeavoured to force men to their perswasion. [5] "Is that "no force, *says he*, when you refuse to let them partake of your Portions and Cha- "rities, who will not hear your Sermons? Or when you decree, that whoever goes "to such a place to celebrate such a Festival, or to Mass or Sacrament in the neigh- "bouring Villages, shall forfeit a Florin? Or when your Council condemns those "who do not repair on *Easter-Day* to the Ministers, to receive Bread and Wine, in- "stead

[l] Hist. des Mart. *p.* 97. Wesenb. *p.* 13.
[2] Ejusd. Op. Tom. IX. *p.* 1306. & Epist. Lib. XXXI. *p.* 2095. &c. 2098, B—
[3] Anab. Mart. *p.* 109. [4] Ib. Op. & Epist. ib.
[5] Tom. IX. *p.* 1313—31. Epist. *p.* 2106, &c.

" ſtead of the Body of Chriſt ? " [1] This ſeems to relate to what happened not long before at *Baſil*, where the following Law was made: **He that receives the Lord's Supper in any other place, ſhall forfeit for the firſt offence, a Pound or Florin; for the ſecond, two; for the third, four; and for the fourth offence, ſhall be baniſhed.** ANº DOM. 1530.

By the Tumults, of which he accuſed the *Reformed*, he meant the way of Reforming practiſed in ſome Towns of *Germany*, and eſpecially at *Baſil*, [2] where he had reſided near eight years: For there the Common people had riotouſly thrown down and burnt the Images in the Churches; depoſed the Magiſtrates, and ſet up others in their ſtead; obliged the Monks and Nuns to put off their Eccleſiaſtical Habits, or to leave the Town; extirpating the Maſs, with almoſt all other Ceremonies of the Church. ——But in *Holland* there were, as yet, very few of theſe diſorders committed. Popery ſtill prevailed; it put Gags into the mouths of its adverſaries; Stakes were its boundaries, and it endeavoured to deſtroy by Fire and Sword both the Men and their Opinions together. But the very aſhes which were ſcattered in the wind were a fruitful ſeed for producing new Antagoniſts againſt this murdering Church. *Diſorders committed in Germany, and elſewhere, in the Buſineſs of Reformation.*

In *December*, 1530, died *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian*. She governed the *Low-Countries* very wiſely for the ſpace of about eighteen years. And in *October*, 1531, the Emperor ſent in her ſtead the Lady *Mary* his Siſter, Widow of *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, a diſcreet woman, and a lover of Learning, eſpecially of the *Latin* Tongue: Whereupon *Eraſmus* ſaid; [3] *That the very nature of humane affairs was altered; the men had forgot and laid aſide Letters, and the women had taken them up.* [4] But no Letters and no Books were leſs minded in theſe times by moſt of the Clergy than the Bible. Many had been in Holy Orders for years, without having ever read it. Some of them dipping into n it accidentally, [n] were extremely ſurprized at its Contents; as by no means agreeing either with their lives or doctrines. But thoſe who now renounced the errors of Popery, made uſe of the Holy Scriptures, for admoniſhing and inſtructing each other in their aſſemblies. They likewiſe tranſlated *Luther*'s New Teſtament into *Low-Dutch*, and afterwards his Bible; but it was not publiſhed till ſeveral years after; and it has been ſince obſerved, that this important Work is deficient in ſeveral points: [5] One of the firſt Printers was condemned to death for it, and beheaded. Somebody afterwards made a collection of the moſt comfortable paſſages in the Scripture, and publiſhed them under the title of the *Well of Life*. But this little Tract, which contained nothing but the very words of the Bible, without any Comment or Explanation, and ſeemed to be calculated for reducing men from the blindneſs of ſuperſtition to the true knowledge of God and Chriſt, became very obnoxious to the moſt zealous defenders of Popery: Inſomuch, that a certain *Franciſcan* Frier of *Brabant* took a journey to *Amſterdam* on purpoſe, where it had been firſt printed, bought the whole impreſſion, and burnt it; but it was afterwards reprinted in ſeveral places. *The Lady* Margaret *dies; and the Emperor ſends his Siſter* Mary, *Dowager Queen of* Hungary, *to govern the* Low-Countries *in her room.* 1531. *The great Contempt of the Bible.* *A certain Frier to ſhew his Zeal againſt it, buys up a whole Impreſſion of a little practical Treatiſe called the* Well of Life, *and burns it.*

The 7th of *December* produced another Edict againſt the *Lutherans* at *Bruſſels*, whereby that of the 14th of *October*, 1529, was confirmed with the following Addition: **That no body ſhould preſume from that time forwards to write, print, or cauſe to be written or printed, any new Book, upon what ſubject ſoever, without having firſt obtained Letters of Licenſe for the ſaid purpoſe; on pain of being publickly whipped on the ſcaffold, and marked beſides with a red-hot Iron, or having an Eye put out, or a Hand cut off, at the diſcretion of the Judge, who was to ſee the Sentence executed without delay or mercy**— The reſt of it agreed for the moſt part with the foregoing Placard. The Emperor likewiſe commanded, that the aforeſaid Placard ſhould be again promulgated on the 15th of *November*, throughout the *Low-Countries*, and from thence-forwards every ſix months. *A new Edict againſt the* Lutherans *and their Books.*

On the 17th of *October* the Emperor corroborated with a new Placard thoſe that had been made by his Great-Grandfather's Father, Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy*, in the year 1452, and by the Lady *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, in his own name in the year 1523, againſt the avarice and greedineſs of the Clergy in hunting after immoveable or real Eſtates in the Provinces of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Freeſland*; the ſubſtance of which Placard was as follows: **That no perſon whatever, who ſhould betake himſelf to a Con-** *The Emperor ſtrengthens the Placards of* Philip *of* Burgundy, *in* 1452, *by a more ſevere one againſt the Greedineſs of the Clergy.*

[1] Epiſt. *p.* 1946.
[2] Ib. 1301. & Servit. Hiſt. Trid. *p.* 39.
[3] In Epiſt. *p.* 486.
[4] Vander Lind. Præf. Syſt. Theol.
[5] Ibid.

An° Dom. 1531. a Convent, or place therein any of his family or friends, should settle upon such Convent, or any other Convent or Hospital, any part of his estate or income, upon pain of forfeiting the same; but should nevertheless be at liberty to carry with him a competent sum of money, or such an annual pension, as might be requisite for his support and maintenance in the Convent. In like manner no persons in Holy Orders were allowed to purchase or receive any inheritances or real estates; nor could such kind of revenues descend or be conveyed by Deed of Gift, last Will and Testament, by the death of Father, Mother, or any other friend or relation, to any Convent, or to any person in Holy Orders, even tho' security should be given that they should revert to the right Heirs. Neither was it allowed to give or bequeath any moveable goods or personal estate to such Convents or Ecclesiastical persons. And the penalty was forfeiture of all such estates, whether moveable or unmoveable; notwithstanding any pretended customs or usages of the Clergy, or any gifts or grants which they might have obtained through importunity, surprize, or otherwise, from the Emperor or any of his Predecessors. All which Grants, if any such, were thereby revoked and annulled, as inconsistent with and prejudicial to the Rights and Privileges of the Subjects of Holland, Zeland, and Freesland, as well as the Imperial Prerogatives and Dignity.

Against the same covetousness of the Clergy the Government of *Holland* had been obliged to secure it self by Placards in the years 1515 and 1524.

More Persecutions. About this time at *Amsterdam* there were nine men taken out of their beds by night upon suspicion of *Anabaptism*, hurried away to the *Hague*, and after they had been imprisoned a fortnight, were there beheaded by order of the Emperor. [1] Their bodies were buried, but their heads put into a Herring-barrel and sent to *Amsterdam*, where they were set upon stakes.

1532. [2] At *Harlem*, in the year 1532, a woman that had been re-baptized was thrown into the *Meer* or Lake; but her Husband and two other men were carried to the *Hague*, chained to a stake there, and roasted to death with a great fire kindled at some distance from them.

At *Limburg*, where the Magistrates avoided the putting Hereticks to death as much as possible, there arose about this time a violent Persecution, raised by certain persons whom the Emperor had commissioned for that purpose. They burnt six persons out of one family, on account of their aversion to Popery, the Father and Mother, their two Daughters and their Husbands. As they were leading them to the place of execution about a League from the Town, they did nothing but sing Psalms all the way; and then comforting one another, they called upon the name of *Christ* to the last gasp.

1533. [3] In the year 1533, one *Sikke Sniider* was beheaded at *Leeuwarden*, for suffering himself to be re-baptized.

Persons put to Death this Year, at other Towns in the Netherlands. [4] At *Arras* three men were sentenced to the fire, for refusing to honour the Holy Candle (as they called it) of that City, and for speaking against such superstitious customs.

[5] Four men were also put to death the same year at *Bois le Duc* for religious matters; and five men and one woman, at the same place were prevailed on to abjure the opinions of *Luther*, and to undergo such penance as the Church imposed on them; to wit, to walk in procession before the Sacrament with lighted tapers in their hands till they came to the Town-house, where they were to throw their *Lutheran* Books into the fire; to wear a yellow Cross upon their upper garments; not to stir out of the Town within a year; and to attend all processions with Wax-tapers in their Hands.

A Reward promised for discovering Anabaptist Teachers. In the month of *February* this year, the harbouring of any *Anabaptist* Preachers was forbidden in *Holland*, and a reward of 12 Guilders promised for every one of them that could be apprehended; and soon after there was published an Edict or Placard, importing; **That all those who having been re-baptized, were sorry for their fault, and in token of such their repentance, should come to Confession; and within twenty four days after date of the said Edict, should bring a Certificate from their Father Confessor; in such a case, and for that time only, they should be admitted to mercy. But those that continued obstinate, should be treated with the utmost severity of the Laws.**

3 In

[1] Chron. Van de Veer, *in* Dutch, *p.* 54.
[2] Anab. Mart. *p.* 112. [3] Ibid. *p.* 113.
[4] Wessenb. *p.* 10. Hist. des Mart. *p.* 107.
[5] Bor's *Description of* Bois le Duc, *p.* 20.

In *March* of the ſame year, the Lady *Mary*, Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, writ a Letter to the States of *Over-Yſſel*, ſignifying, *That ſhe had been informed that ſome warlike proviſions had been found in the hands of ſeveral Sectaries in that Province, which tended to Rebellion; yet that the Government would receive thoſe who teſtified their ſorrow, to mercy: But her intentions were, that for the future they ſhould proceed againſt ſuch Offenders after ſo ſtrict a manner, that thoſe errors might be wholly extinguiſhed; nevertheleſs they ſhould take care, that in ſo doing the country might not be too much diſpeopled.* An° Dom. 1533.

Upon a Repreſentation from the Courts of Juſtice in *Holland*, that affairs might ſometimes require, **That obſtinate Hereticks ſhould be executed in private**, which they thought might have a greater influence on the minds of men; the Governeſs, by a Letter dated the 9th of *November*, acquainted them, that ſhe referred ſuch Executions to their diſcretion; and that they might from thence-forward proceed as occaſion required.

1534. *More Executions on account of Religion.*

[1] In the year 1534, one *Jooſt*, a Potter, was beheaded at *Bois le Duc*, on account of Religion; [2] and divers others condemned to ſeveral kinds of penances on the like account. *William Wiggertſon* was privately beheaded in the Fort or Caſtle of *Schagen*. [3] *Isbrand Schol*, a Prieſt of *Amſterdam*, of an honourable family, a man of Letters, and ſo eloquent, that learned men themſelves ſaid of him, that when he was in the pulpit, he could make the people do what he pleaſed; being a perſon of great probity and humility, condeſcending to adapt his diſcourſes to the Underſtandings of the meaneſt: yet notwithſtanding all theſe good qualities, this man alſo fell into the hands of the Inquiſitors, who could not ſuffer him to ſpeak ſo freely of the religious Points that were in diſpute. He was therefore accuſed before them of Hereſie, where he defended himſelf ſo well, that he eſcaped twice; but the third time, the Placard being likewiſe more ſtrict, he was taken up and ſent away to *Brabant*; and after having lain ſome time in priſon at *Vilvorde*, was at laſt condemned to the fire at *Bruſſels*.

A new Sect of Enthuſiaſtical Anabaptiſts, pretending to be immediately acted on, or moved by the Spirit.

About this time there aroſe here in *Holland* a new Sect of Enthuſiaſtical Anabaptiſts, pretending to be guided or driven by the Spirit of God. They committed certain facts that bordered upon Sedition, and which tended to the deſtruction of the Commonwealth. 'Twas a mad and raving Sect, which, as [4] ſome think, owed its birth to one *Nicolas Stork* in *Saxony*, about the year 1522, or ſomewhat earlier. This *Nicolas* ſtirred up many againſt the Miniſters and Rulers of Churches, making them believe, *That ſuch Aſſemblies and Congregations as were guided and ſerved by ſtated Miniſters and Paſtors, were not the Churches of Chriſt, and that they were therefore bound to depart from them.* They who became his Proſelytes were to be admitted a-new by Baptiſm into the true Communion; for which reaſon they were called *Anabaptiſts*. But this Sect did not ſtop there. *There was no place*, they cried, *where any good was done; the wicked, who without any care of the common good, ſtudied only how to gratify their own luſts and deſires, were they that pretended to domineer over the godly; wherefore God had decreed to root them out, and to ſubſtitute another race of men endowed with innocence, righteouſneſs, and holineſs. To begin ſuch a Race, and to cauſe it to multiply, it was neceſſary to bring forth children; and therefore no body ought to marry a wife, unleſs he knew that there ſhould ſpring from her ſuch children as would prove good and godly, and predeſtinated for the Community of the Kingdom of Heaven. This could not be otherwiſe known than by a Revelation from God; but*, as they gave out, *The gift of Prophecy was in their Aſſemblies, whereby they foretold future things, and diſcloſed hidden ones. They dreamt dreams, and ſaw viſions, and ſome of their women propheſied.* The ſaid *Nicolas Stork* pretended to be utterly unlearned, and perhaps he was ſo, but declared, that God had revealed to him from Heaven that knowledge which maketh wiſe unto Salvation. Among other Maxims, this Sect profeſſed the following: [5] *That none ſhould apply themſelves to Arts and Sciences, nor ſeek for Learning and Knowledge elſewhere, than in the Goodneſs of the eternal God, where humane means were entirely unneceſſary: For how could any one otherwiſe ſerve and honour God, unleſs he vouchſafed to ſhew him the like favour as he had done to the Fathers*

[1] Bor's *Deſcription of* Bois le Duc, *p.* 21. *and the Hiſt. of the Anabaptiſt Martyrs, p.* 113. [2] Ibid. [3] Pontan. Hiſt. Amſterd. *p.* 239. [4] Camer. vita Melanct. *p.* 43. *and* Corput's *Life of the ſame in* Dutch, *p.* 15. [5] Camer. ib. *p.* 45.

An° Dom. 1534. *Fathers and godly men of old? Yea*, ſaid they, *we muſt ask and obtain of God, the ſame Communion and Converſation with him, of which they, by the means of fervent prayer, were made partakers.* [1] Afterwards this, *Stork* boaſted, that the Angel *Gabriel* had promiſed him the higheſt place in a new Kingdom, which God would ſhortly erect.

Theſe were the beginnings of horrible Tumults, which ſpread themſelves from one end of *Germany* to the other, and penetrated even into the *Low-Countries*; where many ſimple Anabaptiſts were involved by the new Sect in great troubles, by joining too eaſily in communion with them, on account of their profeſſing the ſame opinions about Baptiſm, *&c.* and fooliſhly thinking that they were ſtirred up by the Spirit of God. Many alſo of thoſe Anabaptiſts, tho' they did not adhere to the aforeſaid new Sect, were puniſhed by ſome Governours, as if equally guilty.

Tho. Muncer *and* Melchior Hofman *Leaders of this new Sect.*

From the dregs of this Sect aroſe [2] *Thomas Muncer*, who in the year 1525, was General of the *Thuringian* Boors, whom he led on to their deſtruction. It was this ſame reſtleſs Spirit that came about that time into *Holland*, where he drew after him a great many perſons, making them as mad as himſelf: Among the reſt *Melchior Hofman*, a noiſy hot-headed fellow, that called all ſuch as did not agree with him, damned Hereticks. [3] He went from *Germany* to *Kiel* in *Holſtein*, and from thence to *Embden*, where he choſe ſome diſciples and ſent them to the *Low-Countries*. Having appointed *John Triipmaeker* for Teacher in his ſtead, he paſſed from *Embden* to *Strasburg*, where, according to the Prophecy of one of his followers, he was to be impriſoned for half a year, and then to preach with liberty in all places: This was partly fulfilled, for he was there apprehended, and died in confinement; tho' it was ſaid of him, that he was *Elias*, and that *Strasburg* ſhould be *Jeruſalem*. Whilſt he was in priſon, ſome of his diſciples at *Embden*, who had been zealous for him and all his doctrines, when he was among them, fell from him in his abſence, and oppoſed the Baptiſm of adult perſons. And this party grew the ſtrongeſt there; inſomuch that *Triipmaeker*, his Deputy, was forced to march off for *Amſterdam*; where, and in other places, he baptized ſeveral, 'till he was taken up, carried away to the *Hague*, and there put to death with ſix or ſeven others.

Before the half year of *Melchior*'s impriſonment was expired, there aroſe in this Country a Baker of *Harlem*, named *Matthiſon*. This man forſook his own Wife, who was an ancient woman, and ſeduced the Daughter of a certain Brewer, that was young and handſome, giving out, that he was *Enoch* the ſecond Witneſs. At *Amſterdam*, where he dwelt privately, he prevailed ſo far upon ſome, that they conſented he ſhould ſend them out by two and two, as Apoſtles or Diſciples of *Jeſus Chriſt*. One pair of them were his Miſſionaries at *Munſter*, another in *Freeſland*, where at *Leeuwarden*, the Capital, they baptized divers perſons, and conferred upon them the office of Preaching: theſe baptized others, and ſent them out to teach. Some of them were concerned in the Tumult of *Munſter*, of which we ſhall now give an account, and of the ſeveral ſteps that were made to bring it about.

Of the Tumults at Munſter, *&c.*

[4] That City having been made choice of by ſome of this new Sect, for a place of refuge, they were entertained by the Inhabitants without the knowledge and conſent of the Magiſtrates, in the month of *November*, 1533. They were chiefly induced to fix there, becauſe at that time the ſaid City had in a manner ſhaken off the yoke of the Papacy, the Reformation having been ſome time before introduced there by one *Bernard Rotman*, who afterwards fell away to the Anabaptiſts. [5] This *Rotman* had firſt preached in St. *Maurice* Church, without the Town, in the year 1532. But the Papiſts giving him a ſum of money to leave the place, ſo to prevent the concourſe of the Burghers that were his hearers, he accordingly went away, but returned ſoon after, and preached again; on which occaſion, ſome of the principal Burghers received him into the Town, and when he was ſhut out of the Church, ſet him a Pulpit in the Porch. But the number of the Burghers and other hearers increaſing, they demanded the uſe of a Church, threatening otherwiſe to take one by force. Afterwards *Rotman* was adviſed by his followers, to call ſome learned men from the Country of *Heſſen* to his aſſiſtance. Then they conſulted how they ſhould immediately caſt off Popery, in order more effectually to promote the Goſpel. They prepared thirty Articles, containing ſeveral Popiſh errors, which

[1] Sleidan. Hiſt. *p.* 45 & 153. Hiſt. Mart. *p.* 108.
[2] Sleid. Hiſt. f. 70, &c. [3] Ub. Em. Hiſt. Friſ. *p.* 860.
[4] Horten. de Anab. Hiſt. *p.* 15.
[5] Sleid. Comment. f. 253. 247, &c.

they preſented to the Magiſtrates; praying, that it might be declared, that they were inconſiſtent with the word of God. The Papiſts were asked, whether they could evince the contrary? To which they anſwered, as *Sleidan* a diligent and faithful Hiſtorian relates it, "That they had nothing to offer in defence of their Cauſe; and "that it was, *bona fide*, and for want of knowing better, that they had maintained "their Doctrines to be right and good." Upon this Confeſſion, their Churches were taken from them, and given to *Rotman* and his Followers. Whereupon they came to blows: but the Papiſts being the weakeſt, were forced to yield, till by the interpoſition of the Landgrave of *Heſſen*, matters were thus accommodated: *Rotman* and his people might preach in the ſix Churches, and have the liberty of reforming what was amiſs; but nothing ſhould be altered in the Cathedral Church. This agreement was likewiſe ſigned by the Biſhop himſelf. In theſe circumſtances of affairs, after all had been adjuſted, the Anabaptiſts came to *Munſter*, and preached againſt *Rotman* himſelf in the buſineſs of Baptiſm. An° Dom. 1534.

At firſt theſe Anabaptiſts held their Meetings in the night, whilſt their adverſaries ſlept. [1] The Magiſtrates commanded them to leave the City, which they did; but returning privately, *Rotman* went over to their party: upon which, they were forbid the Town a ſecond time; they returned however, and were harboured by their well-wiſhers. Then the Landgrave, at the requeſt of the Government, ſent ſome Miniſters to preach againſt them. They were offered a regular diſpute, but under the ſtipulation, *That no arguments ſhould be made uſe of, but ſuch as were taken from the Holy Scriptures; and that learned and worthy Perſons ſhould be choſen for Arbitrators.* But the Anabaptiſts refuſing this offer, fell into contempt; which made them take other meaſures: One of them ran about the Town as if inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, crying; *Repent, and be baptized; if you refuſe, the wrath of God will come upon you.* This raiſed the Common people, and all of them that were re-baptized ran along with the ſame cry. Many complied with them out of ſimplicity, fearing the wrath of God, wherewith they were thus threatened; and others for fear of being plundered. [2] In two months time they were ſeveral thouſands ſtrong; and upon the Government's putting out Proclamations againſt them, they betook themſelves to Arms, making themſelves maſters of the Market, and the Townſmen ſeizing upon another quarter of the Town. Thus they faced one another for three days together. Many of the Anabaptiſts were apprehended. At laſt the following accommodation was made: *Each Party ſhould lay down their arms, live in peace, mutually tolerate their religious differences, ceaſe from any farther plots, and obey the Government.* But the Anabaptiſts ſuſpecting that they ſhould be fallen upon in the night unarmed, privately ſent meſſengers to their adherents in *Oſenbrugh*, *Weſel*, *Koeſvelt*, and *Warendorp*, with Letters to this effect; [3] that *a Prophet ſent by God was come to* Munſter, *who being illuminated by the Holy Spirit, foretold wonderful events, and inſtructed men in the true way of ſalvation: if therefore they would come over to them, they ſhould want nothing; whatever they loſt, ſhould be made good to them ten-fold: for which reaſon, leaving Wives and Children and every thing beſides; they had nothing to do, but to repair forthwith to* Munſter. [4] Upon this invitation, the concourſe of people was ſo great, eſpeciaally of thoſe who had nothing to loſe, that in a little time they found themſelves ſtronger than the Inhabitants, and ſo raiſed another tumult, crying as they paſt along: *Depart from hence ye wicked wretches, if you would avoid a total deſtruction; for all ſuch as refuſe to be baptized ſhall be forthwith knocked on the head.* Upon this declaration, the Clergy and Burghers that would not join nor ſubmit to them, left the Town, and the Anabaptiſts remained Maſters. This happened about the beginning of *Lent*. The Heads and chief Managers of this uproar were *John Matthiſon* of *Harlem*, and *John Bokelſon* of *Leyden*; their Collegues were *Bernard Knipperdolling*, *Bernard Rotman*, *Jacob van Kampen*, and *John van Geelen*. The Town being in their hands, they plundered the Churches, making the Booty common; in which were involved the Goods of all that fled, or were driven out of *Munſter*. All ſorts of Books were burnt by them, except the Bible. Shortly after the City was beſieged by the Biſhop, and *John Matthiſon*, the pretended *Enoch*, killed in a ſally. *John Bokelſon* ran about ſtark naked, as driven by the ſpirit, and appointed twelve Judges to govern this new Commonwealth of *Iſrael*; declaring,

The Enthuſiaſts make themſelves Maſters of the City of Munſter.

They plunder it, and commit all ſorts of Extravagancies.

[1] Sleid. Lib. X. *p.* 155.
[2] L. Hortenſ. Tumult. Anab. Hiſt. *p.* 25, &c.
[3] Sleid. ib.
[4] Hortenſ. *p.* 17.

An° Dom. 1534. ring, it was lawful to have more Wives than one at a time; and the people falling in with his opinions, he contented himſelf at that time with three. Some of his followers finding they had been impoſed on, formed a conſpiracy againſt him; but being diſcovered, one and fifty perſons were maſſacred by *Knipperdolling*, his Executioner. They violated all the Virgins that were above fourteen. Afterwards, the ſaid *Bokelſon* ſet up for King of *Sion*, and ſent out ſeven or eight and twenty Apoſtles, moſt of whom were ſeized and put to death. [1] During the ſiege, they publiſhed a book, which they named *The Work of Reſtoration, or Re-edification.* In the ſaid book was maintained, that there would be a Kingdom of Chriſt eſtabliſhed, in which the Godly or Elect ſhould reign, and all the Wicked be rooted out. [2] A certain woman of *Amſterdam*, named *Aleid Lyſting*, forſook her Huſband, who was very rich, out of zeal for this new Sect, and a little before the laſt inſurrection at *Munſter*, went thither and joined herſelf to the Anabaptiſts; but pretending barrenneſs, ſhe abſtained from other men, till at laſt they obliged her to marry a *Freeſlander*: For though one took five, another ſix, and divers four Wives, they let alone the old and barren women: But by degrees they broke through all ſhame and reverence, even with reſpect to theſe. The King himſelf added ten more to the number of his Wives; but the widow of *John Matthiſon*, whom he perſwaded into the opinion, that God had called her to be a Queen, was exalted by him above all his other Wives, and had a Crown of Gold ſet upon her head. A few days before the taking of *Munſter*, ſome of theſe people were ſurprized, carried to the *Hague*, and executed there.

In the month of *March*, this year, the Emperor ſignified by Letters to the Government of *Holland*, that they ſhould once more make an offer of his mercy to all the Anabaptiſts, almoſt on the ſame terms as he had done in *February* 1533, excepting, that the time of their going to Confeſſion was limited to the fourteenth day. Upon the 16th of *March* they beheaded at *Leeuwarden* a man that had been re-baptized. On the 21ſt of the ſame month, a great number of Anabaptiſts, with their Wives and Children, came together from all parts of *Holland*, taking nothing with them but ready money; and imbarking in twelve Veſſels, they fled, ſome to the Province of *Over-Yſſel*, and ſome to *Munſter*. Being aſked whither they were going? They made anſwer: *To the Country that God ſhall ſhow us.* The ſame day the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* were commanded in the Emperor's name to put a ſtop to another Fleet that was preparing to follow the former: and the day after, five Anabaptiſts ran through the City at noon with drawn ſwords, crying out dreadfully; *In the name of the Lord. The Bleſſing of God hangs over the right ſide of this City, and his Curſe over the left. Ubbo Philips* relates, that among them there were the very three perſons who had baptized and ſent out him and others in *Freeſland*, and had aſſured them, that no more blood ſhould be ſpilt upon earth; and that one of them cried; *The new City is given to the Children of God.* Another; *Repent ye, repent ye.* The third; *Woe, woe, to all the wicked!* Upon this *Cry* the Militia was raiſed, and the *Cryers* impriſoned. On the ſame day there were ſix perſons beheaded at *Harlem*, and among them three of theſe Street-ſcourers, or ſpiritual Swordſmen. In the ſame month there were two more puniſhed in like manner at *Amſterdam* by a ſentence of the Court of *Holland*; and on the 24th of *April*, four men burnt, and two women drowned at *Harlem.* The bodies of many that had been executed with the Sword were hung up in Chains, or laid upon Wheels, and their heads ſet upon Stakes. In the ſame month, the Stadtholder of *Holland*, and ſome of the Council, were required to put in execution the Edict againſt Hereſie, particularly with reſpect to the Anabaptiſts, and to take to their aſſiſtance two or three hundred Soldiers.

The Magiſtrates of Amſterdam *receive notice of a Plot of the Anabaptiſts againſt their City.*

3 About this time the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* received notice from *Freeſland*, that the Anabaptiſts had conſpired to ſeize upon their City. 4 Upon which they immediately raiſed the Militia, and ſounded the Common people, to know what aſſiſtance they might expect from them, in caſe of any ſuch attempt; who anſwered unanimouſly, they would live and die for the Government. Then there was an Order publiſhed, forbidding to receive any Anabaptiſts on pain of death. Thoſe of the Anabaptiſts that were not Burghers or Inhabitants, were required to leave the Town before night upon the ſame penalty. In the evening the Militia were drawn up in

3 the

[1] Sleid. ib. Pontan. Hiſt. Amſt. *p.* 31.
[2] Hortenſ. *p.* 44, &c.
[3] Hortenſ. *p.* 22.
[4] Pont. Hiſt. Am. *p.* 33.

the Market-place, and a ſtrict ſearch made in all houſes for the people of that Sect, and twenty of them apprehended and thrown into Jail. On the 2d of *May* the Count of *Hoogſtraeten*, Stadtholder of *Holland*, and ſome of the Counſellors of the Court, came to *Amſterdam*; and ſix days after, two of the impriſoned Anabaptiſts were beheaded: the reſt, to the number of eighteen, having been prevailed on to renounce their errors, were condemned to the penance of marching in proceſſion with Tapers in their hands, bare-headed and bare-footed, clad all in white linnen, two days after the execution of their brethren. The next day there were four other Anabaptiſts beheaded, and four burnt, and a few days after five more.

An° Dom° 1534.

Several of them taken and beheaded.

On the 25th of *June* following, there was publiſhed a Placard, requiring all the *Melchiorites* (for ſo they called this Sect from *Melchior Hofman*) that had abjured their Hereſies, not to ſtir from their habitations for the ſpace of twelve months, excepting only ſuch of them as were concerned in the Herring-Trade.

This wild Sect are nick-named Melchiorites, *and why.*

[1] Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Holland*, *John* of *Leyden*, who was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the throne of *Munſter*, was made believe, that God had preſented him with three great Cities, *viz.* *Amſterdam*, *Deventer* and *Weſel*. He therefore ſent out before him *Jacob van Kempen* to *Amſterdam*, conſtituting him Biſhop of that place, and joining to him *John Matthiſon* of *Midelburg* as a Coadjutor.

A little before, the Count of *Hoogſtraeten*, in quality of Stadtholder, viſited the Cities of *Harlem*, *Leyden* and *Delft*, to give order againſt the Anabaptiſts and Sacramentarians of thoſe places. Returning to *Amſterdam* in the beginning of *October*, he blamed the Magiſtrates for their negligence, aſcribing the daily growth and increaſe of that evil to their remiſſneſs in puniſhing thoſe Sectaries. The *Scout*, or chief Criminal Magiſtrate, being ſuſpected and charged with *Lutheraniſm*, quitted his Office. Preſently after, the Procurator-General ſeized on two Anabaptiſt Burghers, and [2] there ran a report, that the following night two hundred more were to be ſeized, carried to the *Hague*, and there put to death. [3] Upon this, ſome of the Townſmen got together, and continued all night about the Stadthouſe, declaring, that they would never endure, againſt all right and reaſon, that the Innocent ſhould be haled out of their beds in the night after ſuch a manner. To pacifie theſe, one of the *Schepens*, or Sheriffs, to whom the Watch was committed the next night, aſſured them, that nothing of that nature ſhould be done.

[4] On the laſt day of this year, there was a Burgher beheaded for being re-baptiz'd, and another, whom the Judges had ſummoned before them in vain, baniſhed the City for ever, and a woman drowned; and thus ended the year 1534.

1535.

[5] In the beginning of the year 1535, upon the 23d of *January*, the Anabaptiſts had conſpired to ſet fire to the Town of *Leyden* in the night, and to make themſelves Maſters of it: They who were engaged in this Plot were not above thirty or forty, but they fancied that the Mob would join them. [6] But the Magiſtrates having been ſeaſonably warned by the Governour of *Woerden*, or as ſome affirm, from *Amſterdam*, ordered the great Town-Clock to be ſtopped, to prevent the timing of this Blow (for the burning and ſtorming of the Town were to be executed together;) and immediately calling the Burghers to arms, ſearched all the ſuſpected houſes, and ſeized fifteen men and five women of their gang, who were all of them afterwards put to death; the men by the ſword, the women by water.

A Conſpiracy of theſe Sectaries to burn Leyden.

[7] On the 11th of *February*, ſome of the Anabaptiſts of *Amſterdam*, held a certain Night-meeting in a little Alley of that City, whither the women, leaving their Huſbands in bed, likewiſe repaired. *Richard* the Taylor, one of the ſeven men that were aſſembled, made as if he felt an ecſtatick motion of the Spirit; whereupon, after paſſing four hours in preaching and praying, he took off his Helmet, and the reſt of his Armour, and all his Cloaths, and threw them into the fire, commanding the other ſix to ſtrip themſelves alſo, which they did. Then he ordered the five women to do the ſame, who obeyed him no leſs punctually, leaving not ſo much as their Hair-laces upon their heads; which being done, he ſaid, *Follow me, and cry as I do:* then all twelve of them ran, as if, together with their cloaths, they had put off all ſhame and modeſty, ſtark naked through the City, roaring out moſt terribly; *Woe, woe, woe: The wrath of God! The wrath of God! The wrath of God!* Upon this Night-cry

More mad Pranks of the Enthuſiaſts.

[1] Hortenſ. *p.* 40, &c. Pontan. *p.* 33, &c.
[2] Pont. *p.* 277. [3] Horten. *p.* 42.
[4] Pontan. Amſterd. *p.* 277. Hortenſ. *p.* 43.
[5] Ib. *p.* 53. [6] Meurſij Athen. Batav. *p.* 50.
[6] Hortenſ. *p.* 53. Pont. *p.* 35. Ub. Em. Hiſt. Friſ. *p.* 833.

An° Dom. 1535. the Burghers betook themſelves to their arms, and all theſe Night-walkers, excepting one woman, were apprehended. Being brought to the Stadthouſe, before the Magiſtrates, they refuſed to put on the cloaths which were offered them. *We are*, ſaid they, *the naked Truth.* In the mean time, thoſe that dwelt near the Meeting-houſe of theſe new *Adamites*, being alarmed with the ſmoak and ſtench of their burnt cloaths, broke open the houſe, and very ſeaſonably, for it was juſt on fire. After this, there was a ſtrict ſearch made for the Adherents to this mad Sect throughout the Town, the Clocks being ſtopt, and the Gates ſhut.

In this ſame month there came out of the Province of *Hainalt* to *Amſterdam*, above a thouſand of the Anabaptiſts; but by the wiſe management of the Magiſtrates they were all ſent away, without any diſturbance. Preſently after, the ſeven male Night-walkers above-mentioned were beheaded: As they were going to be executed, one cried; *Praiſe the Lord always.* Another; *Revenge the blood of thine Elect.* A third; *Open your eyes.* A fourth; *Woe, Woe.* In *March* there were likewiſe nine Anabaptiſts puniſhed with the ſame death. Thus *Hortenſius* and *Pontanus* repreſent this ſtrange ſcene at *Amſterdam.* But in an ancient Regiſter of all the Magiſtrates of that City, from the year 1413, to the year 1548, in the Town-Clerks Office, it is ſaid, that there were about fifty men and women, who ran naked through the ſtreets, crying, *Woe to* Babylon! That twelve of the men, and as many women were ſeized; that being in priſon, they would not eat nor drink in any earthen ware, but threw them againſt the ground, and danced over the fragments: That one of the men would eat no victuals unleſs it were chewed, ſaying, *I am a Child.* When their Prophet *Richard* was led to execution, he cried out three times; *Open your eyes and behold.* He had declared, that *they could not kill him with any inſtrument*; but he proved a falſe Prophet, and the ſword found no reſiſtance. Another cried out; *O God, who delighteſt not in cruelty, be merciful to the ignorant.* Another; *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* Another aſcended the Scaffold, dancing, and ſinging continually, *Praiſe the Lord*; but refuſed to kneel down: upon which the Executioner threatning to bind him to a Wheel, he ſubmitted, and his head was ſtruck off whilſt he ſung, *Praiſe the Lord.* The women, to the number of twelve, were drowned in the River: But the Landlady of the houſe in which they held their Meetings, was hanged before her own door.

The Anabaptiſts raiſe an inſurrection in Freeſland.

[1] On the laſt of this month, the Anabaptiſts raiſed a tumult in *Freeſland.* They met at a Village near *Franeker*, from whence they marched, three hundred ſtrong, with their Wives and Children to *Oud-Clooſter* near *Bolſwart*; in that place, which they ſeized upon, they pretended to continue, and to defend themſelves againſt all violence; perſwading each other, that the Artillery which the Government might ſend againſt them, would turn of it ſelf, and deſtroy their enemies. They drove away the Monks, brake the Images, Pictures, and all that belonged to their Chappel to pieces, took out the Hoſt, and trod it under their feet, crying out; *Behold the God of the wicked.* Being beſieged by the Stadtholder of *Freeſland*, he offered the Natives of the place an Amneſty, if they would lay down their Arms, and march away; and to the reſt, a Paſſport to bring them to their own Country, ten only excepted, who he inſiſted ſhould be delivered up to him at diſcretion. But they reſolved to live and die together, rejected his offer, fired upon his Forces, and ſtood out four attacks; but upon the 7th of *April* they were taken by ſtorm, and all put to the ſword, excepting threeſcore and two men, and threeſcore and ten women, that were ſent to the Court at *Leeuwarden.* The Stadtholder loſt a hundred of his Soldiers in this expedition. Afterwards there was a Gibbet erected at the Weſt-end of the Cloiſter, upon which four and twenty of the Priſoners were hanged, and fifteen others were beheaded: ſeveral women and maidens were alſo drowned in the *Hempenſer Meer*, or Lake: A few who were ſuppoſed to be drawn away through ſimplicity and ignorance, were diſcharged. At *Deventer* there were two Anabaptiſts beheaded about the ſame time.

The Madneſs and Blaſphemies of a Shoemaker in the Province of Groningen.

[2] In this month likewiſe one *Harman* a Shoemaker appeared in a Village of the Province of *Groningen*, and gave out, that he was the *Meſſiah*; crying, with a loud voice; *Slay, ſlay all the Monks and Papiſts; ſlay all the Magiſtrates of the whole World, and eſpecially thoſe of this Country. Repent, repent, behold your Redemption draws*

[1] Hortenſ. *p.* 56, &c. Winſemij *Chron. of* Freeſland, *p.* 506. Ub. Em. Hiſt. Priſ. Lib. VIII. *p.* 884.

[2] Hortenſ. *p.* 58. Ub. Em. ib. *p.* 885.

draws near. Upon this cry, all the people round about came together, believing that the Day of Judgment was at hand, and ſuffered themſelves to be re-baptized, being perſwaded, that ſuch as were not, ſhould be damned. But *Herman* the *Sham-Meſſiah*, or **God the Father**, (for ſo he ſometimes pretended to be) was, after playing more ſuch mad and enthuſiaſtick pranks, ſeized and carried to *Groningen*, where, having undergone many torments, in order to oblige him to confeſs what farther deſigns he had formed, he died raving in a dungeon. An° Dom. 1535.

The Conſpiracy of John van Geelen, *one of the Ring-leaders of the Enthuſiaſts againſt* Amſterdam;

1 The Troubles at *Bolſwart* were revived by one *John van Geelen*, whom the King of *Munſter* had ſent to *Holland* and *Freeſland*, with a great ſum of money for that purpoſe, and to ſupport the character of General of all the Anabaptiſts, who, he was told, would take ſervice with him as ſoon as he appeared. Having eſcaped from *Oud-Clooſter*, after the defeat, he fled to *Amſterdam*, where he changed his name; but ſoon went from thence to *Bruſſels*, where, the better to promote the intereſts of his Enthuſiaſtick Sect, he pretended to forſake his errors, and obtained Letters of Indempnity from the Princeſs *Mary*, upon condition, that he ſhould by ſome means or other deliver up the City of *Munſter* into the hands of the Emperor. Afterwards he converſed openly with the Burghers of *Amſterdam*, reſorting however in private to the Meetings of the Anabaptiſts. 2 Here he got ſuch a number of followers, that he agreed with them to ſurprize by night the City of *Amſterdam*, which they believed that God had given to *John* of *Leyden* their King at *Sion*. The time appointed for this exploit was the 10th of *May*, and the token, was the ringing of the Stadthouſe Bell; and laſtly, their Rendezvous was the houſe of one *Peter Gale* in the *Pile-ſtreet*. But the very night when this Conſpiracy was to have been executed, it was diſcovered to the Burgomaſters. At firſt they thought it neither probable, nor poſſible, that ſuch a deſign could be carried on ſo ſecretly; but the Diſcoverer gave them ſo good reaſons for what he ſaid, and ſo good proofs of the Conſpiracy, that they believed him. Then they conſulted (for 'twas drawing towards night) how they might cauſe the Burghers to be armed, and brought together to the Stadthouſe with the utmoſt privacy: But their conſultations laſting too long; before they could come to a Reſolution, the opportunity was loſt: For in the mean while the Anabaptiſts were got together, and marched, Colours flying and Drums beating, with loud cries from their rendezvous to the *Dam* or Market, and fell upon the Stadthouſe, out of which the Burgomaſters narrowly eſcaped; moſt of the Watch were either taken priſoners or cut to pieces. A certain fellow belonging to the *Schout*, lying drunk upon a Bench in the Stadthouſe, being rouſed by the noiſe, ran up to the Tower, without knowing what he did, and hid the Rope of the Alarum-bell: as for the Officers of the Militia, they having been feaſting the day before with ſome of the Magiſtrates and Civil Officers of the Town, were none of them at their Poſts, which the Anabaptiſts knew, and improved the opportunity. The Burghers being called to arms, were ordered to ſecure the paſſages to the *Dam*; but advancing towards the Market to engage the Rebels, divers of them were ſhot dead with poiſoned bullets. Burgomaſter *Collin*, a learned and pious man, but ſuſpected as to his Religion, becauſe he was not for proceeding with ſo much ſeverity againſt the Anabaptiſts, endeavoured at this juncture to remove the jealouſies which people had conceived of him, and bravely led on the Burghers to quell the Sedition; but charging with more courage than conduct, his men were defeated and himſelf ſlain. After this *Goſwin Bekalf*, another Burgomaſter, and an old ſoldier, ordered Sails to be ſpread acroſs the ends of thoſe ſtreets and lanes that led to the Market-place, and a great number of Hop-ſacks to be placed behind, by way of Breaſt-work, to cover his men. And finding that he was not like to do much with the Townſmen, who were ſeized with a pannick fear, he preſently liſted ſeveral Voluntiers with a month's pay, into the ſervice of the Government; and with theſe he reſolved to make the firſt onſet. In the mean while the Citizens lay ſtill, and the Anabaptiſts ſpent the reſt of the night in ſinging the Pſalms of *David*. *John van Geelen* expected that they ſhould render themſelves Maſters of the Town the following morning by ten o'clock, without bloodſhed, with ſuch a handful of people; for 'tis ſaid, that the firſt Projectors of this work were not above forty ſtrong. But the next day ſome Cannon being brought upon the *Dam*, the gate of the Stadthouſe was ſhot

But diſcovered, and himſelf with ſeveral of his Accompliceſ ſlain, and publickly executed.

[1] Pont. Amſt *p.* 39. Hortenſ. ib. [2] Ibid. *p.* 60, *&c.*

Anº Dom. 1535.

to pieces; whereupon the Soldiers, ſupported by the Burghers, drove the Anabaptiſts into the fartheſt part of the Stadthouſe; and the more eaſily to come at them, (who were but twenty five in number, and defended themſelves like Lions) they got ladders, and entered at the windows; thus having ſurrounded them, and firing upon them from all ſides, they ſlew ſome, and took the reſt, about twelve, alive. On the Burghers ſide there were twenty killed. *John van Geelen* fled up to the Tower, and there expoſed his naked breaſt, chooſing rather to die by a ſhot than a halter. After all was over, they took the dead bodies of the Anabaptiſts, and hung them up by the feet on the Gallows.

The 14th of *May* ſome of thoſe that had been taken alive were brought out, laid upon Butchers blocks, opened, their Hearts torn from their Breaſts, and thrown in their Faces, their Bodies quartered and ſet upon the City Gates, and their Heads fixed upon Poles. On the 15th, two men more were beheaded, and three women drowned. On the 21ſt two women were hanged before their own door in the *Pile-ſtreet*, for having known of the Plot, concealed the Rebels, and poiſoned the Bullets. Before that, there had been nine women drowned. On the 22d three men more were beheaded; and a few days after, three more, for having been informed of this Conſpiracy and not revealing it. A Widow and her Son were hanged at their door for harbouring the Biſhop, *John van Kampen*, and not diſcovering him to the Government. A large ſum of money had been ſet on the Head of this Biſhop, and great threats denounced againſt ſuch as concealed him, and did not diſcover him befor Sun-ſet; to wit, that they ſhould be hanged before their own doors: Nevertheleſs he continued hid that day, and was found at laſt under an heap of Turf. They put him to the rack, and could not make him own any thing of a Plot: but he cried out; *I have forfeited my life*; *I am both re-baptized and have re-baptized others*; *I never conſented to any Treaſon againſt the City*. In his Letters he always ſtiled himſelf, *Biſhop of* Amſterdam, *and Teacher at* Munſter.——

Their Biſhop John van Kampen *diſcovered, and put to a terrible Death.*

The pains and torments of his death were increaſed by the contempt they put upon him: for before he was executed, they expoſed him as a ſpectacle to the people about an hour, with a two cornered Mitre on his Head. The Tongue with which he had taught, was cut out of his mouth, and, before his face, thrown to the Dogs: the Hand he had uſed in re-baptizing, was likewiſe cut off: laſtly, they tied him down to a Butcher's block, and beheaded him with a Cleaver, burning the Body in the Market, and ſetting up the Head and Hand over a Gate of the City. *John Matthiſon* of *Midelburg* had the good fortune to ſave himſelf. On the ſame day two women, that had been employed in carrying Letters for them, were hanged in chains. Among the Partiſans of *Geelen*, there were many Inhabitants of *Benſkop* near *Yſſelſtein*, to the number of about three hundred, whom he had invited to meet him at *Amſterdam* on the 10th of *May*; but they came too late, and hearing of the defeat of their friends, they returned home as faſt as they could. He had alſo appointed a Rendezvous to ſeveral others near the City, who could not come up till after the battel; and finding the paſſages all ſhut, fled in two ſhips to *England*. Some time before this Sedition, about fourteen men of that party had contrived to meet the ordinary Proceſſion upon a Bridge, to lay hold on the Pix which contained the Conſecrated Wafer, and break it to pieces, and to throw thoſe that carried it into the Water: But their Plot was diſcovered, and the Contrivers puniſhed.

Munſter recovered, and its pretended King taken, and, after many Torments, executed.

The King of *Munſter*, having heard of the ill ſucceſs of his deſign upon *Amſterdam*, and the death of his Biſhop, was at his wits-end, and his affairs in the utmoſt confuſion. [1] And accordingly, ſoon after this ill news, that is, upon the 28th of *May*, the City was ſurprized and taken by the Biſhop of *Munſter*'s Army, guided by a Renegado Anabaptiſt, who had gone over to them. [2] The King was taken alive, and on the 23d of *January*, in the following year, after pinching his body with red-hot irons for the ſpace of an hour, was ſtabbed to the heart with a dagger.

The Emperor puts forth a more ſevere Placard againſt the Anabaptiſts.

[3] A few days before the Reduction of *Munſter*, the Emperor cauſed a very ſevere Edict to be publiſhed againſt the Anabaptiſts, at *Bruſſels*, importing;——That all men and women that ſhould be found infected with the reprobate Hereſie of the Anabaptiſts, of what ſtate and condition ſoever they were, and all their Followers, Accomplices

3

[1] Hortenſ. *p.* 68.
[2] Ibid. 72. Sleid. 162. Eraſm. Epiſt. 1537.
[3] Anab. Mart. 113. *&c.*

Accomplices and Abettors, ſhould forfeit Life and Eſtate, and Sentence ſhould be forthwith executed upon them; that is to ſay, thoſe who ſhould be convicted of having taken upon themſelves the name of Prophet, Apoſtle or Biſhop; or had ſeduced and perverted any to this Sect, or re-baptized them; or, laſtly, ſhould continue obſtinate in their Errors, they ſhould ſuffer death by Fire: And all other men who had ſuffered themſelves to be re-baptized, or had privately and knowingly harboured any Anabaptiſts, in caſe they renounced their evil deſigns and opinions, and ſincerely repented, ſhould be ſo far favoured as to die by the Sword; and as for the Women, they ſhould be only buried alive. And We farther will and command, ſays the Emperor in the ſaid Placard, all our loving Subjects, to diſcover and inform againſt all the ſaid Anabaptiſts, on pain of being puniſhed as Favourers, Adherents, and Accomplices of that Sect; promiſing at the ſame time for a Reward, the third part of the Eſtate of any ſuch Perſons, to thoſe that ſhall accuſe and convict them. But forbidding, that any one ſhall offer to intercede in their behalf, or promote any Petition for them; ſince it is not thought proper to ſhew any Favour to the ſaid Anabaptiſts, becauſe of their evil Deſigns, but to puniſh them without Mercy and Delay, for an Example to all others. An° Dom. 1535.

The *Munſterian* Enthuſiaſm, the mad frolick of the Anabaptiſts running naked, the ſeizing of *Oudwater*, and the attempt upon *Amſterdam*, gave too much occaſion to the making this Placard: [1] However, in the apprehending and condemning the people of this Sect, there was little notice taken, whether thoſe whom they put to death were in any wiſe guilty of the above-mentioned Riots and Mutinies: But the ſeverity of the Government was extended againſt all of them, without making any diſtinction hardly between the moſt ſimple and innocent, and the moſt criminal.

[2] Thus the *Hiſtory of the Anabaptiſt Martyrs* relates, that they beheaded at *Amſterdam* one *Peter* a Sexton of *Sardam*, as guilty of the late Inſurrection, tho' he being a Teacher among a better ſort of Anabaptiſts, had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to hinder it.

[3] At *Horn* there were five Anabaptiſts impriſoned in the month of *March*, where they lay for a while; but by order of the Court, the *Scout* of the Town, with the Prieſt and ſome learned perſons, went to examine them: theſe took great pains to bring them back to the Church of *Rome*; but they continued ſteadfaſt, and among other things, ſaid to the *Scout*; *When the Sheep is fat, it muſt be brought to the Slaughter-houſe*. Hereupon they were all of them ſoon after condemned to die; *Foraſmuch* (ſo runs the Sentence) *as they had all of them openly declared, that they had been re-baptized.* Three of theſe were men, and they were beheaded; but the two women were thrown into the Sea, with a great ſtone tied to their necks, or bodies. This excited great compaſſion in the Burghers, and even in the Magiſtrates themſelves; inſomuch, that they afterwards ſpared their Fellow-citizens, in the buſineſs of Religion, as much as ever they durſt. [4] And indeed theſe were the only perſons that ſuffered at *Horn* on that account. [5] At *Amſterdam*, in *July*, four more Anabaptiſts were beheaded, among whom was the King of *Munſter*'s Cook. [6] At *Sierixzee*, about the ſame time, they burnt a ſimple Country-fellow, only for ſpeaking againſt the Maſs-Wafer.

[1] V. Kornh. Lib. III. *p.* 36.
[2] Anab. Mart. *p.* 114.
[3] Vel. *Chron. of* Horn, *p.* 136. [4] Ibid.
[5] Hortenſ. *p.* 74. [6] *Reform'd Martyr-Book*, p. 84.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK III.

An° Dom. 1536. William Tindal *an* Engliſhman, *burnt for an Heretick.*

THE [1] Perſecution, which now ſpread it ſelf far and near through the *Low-Countries*, reached alſo, in the year 1536, a Foreigner of good name and learning: It was *William Tindall*, an *Engliſhman*; who having tranſlated the *New Teſtament* into his Mother-Tongue, and diſperſed it in his Country, was apprehended for it at *Antwerp*, carried to *Vilvorde*, and there at laſt ſtrangled and burnt.

Now, though the murdering temper of this *Cannibal* Church rendered the Popedom ſtill more odious; and though ſome made a right uſe of the Doctrines of the *Reformation*, yet there remained a great deal to blame in thoſe that had ſeparated themſelves from the *Romiſh* Religion. Moſt of thoſe that pretended to be *Reformed*, led ſuch unchriſtian lives, that it gave occaſion to *Eraſmus* to ſay; [2] *I am greatly afraid, that Paganiſm will ſucceed Phariſaiſm.*

The Reaſons he produced ſome time before againſt the *Reformers* of this Age, with reſpect to the methods and ways made uſe of by them, to bring about a *Reformation*, and the fruits of their labours, ſhall be now briefly related by us; to the end, that the Reader may judge whether that Great man was in the right, not to join himſelf more cloſely to them.

Remarkable Obſervations of Eraſmus *about the* Reformation.

He addreſſes to them in a certain Writing, which is to be found in the IXth *Tome* of his Works, and in the laſt Impreſſion of his Epiſtles, after the following manner: " [3] But you, Gentlemen, boaſt, that you have brought to light thoſe Evangelical Truths " that have been buried above a thouſand years. But if you ſpeak true, you are " engaged in a greater work than the Apoſtles themſelves had upon their hands at the " beginning: For the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies and the Superſtitions of the *Gentiles* " might be much more eaſily caſt off and aboliſhed than ſuch things, which the " Heads and Rulers of the Church have for ſo many Ages, and with ſo great una- " nimity, taught, as the Oracles of God, and with honour eſtabliſhed among us, " and preſerved even to this day. *And in another place, he adds*, That the Fopperies " of the Heathen Religion were ſo glaring, that they could not eſcape the obſerva- " tion and cenſure of the Learned even among themſelves: that it had been foretold " by the Prophets, that the *Gentiles* ſhould acknowledge the true God, and that " the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies ſhould vaniſh like ſhadows before the glorious light of the " Goſpel. Add to this, *ſays he*, that a perpetual agreement of Doctrine, [a] together a " with

[1] Hiſt. des Martyrs, *p.* 109. Corput's *Divine Tribunal, in* Dutch, *p.* 551.

[2] Epiſt. Eraſm. Lib. XIX. *p.* 852.

[3] Ib. Tom. IX. *p.* 1295. Epiſt. *p.* 2054.

" with the working of Miracles, procured credit to the preaching of the Apoſtles: An° Dom.
" Whereas, you do not only diſagree among your ſelves, at every turn varying both 1535.
" Doctrine and Ceremonies, but you are likewiſe wholly unprovided of thoſe extra-
" ordinary gifts which they were endowed with. Neither can I think, that even
" Miracles would alone have been ſo effectual to reform the world, as the Manners
" of the Evangeliſts, which were wholly pure and unblameable. I do not ſpeak
" now of Faſtings and other Mortifications, or wearing coarſe Garments, and the like
" cuſtoms, which Hypocrites can mimick; but of Courage and Magnanimity un-
" der oppreſſion; of Humility in bearing wrongs; of a Mind and Temper that was
" modeſt and gentle, that did evil to none, and ſought to do good to all men; that
" raiſed it ſelf above worldly affairs, and proceeded ſo far as to deſpiſe even life it
" ſelf. Such were the Diſciples of our Saviour; by theſe means did they acquire
" a great eſteem to their Doctrines; and when they converted people from their de-
" praved Cuſtoms and Opinions, they inſtructed them in better. You cry out aloud
" againſt the Luxury of Prieſts, the Ambition of Biſhops, the Tyranny of the Pope;
" againſt the Doctrines of the Schools, againſt Prayers, Faſtings, and the Maſs; and
" you will not be contented to reform the abuſe of theſe things, but are for quite
" aboliſhing them. You are not pleaſed with what has been received in former times;
" but you pluck the Corn together with the Weeds; or, to ſpeak more properly,
" you pluck up the Corn before the Weeds. In the mean while, what better things,
" or more worthy the Goſpel, do you ſet before us, in order to bring us off from
" what we are uſed to? Let us caſt our eyes upon ſuch as are called Evangelical or
" Reformed, and obſerve, whether there be leſs Oppreſſion, Avarice or Luxury
" than among thoſe whom ye ſo deteſt. Show us one man whom your preaching has
" converted from Gluttony to Sobriety, from Wrath and Anger to Meekneſs, from
" Robbery and Extortion and Generoſity and Benevolence, from Curſing to Bleſſing,
b " from Impudence to Modeſty. [b] I can ſhow you a great many that are worſe
" than they were before. Images are thrown out of the Church, but what ſignifies
" that, whilſt you worſhip and idolize your own Vices? Neither can I ſee to what
" purpoſe ſome have fallen upon the Images with ſo much zeal and paſſion, unleſs
" to make it ſerve for a Signal or Watch-word to Tumults and Inſurrections. In the
" mean time your pretence is the abominable ſin of Idolatry; but who is ſo ſtupid as
" to imagine there is any knowledge in a Stock or Stone? And if any ſuch there
" were, how eaſy would it be to inſinuate into their minds, that Images were only
" introduced for ſtrengthning the memories of the Ignorant? The uſual Prayers are
" left off, and now there be many that do not pray at all —— The Maſs is aboliſhed,
" but what more ſacred thing is ſubſtituted to it? —— I was never at any of their
" Sermons, but I ſaw them once coming from thence as if poſſeſſed by an evil
" Spirit, every countenance betraying a ſtrange wildneſs and anger; nor did any
" one of them, excepting an old man, ſhow me, or the Gentlemen in my compa-
c " ny, that common reſpect which we pay one another. [c] Auricular Confeſſion
" is likewiſe aboliſhed, and now there are many that will not confeſs their ſins to
" God himſelf. Together with Faſting, people have rejected the Diſtinctions
" of Meats; but at the ſame time abandon themſelves to all kind of intempe-
" rance: *Judaiſm* is indeed driven away, but *Epicuriſm* has ſucceeded it:
" Men have trodden under foot the Form of Religion, but the Power is not there-
" by increaſed; no, it has rather decreaſed. St. *Paul* retained ſome of the *Jewiſh*
" Ceremonies, that he might not alienate the *Jews* from the Goſpel: you ſhould
" not therefore have caſt off all Ceremonies in the manner you have done. The
" Apoſtles I own knew nothing of ſtated Faſts; but they faſted of their own ac-
" cord daily, without waiting for its being commanded. They knew as little of
" the diſtinction of Meats, but they willingly uſed the meaneſt, and lived in the
" utmoſt ſobriety. None of them were ordered to live upon Roots and Garden-
" ſtuff, but they eat them very freely, as the caſe required. None of them were
" forbidden the uſe of Wine, but *Timothy* abſtained from it of choice ſo long, till
" *Paul* was forced to exhort him to drink a little for his ſtomach's ſake. If we
" lay hold of Evangelical freedoms, let us ſo reject the yoke of the Law, as to do out
" of charity more than that requires of us. Men have thrown off human inven-
" tions, but where are thoſe that have ſubmitted their necks to the eaſie yoke of
" the Lord? But in the mean while one human impoſition is changed for another,

An° Dom. 1535. "yea, for ſuch as are not very human. The name is only changed, for it is called "the Word of God, but as to the reſt, the thing it ſelf is ſo little mended, that "many good people have choſen voluntary Baniſhment rather than this boaſted "Liberty.—Epiſcopal Government is rejected, but after ſuch a manner, that all "Civil Government is likewiſe thrown off. In ancient times the Chriſtians lived "peaceably under the Heathen Princes, carefully avoiding all occaſions of Tumults "and Seditions, giving Honour to whom Honour, Tribute to whom Tribute, and "Taxes to whom Taxes were due. The Primitive Chriſtians were admoniſhed to "obey even idolatrous Magiſtrates, and they daily offered up Prayers for their welfare: "But theſe people, that pretend to be ſo Evangelical, were deteſted by the Great *Turk* "himſelf; Foraſmuch, *ſaid he*, as they ſeem to be born for Inſurrections. And in- "deed what a number of Tumults have they raiſed? How often, and upon how "ſleeveleſs pretences have they taken up arms?—At firſt *Luther* was a God "with them; now they ſay he doats, becauſe he will not receive their new do- "ctrines about the Euchariſt.—Monkery is aboliſhed too; but it were to be "wiſhed, that the Friers, together with the Cowl, had diveſted themſelve of thoſe "vices which are counted to be peculiar to them.—How can thoſe without "bluſhing, call *Luther* their Maſter, who chiefly neglect thoſe things which he moſt "earneſtly teaches and inculcates? *Luther* preaches up Faith at all times; now "true Faith, where-ever it be, will not remain barren; it works by Love, and "it produces nothing but what is good——'Twas a long time e'er the love "of Riches and of Pleaſures took poſſeſſion of the Popes of *Rome* and other Biſhops; "and yet you would domineer, you would be rich at once——'Tis indeed the com- "mon misfortune of humane Affairs, that they begin well, but end ill: But I am "aſhamed to rehearſe your very beginnings."

He tells them what ſort of Reformation *he would have;*

In another place he adviſes how the Reformation ſhould be carried on: "What "the Pope means, *ſays he*, I know not; but however, I can ſee, that the inten- "tions of ſome Clergymen is, ſince burning avails ſo little, to try what they can "do by force of arms.——But the evil would be much more eaſie to heal, if the "Chiefs both of the Clergy and Laity did ſincerely endeavour to reſtore Goſpel "Righteouſneſs. If all diſputes were referred to the deciſion of a hundred, or of "fifty perſons, choſen from among all the reſt, and ſuch as were remarkable for "a holy Life, ſingular Learning, and impartial Judgment, what they agreed upon, "might be briefly drawn up by a few choſen people. The Syſtems of Divines "ſhould remain in the Schools: Neither ſhould all kinds of Opinions be received "as Articles of Faith. Some Doctrines muſt be quite aboliſhed, ſome turned into "Exhortations. Above all, it ought to be the firſt care of Princes and Magiſtrates, "that none ſhould be ſet over the Lord's Flock, but ſuch as are well skilled in the "Word of God, and thoroughly exerciſed in teaching, exhorting, reproving, and "convicting."

In another Epiſtle, of which ſome fragments only are come to hand, *Eraſmus* ſhows; what may be endured in the *Romiſh* Church, and what ought to be amend- ed: what thoſe who had aboliſhed divers things ſhould have ſubſtituted in their place; as likewiſe how far we ſhould tolerate one another——

And what might have been retained in the Church of Rome.

It was alſo his opinion, that "the Reformation of abuſes ſhould not have been "made at once, nor too faſt, but by degrees. That we ſhould not be in ſo "great haſte to diſſolve the order and frame of things, as to reform our own parti- "cular Lives and Manners. [d] That it ſhould be the care and buſineſs of Princes [d] "to reform the whole ſtate of the Church; by which means, tumults and inſur- "rections had been prevented. That ſuch a Reformation could not well ſucceed, "unleſs it was brought about by the Government. *He imputed* want of prudence "to thoſe who attempted to change every thing." On the other hand, he no leſs blamed "thoſe who were for obſtinately retaining every thing, and would part "with nothing." He was likewiſe of opinion, that [e] "people ought not to take [e] "away the *Uſe* inſtead of the *Abuſe* of things; much leſs, introduce *worſe* in the "place of *better*; but connive at what could not be amended."

And above all he condemned ſuch *Reformation* as was propagated by Quarrels, Tumults, and Seditions; declaring, "That he had ſuch an averſion to diſcord, that "even Truth it ſelf would be diſagreeable to him, if it were only to be obtained "by ſuch means."

He recommended particularly to all ſides the great medicine of mutual Toleration, in the following Terms: "It were to be wiſhed that this buſineſs (meaning the "Reformation) being once ſet on foot, might be carried on with ſuch temper, "that the things which ſhould be found prejudicial to godlineſs, might be healed "by wiſe and proper methods: That we were but unanimous to promote godli- "neſs, leaving every one in things not eſſential, to follow his own inclination; "and after having tried all, to hold faſt that which appears to him to be beſt. "As for matters that are attended with any difficulty, and which have not yet been "fully explained, let them be poſtponed till a more ſeaſonable juncture; and in the "mean time let charity and benevolence prevail among thoſe who are not of the "ſame mind, till God vouchſafes to reveal even thoſe things to us."

Anno Dom. 1536. Erasmus *recommends mutual* Toleration.

Ep. c. 2061. B-

In another place he ſpeaks thus: "The principal part of our Religion is Peace "and Unanimity: This can hardly be obtained, unleſs as few things as poſſible be "defined and laid down as Articles of Faith, and unleſs many things be left free to "each man's judgment; becauſe they are ſo very obſcure, and this diſtemper "of the Mind ſeems to be innate in us, that we will hear nothing of yielding. "As ſoon as any matter comes to be controverted, and the diſpute grows warm, "every body thinks himſelf bound zealouſly to defend what he has haſtily and un- "adviſedly maintained."

And declares againſt multiplying Articles *of* Faith.

Ep. 1535. B-

Again: "Several Propoſitions are adjourned to the *General Council*; but it would "be much better to adjourn them to that time, when the obſcure Glaſs of our "Reaſon, or the Veil being done away, we ſhall ſee God face to face."

D-

f And when he perceived that [f] the Church of *Rome* would not be healed, or hearken to any healing methods, he repoſed all his hope in God. For ſo he ſpeaks in a certain Epiſtle: "If it be ſo, that the wickedneſs of mankind has deſerved to "be healed by ſuch people, and by ſuch cruel Phyſicians (meaning *Luther*) "and cannot be cured by ſoft Medicines or cordial Potions, I hope that God, who "who has plagued us for our Rebellions, will one day comfort us upon our Re- "pentance."

In another Epiſtle, which he wrote to *George* Duke of *Saxony*, he ſays; "I had "no ſmall hopes that the Pope and the Princes would have been brought to rea- "ſonable Terms, if *Luther* would have yielded any thing: But we have here ſome "*Lutherans*, of whom there is no hope, that they will ever be perſuaded to hear "reaſon. There remains therefore nothing for me to do, but with a pure Con- "ſcience to wait for an opportunity, if I can contribute any thing to the reſtora- "tion of the publick Peace; and if it be not allowed to ſettle things upon a good "foot, I ſhall not however forbear pouring out my earneſt Prayers to our Lord for "that which he ſees beſt for us. Oh! that there would but fly to us, not *Minerva*'s "Night-Owl, but the Dove of *Chriſt*, and divert the arrogance of ſome people to "good purpoſes! Theſe things I wiſh for with all my heart. Let which ſide ſo- "ever get the better, I, who am ſhortly to remove from hence, ſhall have no ſhare "in the Victory. But I ſhall leave this place with more ſatisfaction if I can ſee "the Cauſe of our Lord triumphant. *Luther* has given us a hard and bitter Pill; "God grant that, ſuch as it is, it may recover the health of Chriſtian people, "which all ſides have done ſo much to deſtroy.

Ep. 1076, D-

Thus *Eraſmus*, by his Writings, was, in the judgment of ſome, not a little ſerviceable, while he endeavoured to reform the Reformers, and the Reformation itſelf; like a Chriſtian *Gamaliel*, giving the beſt advice to ſuch as carried matters too far on both ſides, and being well heard by the moſt reaſonable, but diſregarded by none ſo much as by thoſe who moſt wanted his healing Counſels. And thus he battled *Popery* wherever he met with it, receding however no farther from the Church of *Rome*, nor approaching nearer to *Lutheraniſm*. "For if, *ſaid he*, by following "*Luther* thro' all his Eccleſiaſtical Tumults, we muſt paſs from one extremity of "evil to another, it were better to endure that to which we had been long ac- "cuſtomed." Accordingly he departed from *Baſil*, and went to *Friburg*, being unwilling by his ſtay to ſeem to approve of thoſe diſorders that were like to happen in the alteration of Religion.

He informed *Martin Bucer*, that three things had diſſwaded him from turning *Three things that hinders* Eraſmus *from joining in* Luther's *Reformation.*

Ep. 890. D-

g *Lutheran*: g "The firſt was his Conſcience, which could not be convinced that the "thing was of God. The Second, That he beheld many in *Luther*'s Flock, that

An° Dom. 1536. "were utter ſtrangers to the Goſpel Sincerity; and Thirdly, becauſe of the great "diſcord among the chief inſtruments of this Work. But that nevertheleſs he would "not break friendſhip with them, provided they would allow him to differ from "them in ſome Points of Doctrine. This they could not be perſwaded to: They "who differed from them became the objects of their hatred: Which ſeemed yet "more ſtrange to him, becauſe they denied *Free Will*. If God had not communi- "cated to him any part of that Grace wherewith they boaſted themſelves to be "gifted, they would then have reaſon to pray to the Lord for him, but by no "means to hate him."

In the year 1533, he writ at *Friburg* his Treatiſe about *Reſtoring Eccleſiaſtical Unity*, upon the Eighty fourth Pſalm. It contained a certain Project of *Uniformity*, calculated both for *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants:* He blamed many things in both, and ſhowed that many things were wanting in both. Some Divines of *Straſburg* tranſlated it into *High-Dutch*, and diſperſed it through *Germaay:* [1] But others were offended at it.

After ſeven years abſence he returned to *Baſil* to print his Book of *the Evangelical Preacher*, and with that to cloſe his endeavours for a Reconciliation.

He intended to have gone into the *Low-Countries*, and at the requeſt of the Emperor and the Governeſs, *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, to have ſettled in *Brabant*; but his old diſtemper, the Gout, ſeized him again; however, he could not forbear writing, during the little intervals of eaſe, till he had compoſed his Treatiſe of the *Purity of the Church*, and reviſed *Origen*. After which the Bloody-Flux brought him to his end, which was very chriſtian and edifying; for he declared that he placed all his hope in *Chriſt*, calling out continually, *O Jeſu miſerecordia*, *Domine libera me*, *Domine fac finem*, *Domine miſerere mei*. And in *High-Dutch*, he cried, *Dear God*; being heard to ſay nothing elſe, and enjoying his Reaſon to the laſt gaſp of his life. Thus died *Eraſmus* in the 70th year of his Life, and on the 12th of *July*, in the year of our Lord 1536. The Reader will pardon the Digreſſion we have made in favour of ſo great a Man.

Eraſmus dies in 1336.

Several Anabaptiſts put to Death the ſame Year.

[2] In the ſame month and year, that we may reſume our account of Perſecutions from the time when we broke off, there were three *Anabaptiſt* men and one woman apprehended and thrown into priſon at *Zierixſee*, and afterwards tormented upon the Rack till the blood ran down along their feet; whether it were that they had been ſuſpected of Sedition, or in hatred to their Opinions, from which neither torments nor death itſelf could oblige them to recede, on the 4th of *July* they were beheaded, their Bodies burnt, and their Heads ſet upon Stakes.

The Riſe of the Batenburghers.

[3] About the ſame time, or ſoon after, *John van Battenburg* (an illegitimate Offſpring of that noble Family) gave out privately, that he was to reſtore *John of Leyden*'s *Munſterian* Kingdom, and together with his followers, who from him were called *Batenburghers*, did a great deal of miſchief. *David George*, a Teacher among the *Anabaptiſts* endeavoured to unite the *Munſterians* (who perceiving the Sword to be too hard for them, had diſclaimed all uſe of it as unlawful) with *Hofman*'s Party. And in a certain Aſſembly, holden by them at *Book-Holt*, in this year, he brought about an agreement among them, leaving every body free in his own Opinions, upon the following foot: *Whereas the reſpective Parties were of one and the ſame ſentiment in many, and thoſe the chiefeſt Doctrines of the* Anabaptiſts, *and that the difference conſiſted only in two points; they were to deſiſt on both ſides from quarrels and animoſities, and in the mean while to pray that God would enlighten them under theſe doubts, and ſhew them the way to unity. Beſides, they were to abſtain from all kind of revenge, and openly to condemn the retaliation of injuries, and the paſſing ſentence and puniſhing capitally when not in Office. And laſtly, to reſtore the uſe of Re-baptization, which the* Batenburghers *had for a while laid aſide, to ſuch as appeared worthy of it.*

David George *endeavours to unite two Sects of Anabaptiſts. The Accomodation projected by him.*

[4] Afterwards this *David George* publiſhed a little Treatiſe, in which he handled the points in difference, in ſuch a manner as to accommodate the diverſity of opinions between both Parties; but by this means he drew upon himſelf the hatred of both, and they ſuſpected him and others of having ſomething elſe in view ever after theſe propoſals. But his friends were of opinion, that it happened to him as to moſt other

[1] Corput's *Life of* Melanct. *p.* 296.
[2] *Anabaptiſts Martyr Book, p.* 117.
[3] Ub. Em. Lib. LVII. *p.* 893. Caſſand. op. *p.* 672.
[4] Ibid. *p.* 895.

Peace-makers; that where they deſerved the greateſt thanks, they received the leaſt. An° Dom° 1537.

In the year 1537, an Anabaptiſt Cabinet-maker was put to death at *Kaſſel* in *Flanders*.

On the 2d of *January*, 1538, it was declared by a Placard through all *Holland*: **That none ſhould dare to harbour** David Joriſon [or George] **and** Mainard van Embden, **Teachers among the Anabaptiſts, on pain of being hanged at their own door; but that whoever diſcovered them, ſhould receive a reward of one hundred Guilders for each of the aforeſaid perſons, and forty Guilders for any other Anabaptiſt.** The ſame Placard was renewed on the 27th of *February*. 1538. *A Placard againſt* David George, *and* Mainard van Embden.

In the two months aforementioned, there were ſeveral perſons put to death at *Delft*, who indeed are ranked among the Anabaptiſt Martyrs, but without ſufficient cauſe, with reſpect to ſome of them, who before their death confeſſed ſome things that ſerved to open a new ſcene of affairs. *Henry Kool* of *Guelder*, at his execution maintained, that the Holy Ghoſt reſted upon *David George*, and that his Writings were the effect of a divine inſpiration; and added, that he did not believe that the ſaid *David* ever intended to plunder Towns and Villages, or to promote his affairs by violence. *Damas Jacobs* of *Leyden*, beheaded the ſame day, ſaid, he believed that *Henry Kool* had two Wives, ſince they always lay together in one bed. *Herman van Kelder* and *Thomas Gerritſon* of *Lokkum*, being likewiſe executed in the ſame manner, profeſſed, that people ought to abſtain from their Wives whilſt they were pregnant; but that in the mean while they were at liberty to converſe with other women. *Geert Cornelis*, Wife of *Francis Philipſon*, owned, in ſuch expreſſions as no paper ought to be defiled with, how theſe Brothers and Siſters mingled promiſcuouſly, without any regard to the holy ſtate of Matrimony; and at their Feaſts and Meals, ſtript themſelves ſtark naked, with as little regard to ſhame and modeſty, ſaying; *That they had entirely mortified the Fleſh, inſomuch, that they could appear naked before each other with no more concern than* Adam *and* Eve *whilſt in the ſtate of Innocency*. Theſe perſons were all of them put into Sacks and drowned, and then taken up and buried under the Gallows. The Mother of *David George* was likewiſe put to death about the ſame time, notwithſtanding ſhe declared a hearty ſorrow for ſuffering her ſelf to be re-baptized. Being queſtioned about her Son, ſhe ſaid; *That he led a very godly life, aiming at nothing but an humble imitation of his Lord, and doing no evil to any one. That the* Hague *had been ſet on fire, and much more miſchief done, if he had not hindered it.* She added, *That by his Writings, the name and will of God had been ſo greatly manifeſted to the Chriſtian world, that nothing like it had ever yet been done by any perſon upon earth; in which ſhe rejoiced very much.* But the Government had very different ſentiments of the ſaid *George*, and endeavoured to ſet him faſt.

This man (for it is not improper to give ſome ſhort account in this place of his Life and Doctrine) was a ſkilful Artiſt in Glaſs-painting; he was born at *Delft* of very mean Parents, who were not able to give him any manner of education; inſomuch, that he knew no other language but that of his own Country; but according to the account which [1] *Thuanus*, *Pontanus*, and others give of him, he was very ſelf-conceited, but cunning, and a hypocrite as to matters of Religion. We find in a Book of the City of *Delft*, in the year 1500, in which ſeveral Confeſſions and Informations are regiſtered, that he was baptized by the name of *John*; but travelling about the Country with his Father, who was a ſtroling Comedian, he commonly acted the part of *David*, and ever after kept that name. Some time before the great fire at *Delft*, which happened in the year 1536, meeting the Prieſts that carried in proceſſion *the* (ſo called) *Sacrament of the Altar*, he rebuked them publickly, telling them, they were guilty of Idolatry. Whereupon being apprehended, he narrowly eſcaped death through the favour of ſome of the Magiſtrates; but the Member that had offended was condemned, and forced to ſuffer the following puniſhment: To be bored through with an Awl openly upon a ſcaffold; and then the Owner of it to be baniſhed for ever. At firſt he acquired ſome reputation with thoſe that had an averſion to Popery, by making and publiſhing Hymns and Songs about Scriptural matters: and then quitting his Trade of Glaſs-painting, he attempted, as it is thought, to make a more profitable one of Religion. In this ſame year 1538, one *Richard Vincent*, a Brewer at *An Account of the ſaid* David George.

[1] Thuan. Lib. 22. *p.* 1002. Pontan. Hiſt. Amſt. *p.* 43.

An° Dom. 1538. *Delft*, gave in the following Accuſation to the Magiſtrates againſt the ſaid *David George*; to wit, that he had ſaid to one *Laurence Riikertſon* a brother Glaſs-painter; *Laurence, we ſee that the Clergy are in brave buſineſs, and get a deal of money with little pains. We have read the Scripture as well as they. Let us likewiſe undertake ſomething about Religion. And if we can get ſo far, that people will believe all we tell them, we ſhall get far, and be rich enough.* His being in ſo great eſteem with the *Munſterian Anabaptiſts* (after *Ubbo Philips* had ordained him a Teacher among thoſe of that Sect in *Delft*) firſt brought him into great hatred.

Some of the twenty ſix Apoſtles, whom the *King of the Anabaptiſts* ſent out to enlarge his Kingdom, had aſſerted, That [1] ſince Chriſt's time four Prophets had ariſen, two true ones, *John* of *Leyden* and *David* of *Delft*; and two falſe ones, the *Pope* of *Rome* and *Martin Luther*.

[2] It is likewiſe reported, that he had received ſome money from the King to raiſe Forces in *Freeſland* and elſewhere, for the delivery of *Munſter*. But that Kingdom being at an end, and he having in vain endeavoured to gather together the ſcattered limbs of his Sect, as has been related, betook himſelf to other methods: He ſeparated himſelf by degrees from his old friends, and eſtabliſhed, but very craftily and privately, a Sect of his own, which cleaved to him, and by which he made much gain. That he might carry on his deſign with the greater ſecrecy, he went from *Holland* to *Baſil*, and ſettled there as one that was baniſhed out of his Country for the ſake of his Religion; whereupon they made him free of that City, and, according to cuſtom, he took an Oath to the Government, under the name of *John* of *Brug*, which was the place of his Father's birth, as alſo *van Biinningen*, from a certain Caſtle which he had purchaſed, with other Lands, about the ſaid City. He pretended himſelf in matters of Religion to be intirely of the Sect of the *Zuinglians*, which was the prevailing Party at *Baſil*. He diligently frequented their Sermons and Communion; was very obedient to the Magiſtracy, bountiful to the Poor, a Comforter of the Sick, and a Supporter of thoſe in Diſtreſs. This was the reaſon that no body could willingly entertain any ſuſpicion of him, and that many held him for as good and as rich a man, as he endeavoured to perſonate. He was alſo the more reſpected for his noble Preſence and handſome Mein; and thoſe great Riches and Jewels which he daily received from the *Low-Countries*, rendered him yet more eſteemed. His Œconomy, or Houſe-keeping, was little leſs than princely, but very regular. That he might conceal himſelf the better, he took care of three things: Firſt, that none of his Relations ſhould mention publickly the name of *David George*, which was but too well known in *Holland* and *Freeſland*. Secondly, he forbad them to own what his Profeſſion or Buſineſs had been in his own Country: by which means ſome took him for a perſon of high birth, but imagined he had his reaſons for concealing his quality. Others thought him a great and rich Merchant, that carried on his Trade by Sea and Land by his Agents and Factors. But thirdly, and above all, he avoided tampering with, and converting any of the people of *Baſil*, or the Confederate Cantons of *Swiſſerland*, to his own Sect, whilſt at the ſame time he propagated it by Letters, Books and Meſſengers in *Holland*.

Thus he continued maſked and diſguiſed for the ſpace of eleven years at *Baſil*, till *Nicolas Meinerts* of *Bleeſdiik*, his beſt beloved Diſciple, to whom he had married his Daughter, began to doubt of his Doctrine, and afterwards to oppoſe it. About the ſame time there came a certain perſon from *Holland* that gave ſo clear an account of him and his followers to the Townſ-people, that by reflecting on the danger and conſequences of being found out, he fell into deſpair, and that deſpair brought both him and his Wife into ſuch a ſickneſs, as carried her off firſt, and him ſoon after.

Such was the end of one, who as [3] *Thuanus* ſays, brought a contempt and diſgrace upon Chriſt, as far as in him lay, by giving out, that he was greater, more divine, and not leſs immortal than Chriſt himſelf. He was interred with much Pomp and State.

The Tenets of David George.

The principal Tenets aſcribed to him, are theſe: [4] "That the Doctrine of the *Old* "and *New Teſtament* was imperfect and unprofitable; but his, on the contrary, per- "fect and ſufficient to bring thoſe that embraced it to ſalvation: That he was the "real *Chriſt* or *Meſſiah*, the beloved Son of the Father; not born of the Fleſh, but

3 "of

[1] Hortenſ. Hiſt. Anab. *p.* 36. Pontan. Hiſt. Amſt. *p.* 43.

[3] Thuan. *p.* 1003.

[4] Ibid. *p.* 1004. and Pontan. *p.* 43.

" of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the ſpirit of *Jeſus Chriſt*; which ſpirit of Chriſt, ſince An° Dom.
" his fleſh was deſtroyed, had hitherto been hid by God the Father in a certain place 1538.
" unknown to all the Saints, and was now wholly poured out upon him, *David George*,
" and united to his ſoul. That he was to reſtore the houſe of *Iſrael*, and the true
" children of *Levi*, namely, all thoſe that embraced his Doctrine; and to build up
" the true Tabernacle of God; but not like the firſt *Chriſt*, by ſuffering Contra-
" dictions, Croſs or Death; but by Meekneſs and Gentleneſs, and Love of the Holy
" Ghoſt, and by that Grace which the Father had given him: That he had the
" power of Saving and Damning, of Forgiving or Retaining ſins; on which account
" he ſhould judge the whole World at the Laſt day. That *Chriſt* was ſent by the
" Father, and came in the fleſh, to keep men in awe and order by his Doctrine, and
" by the Ceremonies of the Sacraments, which were then calculated for them as
" Children and Little Ones, and not yet prepared to receive the perfect Doctrine,
" till he, *David George*, ſhould come and bring to light the perfect and powerful
" Doctrine. That he was that *Leaſt* of whom *Chriſt* ſpake, when he ſaid, *the leaſt*
" *in the Kingdom of Heaven was greater than* John the Baptiſt. That all ſins commit-
" ted againſt the Father and Son were forgiven, but not thoſe againſt the Holy Ghoſt,
" that is, againſt him, *David George*. That Marriage was free, and none were
" thereby bound to one Wife only; for which reaſon the begetting of Children was
" to be in common to ſuch as were regenerate by his Spirit.

Notwithſtanding all his boaſting of the *Spirit*, [1] it is recorded of him, that he denied the *Fleſh* no kind of gratifications in private. His Books, in which ſome pretended to diſcover heavenly myſteries, were looked upon by [2] others to be ſo obſcure and confuſed, that they ſeemed rather like idle Tales than rational Diſcourſes. Nevertherleſs he perſwaded himſelf and his followers (being ſo puft up with the hopes of regenerating the whole world) that his *Wonder-Book*, which was the name he gave his own Writings, being peruſed by Divines, Lawyers, Magiſtrates, Kings and Princes, would ſo effectually convince them all of his great wiſdom, that they would cry out with admiration, in the words of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, *Lo! this is our God, we have waited for him, and he will ſave us.* He expected that Princes ſhould have ſent Ambaſſadors, or come themſelves, to offer up to him their own perſons and all that belonged to them. Ch. xxv. v. 9.

His death did very much ſtagger his Diſciples; but there ſtill remained a hope among many of them, that he would riſe again at the end of three years, and then accompliſh what he had ſo often promiſed. But within that time he was taken out of his grave, and, together with his Books and Picture, burnt to aſhes, by order of the Magiſtrates, at the place of Execution without the walls of *Baſil.* This happened on the 13th of *May*, 1559; his Doctrines having been firſt extracted from the printed Books and MS Papers found in his houſe, and he declared an Arch-Heretick. This is the ſtory of *David George*, as it has been tranſmitted to us by the pens of *Thuanus*, and other eminent and credible perſons. But his followers and ſome of his friends pretend, that thoſe Writers have been impoſed upon by wrong accounts in ſeveral particulars: That the hatred of ſome had painted him in falſe colours: That ſome teſtimonies againſt him had been extorted by torments: That ſlander and ſuſpicion had diſguiſed, and made to be believed divers reports of him concerning things which he had never ſaid nor done, but always deteſted, particularly with reſpect to his Doctrine of Polygamy: That his Books, if rightly underſtood, ſhewed the contrary of what they accuſed him. But how far theſe excuſes have any foundation in his dark and perplexed Writings, we ſubmit to the judgment of unbyaſſed perſons.

In the year 1528, from whence we have been thus far led out of our way by the Hiſtory of this man, there were about ſeventeen perſons murdered for the ſake of Religion in the *Low-Countries*, among the reſt, [3] a Paſtor of the Town of *Douay*, [4] a Lay-man at *Mechelen*, [5] a woman of *Bois le Duc*, [6] as alſo nine Anabaptiſt men and three women, and [7] two young lads at a place called *Vinderhout* near *Gant*, of the ſame Sect. *Seventeen Perſons martyred for their Religion.*

In the year 1539, there were put to death at *Delft* one and thirty Anabaptiſts, that had fled from *England*; the men beheaded, and the women drowned. *And in 1539, thirty ſix more.*

[1] At

[2] Pontan. *p.* 44. [2] Pontan. *p.* 45. | *Deſcript. of* Bois le Duc, *p.* 21.
[3] [4] [5] Hiſt. des Martyrs, f. 113, & 356. Bor's | [6] [7] *Hiſt. Anab. Mart.* p. 120, &c.

AN DOM. 1539.

1 At *Rotterdam* another woman; 2 at *Munnikedam* in *North-Holland*, a man and his wife with their eldeſt ſon, all on account of Anabaptiſm. 3 A certain Houſe-keeper at *Harlingen* in *Freeſland* was apprehended, carried to *Leeuwarden*, and there put to death, for harbouring *Menno Simonſon*, from whom moſt of the Anabaptiſts in theſe Countries have ſince been called *Menniſts* or *Menonites*. He ſeemed to have been, 4 as *Cardinal Hoſius* writes, more learned than the reſt of the Anabaptiſts. 5 Being a Prieſt, he preached up Popery with great zeal, firſt at his Father's village called *Pinningum*, afterwards in the place of his own birth, *Witmarſum*, between *Harlingen* and *Bolſwert*. 6 He then ſet himſelf with no leſs zeal to oppoſe the *Munſterian* tumults, joining himſelf to the peaceable Anabaptiſts, and labouring a-new to warn and admoniſh ſuch as remained of the *Munſterians*; for many of thoſe who attempted to eſtabliſh the kingdom of *Iſrael* at *Munſter*, *Oud-Clooſter*, and *Amſterdam*, were ſimple innocent people, who having been made deſperate by the Perſecution, and miſled by the great boaſtings of Divine Inſpiration, were at laſt, after the ill ſucceſs of all thoſe Inſurrections, become ſenſible of their miſtakes, and diſpoſed to follow thoſe that ſhould inſtruct them better. 7 *Ubbo Philips* had ordained *Menno* at *Groningen*, at the requeſt of the brethren, and ſent him out to preach. But when this Sender afterwards diſapproved his Miſſion, and ſignified the ſame to *Menno* and others whom he had brought to the Miniſtry, owning his error, that he might deliver his Soul in the ſight of God, as he ſays in his Confeſſion; *Menno* deſpiſed the Revocation, and went on, pretending a higher Call, and uſing this language, as *Hoſius* informs us: *Aſſuredly, O Heavenly Father, I cannot be deceived in this matter by thy word. I have received and believed it by the Holy Spirit, as a ſure word of Truth.* And again: *I know certainly and poſitively, that by this my Doctrine, which is the word of God, I ſhall judge not only Lords and Princes, not only the World, but even the Angels themſelves.* He did his utmoſt however (this the Writer of the *Beginning of the Schiſm among the Anabaptiſts* ſays in his praiſe) with a ſincere and honeſt heart, according to what he had learnt and underſtood in the Scriptures, faithfully to inſtruct thoſe that were zealous for Salvation, and to teach them by Word and Writing; to baptize ſuch as were diſpoſed and deſirous of the ſame; to gather them into one Communion, and to ſeparate them from others. As to the differences that afterwards aroſe among thoſe of his own party, he endeavoured at the firſt to ſteer in the middle way, and maintained, that peace and mutual forbearance ought to be practiſed, without offering any violence to tender Conſciences; but in proceſs of time, when narrowneſs of ſoul, and a perſecuting temper prevailed among them, he ſuffered himſelf to be carried away into their views by the majority, as we ſhall ſhow in its proper place. And he was ſtill more warm againſt thoſe that forſook Popery, but did not join with him, being of different ſentiments, particularly concerning the Incarnation of our Lord, Oaths, Infant-baptiſm, and the Power of the Magiſtrate. The *Lutherans* were ſtiled by him, with reſpect to their irregular lives, a looſe and licentious Sect; the *Zuinglians*, with reſpect to their Doctrines, an abominable Sect. Thus he ſpeaks in his Works or great Summary: *I admoniſh you in Jeſus Chriſt, believe it as you will; both you and our other Adverſaries* (meaning *Martin Micro*, and *Johannes à Laſco*) *have deceived your own poor Souls; for your Doctrine is true vapour aſcending from the bottomleſs Pit, which obſcures the noble and clear Light of* Jeſus Chriſt *and of his holy Word. It is the very Lie of the old Serpent, his natural Spawn and Off-ſpring: If one eat it, he will die; if one tread upon it, an Adder will come forth ——— In ſhort, it is the horrid Drink of Abomination in the fine golden Cup of that blood thirſty* Babyloniſh *Woman, wherewith ſhe intoxicates all the Inhabitants of the Earth.*

of Menno Simonſon, *from whom the Anabaptiſts of the* Low-Countries *were called* Menniſts, *or* Mennonites.

On the 27th of *September* another Placard was publiſhed in *Holland* [8], whereby all preaching out of Pariſh-Churches, the Convent of the Begging Orders, and the Hoſpitals, was forbidden. At the ſame time the Court of *Holland* writ the following Letter to the Count of *Hoogſtraeten*, and other Governours:

[1 2 3] *Hiſt. Anab. Mart.* p. 120, &c.
[4] In Lib. de Hæreſib. noſtri temp. *p.* 22. Ub. Em. *p.* 892, 922. Caſſand. op. *p.* 455, &c.
[5 6] Chron. Twisk. *p.* 1067.
[7] *Confeſſion of* Ubbo Philips. Hof. ib.
[8] Grotius's *Apology or Defence, in* Dutch,——VI. 55.

To

An° Dom. 1539.

To the Count of HOOGSTRAETEN, *&c.*

Honourable and Good Friends,

WHereas through the diverſity of preaching, and from the Preachers mentioning in their Sermons ſeveral obſcure and difficult matters, which the common people are not able to underſtand; inveighing and railing againſt each other, great murmurings ariſe among the people. We being deſirous to prevent the ſame, do hereby require and command you, in the name of his Imperial Majeſty, ſtrictly to charge all Paſtors, Chaplains and others, that come to preach in your Juriſdictions, that they forbear to vent in their Sermons any obſcure matters, or ſuch as may give offence to the people; and that they take no occaſion of reviling and ſlandering their Superiors and others; but expound upon the Epiſtle or Goſpel of the day, according to the Interpretation and Comments of the ancient approved Doctors, cenſuring Vice and Immorality; and that they forbear preaching and railing againſt each other in the Pulpit. And in caſe they ſhould hear others broaching Doctrines that are heterodox or ſcandalous, that they admoniſh them of it in private; or elſe inform the Magiſtrate or Us concerning the ſame. We recommend you, Honourable and Good Friends, to the Favour of God.

Dated from the *Hague*, *Sept.* 27, 1539.

1540. *The Emperor, at the Inſtigation of the Clergy puts out a new Placard againſt Heretics, more ſevere than the former, and makes it perpetual.*

When the Emperor afterwards came into the *Low-Countries*, in the year 1540, in order to quell the inſurrection at *Gant*, the importunity of the Monks and other Clergymen had ſo much weight with him, that another Edict was granted againſt Hereſie and Heretical Books, dated from *Bruſſels*, the 22d of *September*. It contained not only the Subſtance of the former Placards, but paſt them into a perpetual Law; in which there was no diſtinction made between Anabaptiſts and all kind of Hereticks.

By the ſaid Law it was enacted and declared; **That from the very time that ſuch Hereticks fell into their Errors, they ſhould be** ipſo facto **uncapable of diſpoſing of their Eſtates; and that all Alienations, Gifts, Ceſſions, Sales and Conveyances, and all Bequeſts and Legacies made by the Laſt Will and Teſtament of ſuch perſons, ſhould become null and void.** — And to prevent the Conventicles and Meetings of theſe people, it was added, **That whoever ſhould diſcover or inform againſt thoſe that kept ſuch Conventicles, if he were one of the ſame Sect, he ſhould be excuſed for that time for having been among them, and not be obnoxious to any of the Penalties on that account — That whereas ſome of the ſaid Hereticks and Anabaptiſts, upon their being accuſed and ſummoned to anſwer the ſame, had either fled their Country, or concealed themſelves in it, ſo that no other Proceſs or proper puniſhment could take effect againſt them, ſave only Baniſhment; and whereas, when they heard that their Accomplices and Fellows were either dead or brought to Juſtice, by which means the** Scout **or Criminal Officer was unable to prove them re-baptized or guilty of other acts of Hereſie, they thereupon preſumed to petition for a Trial, in order to purge themſelves of their ſuppoſed Crimes: by which methods the Juſtice of the Land was brought into contempt, and the ſaid Hereticks become ſo bold, as to return home and propagate their Errors — Therefore, to obviate all theſe evils,** it was prohibited by this Placard, **to allow any manner of leave to the perſons deſcribed as above, to ſue out their Pardon, and to return and remain in the Nation.**

And it was yet further declared, **That all ſuch Perſons who either concealed themſelves from Juſtice, or fled for their Crimes, ſhould be deemed as actually outlawed.**

To the Books mentioned and forbidden by former Placards, ſeveral others were added, particularly certain Hymns that had been allowed to be ſung before by publick Authority.

It was alſo required, **That the ſaid Placard ſhould be publiſhed every ſix months, upon St.** John Baptiſt's Day, **and** Chriſtmas Eve, **and the Officer neglecting the ſame, ſhould forfeit for the firſt time ten Gold** Carolus Gilders; **for the ſecond, twenty; and the third time, his Place or Office, without any further notice, and his ſaid Place ſhould be actually vacant.**

It

An° Dom. 1539. It likewise declared, That though such Publication should happen not to be made, yet those that were guilty of a breach of this Law, should be punished with the Penalties therein mentioned, without delay, and without being excused on pretence of ignorance.

Finally, the said Placard ordained, That all the aforesaid Points should be inviolably and for ever observed, according to the Form and Contents of it: And that all Transgressors should be proceeded against with the utmost rigour---without any Mercy ——— Notwithstanding any Appeal made, or to be made, or any Privilege, Law, Statute, Custom or Usage to the contrary: Which, says the Emperor, we shall not allow to obtain in these Cases; having, of our certain Knowledge, Authority and absolute Power, hereby derogated from the same.

At the bottom of this Placard it was said; *By the Emperor in Council:*

And signed, *Verreiken.*

A heavy Persecution. This Placard was followed by a grievous Persecution. At *Louvain* there was a general search made in houses for *Forbidden Books*; which occasioned great terror, and caused many to seek safety by flight. Thereupon eight and twenty persons were put in prison; among whom were two Chaplains of St. *Peter*'s Church; but one of them made his escape, and the other recanted. Two men of the Laity were burnt, and two women buried alive. How it fared with the rest that were taken up, does not appear.

1541. At *Viloorde* near *Antwerp*, on the 11th of *February*, in the year 1541, an Anabaptist was burnt, after he had been kept in prison three years. We likewise find that four more of the same Sect were martyred at *Enkhuisen*, but it is not said when.

1542. *Great Cruelties exercised against Women big with Child and other Persons.* In the year 1542, there were two men and two women put to death for Heresie at *Douway*, at several times, the first by Fire, the second by the Sword, and the two last by the Pit. In *April* of the same year, two men and three women were massacred at *Bois le Duc*.

1 In *Holland* some of the Judges did so thirst after the blood of Hereticks, that they had no regard to women big with child; insomuch, that some when they were just expiring, were delivered of their children; 2 and others were either burnt or drowned, tho' near their time. 3 We have likewise an account of eight men and two women Anabaptists that died in *Amsterdam* by the hands of the Executioner.

4 On the 29th of *December*, of this year, died *Albertus Pighius* of *Kampen*, Canon of St. *John*'s Church at *Utrecht*, a person of uncommon learning, who had done great service to the Church of *Rome* by his Writings against *Bucer* and others. He likewise proposed means for accommodating the Differences, and restoring the Peace of the Church; but I could never meet with the Book in which they were contained.

1543. *Many burnt at Louvain for their Religion.* 5 In the year 1543, there were 28 or 30 persons of both Sexes burnt at *Louvain*, upon the account of Religion.

The better to find out, and apprehend, those that preached against Popery, they caused their Pictures to be drawn, and set up at the Gates of the City and other publick places, and offered Sums of Money to such as should take them.

6 In *Freesland*, besides the reward of 100 Guilders that was offered for seizing *Menno*, a Pardon was promised, if the person was one of his Accomplices, together with the Emperor's Favour, and Freedom of the Country.

1544. 7 In the year 1544, *Joost Jusberg* was beheaded at *Brussels* for having abandoned the Popish Religion.

Giles Tielman of *Amsterdam* was burnt there for having advised a certain Gentlewoman to give that money to the Poor which she had bequeathed to the Clergy; and because the Sick, whom he often visited, despised the service of the Priests; and lastly, because he would not discover his fellow Hereticks, tho' put to the Rack for that purpose. 8 It is reported of him, that he used to fall into such Ecstasies in his Prayers, that he neither saw nor heard those that spoke to him.

[1] Hist. des Martyrs, f. 119, & 126.
[2] Annotat. *of the Treaty of Peace at* Cologne, *p.* 175.
[3] Anab. Mart. *p.* 141.
[4] Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg.
[5] Hist. des Mart. *p.* 92.
[6] Twisk's Chron. *p.* 1104.
[7] Hist. des Martyrs, f. 120.
[8] Amyraut. Morale Christi, *p.* 346.

[1] There was a certain Burgher at *Deventer*, named *Jorian Ketel* (a friend and follower of *David George*, that had printed the ſaid *David*'s *Wonder-Book*) taken up by order of the Count of *Buren*, Stadtholder of *Freeſland* and *Over-Yſſel*. He had been accuſed and diſcovered by one of the *Batenburghers*, who, being carried to *Leyden* and tortured, brought into trouble a great many people that were indeed Anabaptiſts, but not of his Sect; for which reaſon he had conceived a mortal averſion to them. He confeſſed he was of *David George*'s Sect; that he had travelled and intimately converſed with him, and knew all his affairs; that he had read and copied, and cauſed his Books to be printed, and had diſperſed them in ſeveral Countries, and that it grieved him he had not made them yet more known. He added, that it was above eleven years that he had been re-baptized. That his firſt Wife had been drowned at *Utrecht* for the ſame crime: He was by order of the Court of *Bruſſels* put to the rack four or five times, to make him diſcover more Accomplices of *David George*; by which means his body was quite diſabled; but he would name none but thoſe that lived at *Embden* and in *Eaſt-Freeſland*. The Court gave order that he ſhould be beheaded, but the Burgomaſters did not agree to it, ſome of them endeavouring to ſave him. However, after he had lain in priſon twelve weeks, he was condemned to death. When he was heard before the Judges, he ſaid among other things, *That* David George *had taught him nothing but good; namely, the Word of God, and confirmed to him all his Doctrines from the divine Writings; and taught him how to ſlay the Old Man with its evil Deſires.* Whilſt he was under confinement he writ ſomething to his Children by way of his Laſt Will, which was afterwards made publick; it was filled with godly counſels, and with tokens of patience and meekneſs. After he had heard the ſentence againſt him, he took off his Cap and ſaid: *The Lord be bleſſed and praiſed for ever!* An° Dom. 1544.

He went with great chearfulneſs to the place of execution, on the 9th of *Auguſt*, crying out to the By-ſtanders: *My dear and worthy Fellow Citizens; I beſeech you for the love of God, do not think the worſe of me for appearing ſo joyful, for I cannot contain my ſelf; I muſt rejoyce in my God who is ſo favourable to me.* When he was come to the Scaffold where he was to be beheaded, he gave thanks to God, that he was found worthy to ſuffer for his name, ſaying; *O God if it were but poſſible that I might riſe immediately after this Death, and dye once again for this Truth of the God of Heaven! thou knoweſt O Lord that I would do it with Joy and Pleaſure.* Finally, he teſtified his faith in God and Jeſus Chriſt, and that it was founded upon the Doctrine of the Apoſtles and Prophets; and the ſame thing he witneſſed of *David George*, and was willing to ſeal that teſtimony with his blood. The *Scout* anſwering thereupon; *David George, is the vileſt Heretick on earth: Jorian* cried out; *The Day of the Lord will ſhow whether you or I are in the right.* Then he kneeled down, recommending his ſoul to God, and received the fatal ſtroke with an intrepid mind, in the 33d year of his age.

The death of this man increaſed the number of *David George*'s Diſciples; ſince it did not appear that *Jorian Ketel* had learned any thing but good from this Maſter. And ſome thought, that the good qualities of this one Diſciple of his, juſtified the Maſter in every thing; but others were of a different mind.

In *Holland* there was another Placard iſſued on the 27th of *January*, againſt harbouring ſuch as fled on account of Hereſie, or concealing their effects.

The people of *Weſel* had publickly advertiſed, that at the approaching *Eaſter* they would open a School. This was done without leave either from the Pope or Emperor: Whereupon, by a Placard publiſhed at *Bruſſels* on the 7th of *March*, the Inhabitants of theſe Countries were forbidden **to trade or have any dealings with the ſaid Town (where many Anabaptiſts, and ſuch as were infected with other Hereſies,** as the Placard ſtiles it, **came and dwelt) or to ſend their Children, Nephews, Brothers, and other Relations and Friends, that were under their Care and Government, on pain of being eſteemed Hereticks, and puniſhed as ſuch, according to the Tenor of divers Placards.** *A Placard againſt ſending Children to be educated at* Weſel.

At *Harlem*, on the firſt of *July*, two women were drowned on account of Religion; and two more were burnt at *Delden*, in *November*; but they were Anabaptiſts. Two men of the ſame Sect were likewiſe beheaded at *Amſterdam*, one of whom was

[1] Ub. Em. Lib. 59.

An° Dom. 1544.

87 years of age; their Bodies were laid upon wheels, and their Heads ſet on ſtakes. At *Rotterdam*, about the ſame time, a whole aſſembly of thoſe people was betrayed, and all that could be caught were put to death; the men were beheaded, and the women thrown into a Boat, thruſt under the Ice, and ſo drowned.

A dreadful Butchery of a Religious Aſſembly of Anabaptiſts at Rotterdam.

On the laſt of *November* the Emperor granted a Power to the Biſhop of *Utrecht*, by his Letters Patent, to apprehend and ſecure by his Vicars and other Officers, all ſuch Prieſts and other Clergymen, being under his juriſdiction, as were infected with Hereſie; and to proceed againſt them according to Law, ſaving his Majeſty's Prerogative, and the Privileges of the Land.

A Commiſſion granted to the Biſhop of Utrecht *to puniſh Heretical Prieſts.*

At *Gant*, upon the 18th of *December*, there was another Placard publiſhed in relation to the Printing and Diſperſing Heretical Books; the Subſtance of which was: **Whoever preſumed to print any thing without Licenſe, tho' it ſhould contain nothing of Hereſie in it, ſhould be baniſhed for ever, and moreover forfeit** 300 Carolus **Guilders. Nor might any one print any kind of Books, Pamphlets, or the like, in** Italian, Spaniſh, Engliſh, **or other Languages, which were not commonly underſtood, under the ſame Penalties. All Printers having obtained Privileges, were required to place the Contents in the beginning of the Book, and to expreſs the name of the Secretary from whom they had received ſuch Privileges; otherwiſe ſuch Book ſhould be deemed to be printed without leave, and the Printer condemned to the above-mentioned Penalties. None were allowed to print, ſell, or have in their poſſeſſion, any Books, without the name of the Author, Printer, or Place where ſuch Books were publiſhed; and the puniſhment of ſuch Offence was to be as beforeſaid. Whoſoever ſhould be diſcovered to have ſold, or to have in his Shop any Books without a Privilege in the front of them, ſhould every time forfeit fifty Guilders. No body might ſell, or have in his Shop above three days, any Books printed in foreign parts, without delivering a Catalogue of them to the Officer of the place where he kept his Shop, under the like Penalty. And the Officer of that place where any Books were ſold, was obliged twice a year, that is to ſay, eight days before** Chriſtmas, **and eight days before St.** John's-mas, **and at ſuch other times as he thought fit himſelf, to viſit all Bookſellers-ſhops, take Inventories of their Books, and to conſult any learned perſon about them: and in caſe he found among them any ſuſpected Books, then to proceed againſt the Printers or Sellers, according to the Placards; whereof if he the ſaid Officer ſhould fail, he ſhould forfeit his Place, and become liable to arbitrary Correction. Whoever ſhould refuſe to let the Officer ſearch his ſhop or houſe, ſhould forfeit a hundred Guilders, and moreover be ſtill obliged to undergo ſuch a ſearch. And all this to be done effectually, notwithſtanding any Privilege, Liberty, or Exemption to the contrary; or even any difference of juriſdiction, which we,** ſays the Emperor, **(for the ſake of the common God, and for avoiding all dangers and inconveniencies, eſpecially conſidering how much the Faith of Holy Church may be thereby affected) will not ſuffer to be maintained or pretended, ſo as to prevent the Execution of this our Placard.**

A Placard relating to the ill Lives and Practices of the Secular Clergy.

In another Edict at *Gant*, bearing the ſame date with the foregoing, the Emperor ſays: **Foraſmuch as we are fully informed, That notwithſtanding former Placards, many Sects, Errors and Hereſies do ſtill continue, and that the Cauſe thereof does in ſome meaſure proceed from hence; that the Paſtors and Curates (who like good Shepherds are bound to take care of their Flocks) are men of evil lives; and that by their Ignorance, Illiterateneſs and ſcandalous Manners, they give very bad Examples to thoſe that are under them and others; not knowing what a good Paſtor, Pariſh-Prieſt and Curate is obliged to know, in order to the well-governing of Souls: And which is worſe, that thoſe who do not reſide in their Pariſhes and Cures, and only ſeek their own temporal advantage, do not regard to whom they commit the charge of Souls in their abſence, provided they may enjoy the more profit. And that, which is yet worſt of all, intruſting their Flocks to Renegade Monks, ſome of whom, by Diſpenſation, and others without it, have left their Habit, Convent and Religious Profeſſion ——**

Hereupon all Officers were required to make a Return, within the ſpace of 14 days, to the Courts of Juſtice, and by them to Queen *Mary* the Regent, of the Chriſtian and Surnames of all Pariſh-Prieſts, and of their common Fame and Reputation, as alſo of their Manners, Abilities, and Qualifications, diſtinguiſhing between thoſe

thoſe that held Benefices in their own Right, and ſuch as were Curates or Stipendiary Preachers, and how much the Rector enjoyed, and how much his Curate or Vicar, and whether the one or the other had formerly been a Monaſtick perſon, but now thrown off the habit; and if by Diſpenſation, they were to tranſmit a Copy of the ſame —— An° Dom. 1544.

If the Officers failed in any of theſe points, they forfeited their places, and were liable to arbitrary correction.

[1] In this ſame year, but [2] others ſay, it was in 1541, died at *Louvain*, *Allard* of *Amſterdam*, who upon the account of his Learning and Eloquence, was in great eſteem with our *Eraſmus*, as alſo with *Peter Mannius*, *Conrad Goclenius* and *Lodovicus Vives*. This *Allard* did not ſcruple, though he continued in the *Romiſh* Communion, to point at ſeveral things which he thought were blame-worthy in the behaviour of the Clergy. In his admonitions and exhortations relating to Alms-giving, in which he does not treat *Luther* very favourably, he ſhows, that the diſtribution of the Church's treaſure belonged formerly to the *Deacons*, whoſe care extended it ſelf chiefly to the Poor; and thereupon he makes the following wiſh: *Would to God that the Church of this Age were bleſt with ſuch Deacons, to whom might be committed the adminiſtration of Holy things.* Yea he charged the Biſhops and all the reſt of the Clergy with Sacrilege, for converting the Goods of the Church and of the Poor to their own property and convenience; whereas they ought not to ſhare in any more of it than was abſolutely neceſſary for their own wants. He was naturally hard of hearing, but ſmooth of ſpeech; which made *Eraſmus* ſay, that the deficiency of his Ears was ſupplied by the redundancy of his Tongue. [3] He gave his Books by his Laſt-Will to the poor Orphans of *Amſterdam*, and compoſed the following Epitaph for his Grave-ſtone: *The Death and Character of* Allard *of* Amſterdam.

Tota tegit Tellus qui Tellus tota *vocatur.*

alluding to his name, which ſignifies *all Earth.*

Canon *Jacobus Latomus*, Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity at *Louvain*, came to a much worſe End, on the 29th of *May* of the ſame year. At firſt he was well enough diſpoſed to receive the Truths of the *Reformation*; but changing on a ſudden, he did all that was in his power to ſuppreſs them. [4] He writ againſt *Eraſmus*, [5] *Luther*, *Œcolampadius* and *Tyndal*. But one time aſcending the Pulpit at *Bruſſels*, to preach before the Emperor, he was ſo daunted, that he could not utter his words to be underſtood, and the whole Congregation fell a laughing at him: Hereupon he returned immediately to *Louvain*, and what with the ſhame of this accident, and the reflecting upon what he had done againſt his Conſcience, he fell into deſpair: In his Leſſons he often dropt expreſſions ſignifying, that he had fought againſt the Truth; to ſmother which, his own friends ſhut him up in his houſe, where he died deſpairing; crying out frequently: *That he was damned; that he was rejected by God; that he could not hope for ſalvation nor pardon, having preſumptuouſly fought againſt God.* *The deſpairing End of* Jacobus Latomus.

Peter Brully, a Preacher at *Straſburg*, who occaſionally ſerved the Communities of the *Walloon-Netherlanders* that had ſeparated from Popery, made ſome months after, in the year 1545, a very different End: He continued ſteadfaſtly in the Confeſſion of that Doctrine which he conceived to be true; comforting his Fellow-priſoners, and his Wife with Letters, looking upon the moſt painful death with a ſubmiſſive and eaſy mind; and in the midſt of a ſlow fire, calling upon his Creator and Saviour with an entire truſt and confidence, even to the end. Peter Brully, *a Miniſter of* Strasbourg *makes a very different End in the year* 1545.

There were about the ſame time ſeveral others who preached up the Doctrine of the *Reformation* with great danger to themſelves in theſe Parts: namely, *Gerradus Gallinaceus*, ... *Galenus*, *Hermannus Modet*, *Petrus Gabriel*, *Chriſtophorus Fabricius*, *Hermannus Johannes*, who had been all Monks; as alſo *Feito*, *Antonius Nicolaus*, *Cornelius Coletuin*, that had been Prieſts: and among the Laity of divers Profeſſions, there were *Adrian Hamſtede*, the firſt Writer of the *Netherland* Martyrology, *Caſpar Heidanus*, *John Arents*, *Everhardus Gerardus*, *Peter Corneliſon*, &c. But ſome of theſe entered afterwards upon the Miniſtry, as ſhall be related in its proper place.

[1] Pontan. Amſterd. *p.* 237.
[2] Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. *p.* 129.
[3] Val. Andr. ib.
[4] Franc. Junius, *of the Judgments of God*, &c. Ch. XIX.
[5] Val. And. ib. *p.* 426. Eraſm. Epiſt. *p.* 343.

An° Dom. 1545.

More Perſecutions.

One Bergiban *raſhly expoſes himſelf to a Trial of his Faith, and ſinks under it.*

Whilſt *Brully* lay in priſon at *Tournay*, ſome of his followers were burnt. In order to bring them to condemnation (for the Civil Magiſtrate could not keep pace with the zeal of the Clergy) they ſent one *Tiſnacque*, an Advocate, from *Bruſſels* to *Tournay*. A certain Burgher, named *Bergiban*, very well verſed in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of a good life, having been ſought for in vain in his own houſe, reſolved (without being moved with the tears of his Wife, or the advice of his Father, Kindred and Friends) to deliver himſelf up to the hands of the Perſecutors. In three days time he ſettled all his Domeſtick concerns; took his laſt farewel, and then ſurrendered himſelf. At firſt he ſhowed great conſtancy; but when the Emperor's Commiſſary had cauſed him to taſt of the horror of a dreadful priſon, and continually threatened him with the moſt cruel death that could be imagined, he was ſtaggered at laſt, and being continually teazed by the Prieſts, recanted his firſt Confeſſion, and for no other reaſon, than that the manner of his death might be changed, to wit, from the Fire to the Sword.

Peter Mioce, who was likewiſe impriſoned about this time, perſevered in the faith, reſiſted violent temptations, and when they continually contradicted and interrupted him in ſpeaking, ſaid; *If you will not hear me, ſend me back to the Toads and Serpents, my Companions in the Dungeon; for they do not diſturb me when I ſing or pray; whereas, you who are rational Creatures, made after God's image, refuſe to hearken to me, when I mention his eternal Word.* To thoſe who bad him take example from his Friend and Companion *Bergiban*, who was much wiſer than he, as they ſaid, and yet had recanted, he anſwered; *I pin my Faith on no man's ſleeve; I am ſupported by a much more ſtable foundation: I ſet my Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt *for a pattern before mine eyes. As for what concerns* Bergiban, *if it be as you tell me, he is a falſe Traytor, and has ſhown that the ſurrendering himſelf, after the manner he has done, was tempting Providence. As for my ſelf, if God had furniſhed me with ſuch an opportunity of eſcaping, I would have made uſe of it, and kept out of your hands; yet, ſince I am fallen into them, do with my* Body *as you think fit; but my* Soul *is not in your power.* Whilſt they were carrying him to the fire, he cried out to the people; *Believe not theſe Cheats the Prieſts and Monks; but believe the Goſpel of the Son of God.* When the Gun-powder that hung at his breaſt was fired, and made a loud report, the Monks cried; *This is the Heretick's Soul, which the Devils are carrying away.*

The terrible manner of executing Women and the courage of a Taylor's Wife in undergoing the ſame.

There was likewiſe a Taylor accuſed of Hereſie, and impriſoned together with his Wife; but his heart failing him, he recanted, and ſo was only beheaded. His Wife on the other hand behaved more couragiouſly, and continuing ſteadfaſt, was buried alive. The manner of which was thus: They put her into a Coffin without a cover, the length and breadth of which was ſcarce equal to thoſe dimenſions of her body: that this Coffin might be well cloſed at top, there were three Iron bars thruſt through it, one of which lay acroſs her breaſt, another her belly, and the third her legs: At the upper end of the Coffin, near her head, there was a hole made, through which one end of a Rope paſt, the other being about her neck, and when the earth was thrown upon her body, whilſt it lay thus in the Coffin upon the ſcaffold, the Executioner ſtood below and pulled the ſaid Rope. As ſhe was leading away to be put to death, in the manner above-mentioned, and paſſed by the priſon where her Huſband had lain, for ſhe knew nothing of his death, ſhe cried out: *Farewel, my dear* Adrian, *I am going to another wedding.* When ſhe came upon the Scaffold, and ſaw the fatal Coffin, and the other inſtruments of death, ſhe aſked with an intrepidity that appeared in her eyes; *Is this the Paſty you have prepared for me?*

At *Gant*, one *Martin Hureblock* was burnt for abjuring Popery, on the 8th of *May*. On the ſame account *John de Bok* and *Nicolas vander Poelen* loſt their heads on a Scaffold. The Wife of the latter was buried alive.

Quirinus Peterſon of *Groningen* was condemed to be burnt at *Amſterdam*. In the ſentence that was paſt againſt him, it is ſaid, *That it was for his having embraced the Errors and Hereſies of the Anabaptiſts: ſuffering himſelf to be re-baptized by* Menno Simons: *for his falſe opinions touching the Sacraments of Holy Church: for having debauched other perſons to the ſame errors, and for his own obſtinate perſevering therein.*

Francis van Bolſwart, a brother of the ſame Sect, was burnt at *Leeuwarden* on the Eve of *Palm-Sunday*.

In

In the year 1546, and on the 24th of *May*, there were two Anabaptists of *Edam*, who had been condemned by the Court of *Holland*, bound with leather thongs, and burnt at *Amsterdam*. Several persons of the same Sect were put upon the Rack at *Leyden*, and through the force of torments made to discover some of the *Munsterian* Rioters, that concealed themselves at *Utrecht*. Of these, two were apprehended, who were said to be, one the new chosen King, but not yet crowned, and the other his Treasurer. This King, among divers other horrible crimes of which he was accused, forced his Wife to descend from a Waggon as they were travelling, and to go into a Wood, where he murdered her, to prevent her discovering the Incest he had committed with her Daughter, and to continue the same without interruption: and some time after in *Utrecht*, he cut the throat of that very young woman. They found in his custody a great quantity of wrought silver, of which he had plundered the Churches. He discovered several of his Followers to the Government, some of whom being found innocent, were discharged, and others fell by the Sword; as for himself and his Treasurer, they were burnt alive.

An° Dom. 1546.

A new King of Munster *discovered, and put to death.*

On the last of *July* the Emperor published another Placard, in relation to Heretical Books, whereby the former were confirmed and enforced with new Penalties; in which among other things it is said; **That none should presume to print any Books unless they first obtained from the Emperor a License for exercising the Trade of a Printer, and had given full proof of their quality, condition, fitness and good name; and then also they were to take an oath, that they would observe and put in execution the Ordinances relating to Books, on pain of death.** The said Placard did further require, **That from thenceforwards, none should keep publick Schools, unless they were previously approved and admitted by the Officer of the Town or Village and the Pastor of the Parish-Church of the place where they proposed to open the same, or by such other persons Ecclesiastical or Temporal, as had been qualified to that end by virtue of some ancient Right or Privilege, on pain of forfeiting twelve** Carolus Guilders **for the first time; double as much the second time; and being for ever banished from the place of their habitation, if guilty of the like the third time.** The names of the Books which the Children were to use, and no other, were also expressed in the said Placard.

A stronger Placard against Heretical Books.

This was followed by a Catalogue of all the Books which the Faculty of Divines of the University of *Louvain* (after having examined them by order of the Emperor) had declared to be evil or dangerous, and were therefore prohibited by the said Placard. Among the said forbidden Books there were likewise the *Latin Bibles*, printed at *Paris* by *Robert Stevens*, in the year 1532 and 1540. By *Francis Griphius*, in the years 1541 and 1542. At *Basil*, by *Froben*, in the years 1530 and 1538. At *Antwerp*, by *J. Stels*, in 1538, 1541 and 1542. At *Lyons*, by *Sebastian Gryphius*, in 1542. As also the Bible with the Annotations of *Sebastian Munster*, printed at *Basil* in 1535. The *Dutch Bible*, printed at *Antwerp* by *Jacob Liesvelt*, in 1542. By *William Vosterman*, in 1528, 1534, 1544, 1545. And by *Henry Peterson*, in the year 1541. The [1] *Walloon* or *French* Bibles of *Antwerp*, in 1534, by *Martin de Keiser*; and in 1541, by *Anthony de la Haye*. Likewise the *New Testaments* in *Dutch*, printed by *Liesvelt*, in the years 1542, 1543, and 1544; together with seventeen other impressions.

By the said Placard several Editions (therein mentioned) of the Bible are prohibited;

The above-mentioned *Jacob Liesvelt* was beheaded at *Antwerp*, because he said in the Annotations of one of his Bibles, after another Copy, *That the salvation of Mankind proceeds from Christ alone.*

And Jacob Liesvelt *a Printer of one of the said Editions, beheaded, and why.*

About the year 1547, one *Richt Heynes*, a *Frisian* woman, of the Sect of the Anabaptists, big with child, and near the time of her labour, was taken out of her house, bound with cords, and hurried away to prison at *Leeuwarden*, where she was delivered of a Son within the third week, who was marked on the arms with his Mother's bands. As soon as she was up, they put her to the Rack, to make her discover those of the same persuasion, and tormented her so grievously, that she lost the use of her hands; notwithstanding which, she accused no body: at last, she was thrust into a sack and drowned.

1547. *Persecutions in* Freesland.

One *Martin*, a Shoe-maker at *Ypres* in *Flanders*, was likewise brought to the stake for his Faith, and underwent the fiery Trial with an undaunted mind. After he had received

Persecutions in Flanders.

[1] *J. Wesemb.* p. 10.

An° Dom. 1547. received ſentence of death, he looked out of a window, and ſeeing the wood prepared to burn him, he ſaid to one who inſulted him; *This is a poor little fire in compariſon of the everlaſting one; but after I have ſuffered a little ſmart by it, I ſhall enjoy eternal happineſs.*

One *Michel*, a Taylor at *Tournay*, being condemned to die for renouncing Popery, and aſked by the Judges, whether he had rather abide by his Confeſſion, and be burnt to death with a ſlow fire; or recant it, and be beheaded? anſwered bravely, and without heſitation: *He who judges me worthy to ſuffer for his name-ſake, will likewiſe grant me ſtrength and patience to undergo the fiery trial.*

1548. In the year 1548, an Anabaptiſt Burgher was ſtrangled and burnt at *Oſtend.*

Perſecutions at Oſtend. In the year 1549, there lay in priſon at *Amſterdam*, on account of Religion, about twenty Anabaptiſts; of whom all but five men and three women made their eſcape by the help of ſome friends: and a certain Taylor, named *Ellert Janſon*, might have ſaved himſelf with the reſt of his companions, but he refuſed it, ſaying; *I am now ſo well ſatisfied to be offered up, and feel my ſelf at preſent in ſuch a ſtate of ſalvation, that if I ſhould live longer I do not expect to be better.* He was lame of one leg, and thought that though he might get out, he ſhould be eaſily diſcovered and taken; he therefore ſtayed behind, and was burnt on the 20th of *March* with the other five men and three women, *for that they* (for ſo ran the ſentence) *had ſuffered themſelves to be re-baptized by* Giles van Aken, *and had wrong notions of the Sacrament.* As he was leading to execution, he cried out; *This is the moſt joyful day of my whole life.* He had been put to the Rack before, with two other men. Their eſtates were declared forfeited, with a Saving to the privileges of the Town, for two of them were Denizens. One of the women was reſpited, becauſe ſhe was near her time, but her ſufferings and the pains of child-birth deprived her of her ſenſes, and ſhe died ſoon after in a Mad-houſe.

1549. *Perſecutions at* Amſterdam.

Perſecutions at Leeuwarden. About the ſame time, two men of the ſame Sect were put to death at *Leeuwarden*; as alſo a women drowned, after having been firſt tortured with *Thumb-irons* and *Shan-ſcrews*, as they call them. The reaſon of treating her thus in particular was, that having found a *Latin Teſtament* in her houſe, they thought ſhe was a Teacher, and that *Menno* was her Huſband; and were therefore reſolved to know whom ſhe had taught, and who were her Accomplices, or preſent when ſhe baptized. She would not anſwer to any of theſe queſtions, but ſaid; *Examine me as to my Faith, and I will readily anſwer you.* For a trial of her opinions about the Hoſt, ſhe was aſked, What were the expreſſions of our Saviour, when he gave his Diſciples the Sacrament? To which ſhe replied: *What did he give them, Fleſh or Bread?* They anſwered, He gave them *Bread. Then*, ſaid ſhe, *did not the Lord remain among them? Who then could eat his Fleſh?* The Judges aſked her further, Whether ſhe believed their Children to be damned, becauſe they were baptized? To which ſhe replied; *No; that be far from me, that I ſhould condemn Children.* Then ſaid ſomebody to her; Do not you expect to be ſaved by Baptiſm? She anſwered; *No; all the water in the Sea cannot ſave me, nor any thing elſe but that ſalvation which is in Chriſt, who has commanded me, to love the Lord my God above all things, and my Neighbour as my ſelf.*

In *September* there was a man and a woman of this perſwaſion burnt at *Amſterdam*, the former being firſt tortured.

A certain Schoolmaſter having been forced to fly from *Tournay*, for the Doctrine of the *Reformation*, ſettled at *Gant*: When any of his Religion were taken up and impriſoned, he writ to the Magiſtrates, and delivered his Letters himſelf: *That they ſhould not defile their hands with the innocent blood of ſuch perſons.* He likewiſe ſet before their eyes the terribleneſs of the wrath of God; but for his zeal he was ſentenced to the fire.

Perſecutions in Hainault. In *Hainault* the perſecution raged grievouſly about this time; many ſuffering on account of their Faith. Maſter *Nicolas*, a learned man of *France*, who had reſided ſome time at *Geneva*, and was now travelling to *England* through the *Low-Countries*, being intreated to viſit, comfort and ſtrengthen a little Flock at *Mons*, that had ſeparated themſelves from Popery, was upon that account apprehended about four leagues from *Tournay*, and with his Wife and another Woman carried back to *Mons:* Where his Wife was prevailed upon, for the ſaving her own life, to betray the people that had entertained him. The Temporal Magiſtrates ſent ſome Monks to him, to diſcover his opinions, whom he handled ſo well with his arguments, that he ſilenced them more than

than once, and at laſt they cried out all together; *The devil is in him, to the fire,* An° Dom. 1549.
i *to the fire with the* Lutheran. When the Sentence of Death was notified to him, he thanked God, ſang a Pſalm, bruſhed of the Duſt and Straw from his Cloaths, and ſaid to thoſe that ſtood about him: *My friends, I purify my ſelf in this manner, becauſe I am called to the Marriage of the Lamb.* They forbad him to ſpeak to the people as he went to execution; notwithſtanding which, he cried out: O, *Charles! Charles! how long will your heart be thus ſtony?* upon his ſaying ſo, they ſtruck him on the face; when turning himſelf to the people, he ſaid, *Alas! poor people, ye are not worthy that the Word of God ſhould be offered to you.* When the Monks objected to him again at the Stake, that he was poſſeſſed by the Devil, he anſwered them with the 8th Verſe of the 6th *Pſalm: Depart from me all ye workers of iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping.* Thereupon they kindled the fire; after which he was obſerved to raiſe up his head, and to cry out twice: O *eternal Father, I recommend my ſelf to thy hands.* With no leſs courage and confidence in the Grace of God, did *Mary* the Wife of *Auſtin Barbier*, ſuffer herſelf to be laid alive in a Coffin, and ſtamped upon by the Hangman, till ſhe burſt. Some time after which the ſaid *Auſtin* was likewiſe ſeized at *Beaumont*, and led away to execution; and tho' he was naturally timorous, he behaved himſelf bravely under this diſpenſation, confeſſing freely what he conceived to be the Truth of the Goſpel. To one that ſaid to him, take pity on your ſelf, and if you will not ſave your Body, ſave your Soul at leaſt, he returned the following anſwer, with his thanks: *You may eaſily ſee that I have a great concern for my ſelf and my ſoul, ſince rather than I would do any thing againſt my conſcience, I give my body to be burnt. In this I count my ſelf happy; ſince I do not ſuffer for a wicked life, but only for the Word of* Jeſus Chriſt, *for which all the Martyrs have ſhed their blood, as I hope to do likewiſe.*

A Woman ſtamped to death by the Hangman.

[1] In the midſt of this effuſion of blood the Emperor ſent for his Son *Philip* out of *Spain*, and cauſed homage to be done to him as Prince of the *Low-Countries*, and Preſumptive Heir of the reſt of his Father's Dominions. He was accordingly acknowledged as ſuch at *Dort*, on the 26th of *September*, in the preſence of *Mary* Princeſs of *Auſtria*, and Queen Dowager of *Hungary*; the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Alva*; the Princes of *Orange* and *Aſcoli*; the Counts of *Egmont*, *Horn*, and *Meegen*; the Marquiſſes of *Bergen*, *Aſtorgo* and *Peſcara*; the Preſidents *Viglius* and *Everard Nicolai*. [2] Prince *Philip* made a Progreſs in the ſame month to *Rotterdam*, where he was received with great marks of honour and joy. They had ſet the Statue of *Eraſmus*, after the life, in the place of his arrival, and made one of its Arms to reach out a Copy of Verſes, welcoming his Highneſs to that City. After which, the Prince, the Queen, and other great Perſonages attending them, being moved at the remembrance of ſo great a man, went and viewed with much reſpect, the Houſe and Chamber where he was born.

Philip *of* Spain *declared Preſumptive Heir of the* Low-Countries, *by his Father.*

Soon after, the Emperor put out another Placard, which bore date at *Bruſſels*, the 20th of *November*, for determining the diſputes and differences that aroſe about the Eſtates, Goods and Chattles, that had been forfeited on account of Hereſie: foraſmuch as ſome Lords, in whoſe Diſtricts and Juriſdictions the Eſtates of ſome of the Hereticks lay, and from whom they were holden in Vaſſalage, maintained, That the Eſtates muſt return to them.

The Emperor publiſhes a Placard relating to Eſtates forfeited for Hereſy.

By this Placard it was declared, That all the Eſtates of Hereticks, even of this nature, ſhould likewiſe be forfeited. —— When any Man was convicted of Hereſie before the Inquiſition, or Spiritual Judges, and continued obſtinate till he ſuffered the extreameſt puniſhment, then ſhould his Eſtate, if holden of the Emperor, be forfeited to him; but if it were holden of a Subject, having the Right of Confiſcation, then it ſhould fall to him: But if the party were tried and condemned before the Civil Magiſtrate, then the forfeited Eſtate was to be divided between the Emperor and ſuch as had the Right of Confiſcation. And whereas ſome Towns and Countries pretended, that there could be no Confiſcation or Forfeiture of Eſtates within their Juriſdictions on any pretence whatever, and that it was a Privilege which, as they ſaid, they had enjoyed from ancient times, the Emperor did Ordain, Will and Command, that in all the Caſes abovementioned, Forfeitures

[1] Hooft's *Hiſt.* Lib. I. *p.* 3. Beverw. Dort *p.* 346. [2] Seb. Munſt. Coſmog. *p.* 130.

An° Dom. 1549. **Forfeitures should for the future take place throughout all his Dominions,** non obstantibus, **all Privileges, Customs and Usages to the contrary. And that no Towns nor Countries should be permitted to plead them in the Cases abovementioned.**

Placards against the new Christians fled from Portugal *to the* Low-Countries.

Before this time there had been a Placard made against such as called themselves *New Christians*; and who, in order to escape the enquiry and examination which the King of *Portugal* had caused to be made into their lives, and apostatizing, (for many of them continued in the *Jewish* Religion in private) had fled into these Countries for their preservation. **The Permission formerly granted them to dwell and reside in these parts was revoked, and all those who had settled here within the space of six Years last past, were required to depart in a months time, with their Wives, Children and Goods; on pain of being punished corporally and pecuniarily.** Some of them stayed, alledging, that they had not left *Portugal* for fear of the Inquisition: But even these were banished out of the Country by another and more rigorous Placard, dated the 30th of *May*, in the year 1550.

1550. *Several Anabaptists put to Death for Religion.*

In the said year there were about twenty Anabaptists massacred in the *Low-Countries* for their Religion: Two at *Gant*, four at *Lier*, three at *Antwerp*, three at *Brechem*, one at *Ruremond*, one at *Leeuwarden*, one at *Amsterdam*, and the rest at *Leyden*. Among these there were five women.

But the Magistrates of all these Towns were not equally zealous and violent in thus persecuting people on account of Religion; for in the heat of the Persecution, a young man being taken upon suspicion by the *Scout* of *Amsterdam*, and interrogated by him in the presence of one of the *Burgomasters*, whether he had been rebaptized? he answered, No: And when the *Scout* would have questioned him farther, the *Burgomaster* forbad the young man (who seemed very ready) to answer any more questions; saying to the *Scout*, *I will not suffer you thus to examine my Citizens: if you have any thing to say against him, or if he has done any evil, proceed according to Law.* By this equitable opposition the Prisoner was saved.

Another severe Placard against Heresy.

At this time there appeared another Placard about the business of Heresie, dated the 29th of *April*, at *Brussels*; which not only confirmed all the former Placards, but was much more severe, and gave plainer hints of a design to set on foot the *Inquisition*: for it contained the following expressions: **And We also require, that all our Justices, and other Officers, being thereto requested and desired by the** Inquisitors of the Faith, **and by the Ordinary Judges of the Bishops (in case they have a mind to act conjointly against any person, so far as relates to the spiritual crime of Heresie) do give them all favour, countenance and encouragement, help and assistance, in the Execution and Performance of this Charge; and moreover, in the seizing, apprehending and securing all such as appear defiled or infected, according to the Instructions which the aforesaid Inquisitors shall receive from Us.** At the conclusion it was said, **that they should proceed against the Offenders by Execution, notwithstanding any Privileges to the contrary, which were abrogated and annulled by this Edict, as in the Placard of the year** 1540.

A dreadful Picture of the Inquisition.

The mentioning the *Inquisition* (by which that of *Spain* was meant) in such plain terms, excited most terrible apprehensions in the minds of the people. For this was now become the Tribunal of the *Dominican* Monks, who not only punished with the most infamous, as well as dreadful kinds of death, and loss of estate, all publick and well proved crimes; but invented the vilest stratagems to ensnare people, to fathom their Souls, and to extort the deepest secrets of their Hearts, by such threats as were intolerable to be seen or heard, and by torments not to be endured. They have two Officers, one of them intituled, *The Promoter of the Rights of the Church*, who is most commonly a Clergyman, and insists upon the sentence of Infidelity or Heresie against the accused person: The other, in the King's name, demands the forfeiture of the Criminal's Estate; and is a Temporal or Lay person. Whoever hears any criminal expressions, tho' they should drop from the mouth of his own Father, is bound to accuse him. Two Witnesses, tho' of different facts, are sufficient to cast a man into a loathsome dungeon, where he is hardly allowed any food or refreshments, and is forbidden all visits and consolations, yea, even singing, as being too much ease for him in his solitude; to the end that he may be overcome with melancholy and despair. In case he owns what he is accused of, and abjures his Religion, the penance he undergoes, is to wear the

Sacco Benito, or bleſſed Sack-cloth, as they call it, and to forfeit all his Eſtate. If he perſevere in denying the Accuſation, and affirms, that he is a pure *Romiſh Chriſtian*, they condemn him, upon the teſtimony of two perſons ſwearing the ſame fact, to the Fire; but if they differ in the evidence, then to the Rack. The names of the Witneſſes are always concealed from him; the matter indeed is told him, but in general and ambiguous terms. In caſe he ſuſpects he has enemies among the Witneſſes, he has indeed liberty to gueſs at them; and if he ſucceeds, to except againſt them: but in caſe his Exceptions be over-ruled, or if there be more Witneſſes, whom he cannot gueſs at, then their evidence remains good. An° Dom. 1550.

The torture is performed with a Rack, Fire and Water, in a dark Cellar, and by Torch-light; the Executioner is covered with a black Linnen-Garment from head to foot, in which there are made holes for his eyes.

Some have been kept in the Priſons of the *Inquiſition* ten or twelve years, and afterwards put to death.

There have been inſtances of ſome, who tho' they were true *Romaniſts*, have confeſſed the contrary, that they might regain their liberty by an appearance of being penitent. Others (which is yet worſe) being Chriſtians in their hearts, thro' the horror of ſuch uſage, or by the weakneſs, as they thought, of the arguments they heard alledged againſt *Judaiſm*, have been driven into that Perſwaſion.

Thoſe who are condemned by the Spiritual Court, are delivered up to the Secular arm, to be puniſhed. Many of the Civil Magiſtrates have, out of, as they thought, a godly emulation with each other, ſtriven who ſhould exerciſe the moſt terrible puniſhments on ſuch condemned perſons. But others, who foreſaw what a door would be ſet open by it, not only to malice and hatred, but alſo to avarice, ſince their Eſtates were all forfeited, and that great advantages might be made by ſuch accuſations, could not bear that the cognizance of theſe Cauſes ſhould be wreſted out of their hands. *Grotius* ſays, that it was enough to ſend any one to priſon, if he were but ſuſpected of Hereſie; and that any proof, even of the ſmalleſt moment, would bring him to the Rack. [1] That learned man adds, that the *Inquiſitors* had a power of ſending for any perſons, of what ſtate or condition ſoever, and of asking them what queſtions they pleaſed upon oath; *By which means they not only penetrated into the ſecrets of Families, but alſo of Conſciences:* For the more any man dreaded perjury, the more readily he betrayed himſelf: beſides, that thoſe who ſcrupled to kneel before the images of the Saints, or the Hoſt when elevated in the Church, or carried openly in proceſſion, could hardly avoid being diſcovered.

At the firſt, this kind of *Inquiſition* was only uſed againſt the *Jews* and the *Moors*; but now againſt all perſons without diſtinction, and all ſorts of tricks were put in practice to detect people: For a man's ſilence was as much obſerved as his ſpeech; and the former rendered him ſometimes as obnoxious as the latter: No friendſhip could be relied on; and a man's accuſer was oftentimes his boſom-friend: Inſomuch, that it was now plain, that the life and honour of the moſt innocent perſon was at the mercy of the greateſt villains.

That theſe things are not magnified out of hatred, but related with a moſt ſtrict regard to truth, cannot be denied by ſuch as have ever heard what diſturbances have been excited in [2] *Spain*, [3] and throughout all *Italy*, yea, even at [4] *Rome* it ſelf, on account of this deteſtable Tribunal, even by thoſe who continued in Communion with the Pope.

The City of Antwerp *oppoſes the above-mentioned Placard and the* Inquiſition. *And the chief Merchants and Burghers prepare to leave the Town.*

It was no wonder then if the people of *Antwerp*, which flouriſhed above all the Towns of the *Low-Countries* in its Commerce, (a bleſſing that commonly attends *Liberty of Conſcience*,) did from this very time begin to oppoſe this religious tyranny. For it was about this time, that the Doctrine of the *Reformation* was privately taught there by certain Preachers, [5] to wit, by *George Sylvanus*, and *Gaſper vander Heiden*. They therefore ſcrupled to receive and promulgate the ſaid Placard, which had been admitted too eaſily in ſome places, and without attending to the conſequences: the rather, becauſe they obſerved upon the firſt rumours of it among the people, ſome of thoſe dreadful inconveniencies which ſoon followed. For many Merchants

[1] Grot. Annal. Lib. I. *p.* 10.
[2] Hiſt. des Mart. f. 476.
[3] *Eſpecially at* Naples. *See* Thuan. Lib. II. *p.* 135. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. *p.* 244, & 683. Ibid. Hiſt. Conc. Inquiſ. *p.* 40. De Veers Chron. *p.* 137.
[4] Hiſt. Conc. Trid. *p.* 376. Thuan. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 1053.
[5] Weſenb. *p.* 13.

An° Dom. 1550. Merchants prepared to be gone; all trade was at a ſtand; there was neither buying nor ſelling, nor any correſpondence with other parts: The Rents of houſes fell; Handicrafts decayed; and the Labourers and Journeymen could get no Pay. This put the Magiſtrates upon enquiring into, and informing themſelves of all the prejudice which the Publick had already ſuffered through fear of the *Inquiſition*, and what, according to all appearance, it might be ſtill likely to ſuffer on that account. They heard a great number of the principal Burghers and Merchants on their Oaths, and laid the whole matter before Queen *Mary*, with their moſt humble requeſt, that ſhe would be pleaſed to intercede with the Emperor her Brother, that the moſt renowned trading Town of his Dominions might not be burthened and ruined by the *Inquiſition*; from which, as alſo from all Spiritual juriſdiction, they had been ever free, and according to their Rights and Privileges ought to continue ſo. The Council of *Brabant* likewiſe declared for the Liberties of their Country, againſt the Placard and the *Inquiſition*, and encouraged the *Antwerpers* to perſiſt in their demands. The ſame was done by ſeveral other Towns in *Brabant*, who were againſt the publication of the ſaid Placard. *Mary*, a Princeſs of great humanity and goodneſs, and of ſo much moderation in the points of Religion, that [1] Pope *Paul* III. inſinuated to the Emperor in the year 1539, that he ſuſpected her of ſecretly favouring the *Lutherans*, and holding a correſpondence with them, was extremely perplexed, and at laſt obliged to take a journey as far as *Auſburg*, where the Emperor at that time held the Diet of *Germany*: There ſhe repreſented to her Brother what miſeries thoſe things that were called *Remedies* had occaſioned: that all the foreign Merchants were leaving the Country; and that Trade, upon which the welfare of the State much depended, might receive ſuch a ſhock, as it could never recover, if he inſiſted upon eſtabliſhing the *Inquiſition* in the *Netherlands*.

The Regent Mary *goes to* Ausburg *to repreſent to the Emperor the Miſchiefs of the Inquiſition;*

and obtains a qualifying Placard.

By this Repreſentation ſhe prevailed ſo far, that the Placard which had given ſo much offence, was partly repealed by another of the 25th of *September*, ſigned at *Auſburg*, and ſome of the Articles relating to foreign Merchants mollified, the words, *Inquiſitor* and *Inquiſition*, being left out, for it ran thus: **That when the Spiritual Judges** (by which ſome underſtood the Inquiſitors) **deſired to proceed againſt any perſon, with reſpect to the crime of Hereſie, they ſhould apply to thoſe of the Emperor's Sovereign or Provincial Courts, to lend them ſome Member of their Colleges, as an** Adjunct, **or** Aſſeſſor, **to ſuperintend the Informations and Proceedings, which were to be carried on againſt the ſuſpected perſon; requiring and commanding all Magiſtrates and other Officers, to be aiding and aſſiſting to the aforeſaid** [Spiritual] **Judges, and their Adjuncts, in the diſcharge of their Office.**

As for the reſt, this Placard was as ſharp and ſevere as the former, and gave as great offence in the concluſion of it; to wit: **That ſuch as infringed or diſobeyed theſe Orders, ſhould be proceeded againſt, by execution of the appointed penalties, notwithſtanding any Appeal, or Privilege whatſoever.** From all which this Placard derogated as the former.

On the back of this Placard there was a certain Catalogue of Books condemned a-new by the Divines of *Louvain*, and forbidden by the Emperor; and the number of them was much larger than formerly. This Catalogue bore date the 26th of *March*.

Tho' this Placard of *Auſburg* was publiſhed in moſt of the Towns of the *Low-Countries*, at the toll of the Bell, yet would not the people of *Antwerp* receive it, till the Chancellor of *Brabant* had aſſured them by Letters, that they ſhould not be ſaddled with any kind of *Inquiſition*: But that their Inhabitants and Merchants ſhould be ſecured in their ancient privileges. [2] Accordingly the Magiſtrates would not conſent to the publication of the Placard, till it was declared by an Inſtrument in writing, dated the 5th of *November*; **That, notwithſtanding the laſt Article, and eſpecially the Clauſe beginning with theſe words: Notwithſtanding any Oppoſition, or Appeal made, or to be made; or any Privileges, Ordinances, Statutes, Cuſtoms or Uſages to the contrary: Which we will not ſuffer to be alledged or referred to in this Caſe——They** (the Magiſtrates) **proteſted, that in this reſpect they did inſiſt upon their Rights and Privileges**

[1] Hiſt. Conc. Trid. I. *p.* 78. [2] Bors Ned. Hiſt. Lib. I. *p.* 10. Hooft. I. 23. Weſenb. *p.* 12.

vileges, Laws, Customs and Usages, from whence they would not admit of any derogation. An° Dom. 1550.

This Declaration was signed, POLITES.

[1] Nevertheleſs that the name and office of the *Inquiſition* was not ſo new in this Country, we have ſhown before; though never introduced abſolutely, nor exerciſed after the *Spaniſh* manner. But now the Profeſſors of Divinity, who were privately appointed *Inquiſitors of Hereſie*, endeavoured not only to execute their Office with much greater ſeverity, but they pretended to do it likewiſe by others, whom they, as it were, deputed to that end; particularly in thoſe Towns that had received the Placard of the 29th of *April*, in the Provinces of *Artois*, *Hainault*, *Flanders* and *Holland*. Even one of thoſe *Inquiſitors* had the confidence to ſay, in a meeting of the Magiſtrates of *Antwerp*, that, *He and his Companions had authority to come into that City, and to execute their office; to examine perſons; to take cognizance of the crimes of ſuch as were in priſon; and to do whatever elſe he pleaſed, though the Magiſtrates did not conſent to it, nay, though they ſhould expreſly forbid it.*

[2] And as this affair of the *Inquiſition*, and the oppreſſion from *Spain* prevailed more and more; all men began to be convinced, that they were deſtined to perpetual ſlavery.

The progreſs of the Perſecution confirmed them in theſe ſentiments; for in the year 1551, there were ſeveral perſons condemned and burnt at *Valenciennes* for Religion, by vertue of the Placard above-mentioned; *viz.* a certain Widow, as alſo a Father, with his Son and Daughter, and her Huſband. The Father anſwered the crafty arguments with which they attacked his Faith, in the following plain and ſimple manner: *I do not pretend to ſo much learning, as to be able to refute all your objections againſt my Religion; but I ſhall rely upon the truth of the Goſpel, ſay what you will.* With this calm ſimplicity, and an entire perſwaſion that he had the truth on his ſide, this old man went chearfully to the fire. But his Daughter, who was pregnant, was reſpited till ſhe ſhould be brought to bed. After which, being urged by the Judges to a recantation, with promiſe of life, ſhe ſaid; *Ah, my Lords, I have languiſhed ſufficiently; why do you keep me any longer? I am ſtrong enough, God be praiſed, to follow my Father, Huſband and Brother.* 1551. *The Perſecution goes on.*

At *Antwerp*, about the ſame time, there was a certain *Fleming*, named *John van Oſtend*, condemned to the fire for his Religion. This man, who was of the Confeſſion of *Auſburg*, diſputed briſkly with ſome of the Monks about the Traditions of the Church, and Authority of the Pope. They aſked him, among other things, Whether all the Ancients that lived and died in the Communion of the *Romiſh* Church were damned? He made anſwer; *We muſt leave this to the Will of God, who, if he pleaſes, may wink at thoſe times of ignorance, and be merciful: But now, that the light of the Goſpel, which has been ſo long hidden, ſhines forth upon the world, every one muſt look well to his ways. Chriſt has had compaſſion on us, by ſending his Truth among men, to deliver them from ignorance and errors.*

In this ſame year, in *Flanders* and *Brabant* only, there were ſixteen Anabaptiſts, of whom five were women, put to death for Religion. Two of the men, together with two women, being condemned at *Gant*, thanked their Judges for ſentencing them to be burnt. Yea, one of the women cried out to them; *My Lords, you may ſave three of your ſtakes, we can die all four of us at one, ſince we are but one in a ſpiritual ſenſe.* One of the men broke out into theſe words, when upon the ſcaffold: *O ye inhabitants of* Gant! *we do not die like Hereticks or* Lutherans, *who hold a Can of Beer in one hand and a Bible in the other, and ſo diſhonour the word of God with drunkenneſs; but we die for the real Truth.* In the number of thoſe that were murdered was *Jerom Segerts*, with his Wife and others: theſe ſuffered at *Antwerp*. When the Judges gave him ſome hopes of ſaving his life, provided he would be converted to the *Romiſh* Church, *Jerom* anſwered them thus: *Though you ſhould ſet the door of the priſon open, and ſhould ſay to me, Go; only cry, you are ſorry; I would not ſtir, becauſe I know I have the truth on my ſide.* Whilſt he was in the dungeon, he writ to his Wife in the following manner: *I find the Lord is with us. We have a treaſure*

[1] Hooft. *p.* 32, &c.

[2] *The Rights and Privileges of* Holland *are to be ſeen in* Grotius de Antiquit. Reip. Bat. *p.* 72 *and in* Hooft, *p.* 34. *Thoſe of* Brabant, *in* Bor's *Hiſt.* Lib. I. *p.* 14. *and in* L'Apol. du Pr d'Orange, *p.* 69. *Thoſe of* Freeſland, *in the ſaid* Bor. Lib. III. *p.* 103. *With theſe agreed for the moſt part, and in the weightieſt matters, the Rights of the other Provinces. See* Hooft. ib.

An° Dom. 1551. *in earthly vessels. This will not be hid; one calls out to the other, and pours out his treasure, so that it may be seen. We call, we sing to each other, we have the like joy in comforting and strengthening one another. The Lord has granted us such a measure of strength and confidence, that we cannot sufficiently thank him for the great mercies we have received from him.* And again, in another Letter: *I have so much comfort through God's promises, that I do not so much as think upon any sufferings. I feel so much joy and pleasure, that I can neither express it by speech or writing. I did not imagine that a man could be sensible of so much gladness in a prison: It is so great, that it will hardly suffer me to sleep day or night. I can scarce think I have lain here more than one day. Oh! that I could but break my heart in pieces, and distribute it between you and the rest of my friends. Oh! that I could serve you and them with my blood.*" He was burnt the 2d of *September*. They staid till his Wife was delivered of her child, and then they threw her, one morning early, into the *Scheld*.

A remarkable Dialogue between an old man condemned for Heresy, and the Officers of Justice.

During this Persecution, but we cannot fix the exact time, there was brought before the bloody Tribunal, a man, seventy five years old. His hair was white, his body lean with age, his manners irreproachable, such as naturally spring from a heart possessed with the true fear of God. This man had been baptized, or rather re-baptized, by the *Brethren* in his old age. Whilst he sat bound like an innocent Sheep prepared for the Slaughter-house, encompassed by a number of the Burghers, waiting for the *Criminal Magistrate*, who was to pronounce sentence of death against him, one of the Officers spake thus to him, in the hearing of the people: Good Father, why do you continue thus obstinately in your cursed error: Do you think there is no such place as Hell? *Sir*, said the old man, *I believe a Hell most certainly; but I know nothing of the Errors you mention.* Yes, said another, you are in an Error, and in so dreadful a one, that if you die in it, you will be damned for ever. *Are you sure of that?* said the old man again; Yes, replied the Officer, it is as sure as any thing in the world; thinking he had staggered him, and hoping for thr honour of his Conversion. But the old man returned him a very unexpected answer: *If it be so*, said he, *then are ye murderers of my soul.* Upon this there was a great silence among the multitude, who were very attentive to this discourse of the old man; at which the Officer, half ashamed, and not a little enraged, cried out aloud to the Prisoner; What do you say, you impudent fellow? Are we the murderers of your soul? The old man answered; *Do not be angry, Sir, at the sound of truth. You your self know, that Faith is the gift of God; that neither I, nor any other, can extort this saving gift out of God's hands; that God bestows his gifts on one man early, on another late, just as he called the husbandmen into the vineyard. Suppose now, that I had not yet received this gift, as you have; ought you to punish me for that misfortune? Might not God, in case you suffered me to live, might he not impart to me as well as to you, this wholsome gift in a week, a month, a year? If then you hinder me from sharing therein, by depriving me of this time of Grace, what are you otherwise than murderers of my soul?* These plain but strong arguments couragiously urged by this good old man, did so move the hearts of the Towns-people that stood about him, that there was no small murmuring among them; insomuch that the Officers of Justice hurried away the Prisoner to the Court in the Stadthouse, where being recovered of their fright, they procured this innocent old man to be condemned to death, and beheaded the same morning, to the great discontent and imbittering of many of the Burghers, who were force to behold this lamentable tragedy in silence.

The Anabaptists relate several other remarkable events, which their Ancestors have handed down to them; but cannot fix the time, for want of their being recorded as they happened. Yet we must not pass them by entirely, but allow some of them a place in this History.

The zeal of a certain Anabaptist.

When the Persecution was at the hottest in *Amsterdam*, a certain man being informed, that one of his Sect was to be burnt there at such a time, he made all the haste he could from *Waterland*, but arrived so late, that the Boom next the *T* was shut; but with the help of money he got that opened; and running to the *Dam* as fast as he could, he placed himself upon an eminence; and when he saw the Prisoner ascending the scaffold, cried out to him, *Brother, fight manfully.* At this cry, endeavours were used to seize him, but they laid hands on the wrong person, who trembling

begun to juſtifie himſelf. This brought the true man to light, who, to ſave the innocent, came forth, ſaying, *I am the man.* Upon which confeſſion he was committed, tried, condemned and executed in the ſpace of fourteen days. An° Dom. 1551.

I have likewiſe been informed by credible perſons, who had heard it from their Parents, that one time, when a certain Anabaptiſt Teacher was to be burnt at *Amſterdam*, one of their Anceſtors went to comfort his Wife whilſt he was leading to execution; but not finding her at home, and asking her upon her return where ſhe had been? was anſwered, *I have been at the Dam* (the place where her huſband was put to death.) *Think ye that I would forſake my Bridegroom in the time of need: I was reſolved to ſee him celebrate his laſt Wedding-dinner.*

In the year 1552, *Godfry van Hamel*, a zealous oppoſer of Popery, after having undergone many Trials, was found guilty of Hereſie, and burnt at *Tournay*. *Several Anabaptiſts put to death in the years 1552,*

At *Bruges* there were likewiſe four men executed on account of their Religion. But the number of Anabaptiſts, who about the ſame time ſealed their Confeſſion with their blood, was far greater. Four of this Sect were put to death at *Blankenburg*, one at *Komen*, one at *Gant*. At *Leyden* two women and three men, (one of whom going unwarily to the priſon to ſpeak with ſome of his own Perſwaſion, was diſcovered and ſtopt there:) At *Amſterdam*, ſix in one day.

In the year 1553, on the 6th of *January*, two others were executed; one was a man of *Sollem*, the other a young woman of *Freden*; who when ſhe was brought to the Rack, confeſſed, that ſhe had harboured ſeveral of her own Sect, and brought over others to her opinions. She behaved ſo modeſtly and handſomely in her bands, and by a long impriſonment was become ſo familiar with the Keeper's Wife, that ſhe employed her about the houſe like a ſervant. And one day, when ſome dirt was to be carried out of the houſe, and there was no body elſe to do it, ſhe offered her ſervice; but the miſtreſs aſked if ſhe would not take the opportunity to run away? the young woman aſſured her, ſhe would not; but afterwards reflecting on human frailty, ſhe refuſed to expoſe herſelf to ſuch a temptation, and ſtayed within: ſoon after ſhe went to the ſcaffold and the fire, dreſſed in her beſt apparel, as if ſhe had gone to be married. *And* 1553.

At *Courtray* one of the ſame Perſwaſion was alſo put to death, and another at *Furnes*, who being ſentenced to loſe his head, ſuffered ſeven ſtrokes of the ſword before it was ſeparated from his body; which Martyrdom ſo affected his ſorrowful pregnant Wife, that it killed both her and the child in her womb.

At *Dixmude* in *Flanders* one *Walter Capel* was brought into trouble on the ſame account: he was a very generous man, and bountiful to the Poor; among whom he had often fed a poor ſimple Creature that was maintained by the alms of the Town, and paſſed for a Changling. When he was condemned to death, this Fool cried out to the Judges: *Ye are murderers: ye ſpill innocent blood. The man has done no ill, but always given me bread.* And whilſt *Capel* was at the ſtake, he would have thrown himſelf into the fire, if he had not been hindered. Nor did his gratitude die with his Patron, for he went daily to the Gallows-field, where the half-burnt carcaſs was faſtened to a ſtake, and there he ſtroked the fleſh of the dead man with his hand, ſaying: *Ah, poor creature, you did no harm, and yet they have ſpilt your blood. You gave me my belly-full of Victuals.* And ſome time after, when the fleſh was all conſumed, he went again to the ſtake, pulled away the bones, and laying them upon his ſhoulders, carried them to the houſe of one of the Burgomaſters, with whom, as it happened, ſeveral others of the Magiſtracy were then preſent; and caſting the ſaid bones at their feet, cried out in a ſnarling tone: *There you murderers, you have firſt eaten his fleſh; eat now his bones.* Words that were too ſenſible to be ſpoken by a Fool, and too bold for a man of Underſtanding; but which probably he had heard others ſpeak, and which he mimicked, without knowing or fearing the danger.

A certain tradeſman, who kept a Stall in the Market-place at *Bergen-op-zoom*, being an Anabaptiſt, refuſed to kneel to the Sacramental Bread, as it was carried before his Shop; for which only he was taken up, impriſoned, condemned to death, and burnt without the Town. His wonderful conſtancy and courage in ſuffering made ſuch an impreſſion upon the *Droſſart*, or Lord of the place, who had cauſed him to be proſecuted, and had ſeen his end, that as ſoon as he returned home, through ſorrow and concern, he fell into a violent fit of ſickneſs both of body and mind; during which

An° Dom. 1553. which he did nothing but cry out: *Oh Simon!* (this was the Name of the man that was murdered.) The Monks endeavoured to pacify and comfort him, but all in vain; and accordingly he died ſoon after in a deſpairing condition.

At *Leeuwarden*, about the ſame time, a young man and a young maiden of the Sect of the Anabaptiſts, were drowned for their Religion, and another man ſtrangled.

The Character of Adam Saſbout. On the 1ſt of *December* died at *Louvain*, *Adam Saſbout* of *Delft*, a *Franciſcan* Frier, and Profeſſor of Divinity: [1] He was a man of great learning, and exemplary life. By his Expoſitions upon *Iſaiah*, and ſome of the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, he deſerved everlaſting praiſe from all Chriſtians, even from thoſe that were the moſt averſe to his Religion; among whom there were ſome that ſtiled him the *Golden Expoſitor*. He had not yet attained to the 37th year of his age, being born the 21ſt of *December*, 1516.

1554. *The Courage, Conſtancy, and diſcreet Behaviour of a Schoolmaſter at* Oudenard. In the month of *April* of the year 1554, *Galein de Mulere*, a School-maſter at *Oudenard*, being accuſed of Hereſie, becauſe he had diligently applied himſelf to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, was brought before *Peter Titelman* the Dean of *Ronſen*, as Inquiſitor of *Flanders*, and put upon his trial. The poor man was under very great ſtraights; on the one hand, he dreaded to deny God or the Truth as he had learned it; and on the other, he feared to confeſs any thing to the prejudice of himſelf, his Wife, and five ſmall Children: he endeavoured therefore to extricate himſelf from this *Dilemma*, by demanding to be heard before the Civil Magiſtrates, his lawful Judges, and that the Proceſs againſt him might be carried on by way of *Charge* and *Proof*, but not by *Inquiſition*; being perſwaded that there was no evidence againſt him. But the Dean made anſwer: *This objection of yours muſt be over-ruled, as frivolous; you are my Priſoner and under my juriſdiction, who am the Pope's and the Emperor's Plenipotentiary. Anſwer therefore to my Queſtions.* And when the man endeavoured to evade any direct anſwer, the Inquiſitor adjured him by the living God, that he ſhould no longer trifle with him. *It is declared by Chriſt*, ſays he, *in Scripture; Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him will I confeſs alſo before my Father which is in heaven. But whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and of my Words in this adulterous and ſinful generation, of him alſo ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed, when he cometh in the Glory of his Father with the Holy Angels.* And St. *Peter* commands us, *To be ready always to give an anſwer to every man that aſketh us a reaſon of the hope that is in us with meekneſs and fear.* I therefore require at this preſent time, an account of your Faith. Upon theſe words the Schoolmaſter's tongue broke looſe; his faint-heartedneſs vaniſhed; his love for his Wife and Children gave way to the zeal with which his ſoul was kindled; and under theſe powerful emotions he ſaid within himſelf: *My God, my God, aſſiſt me according to thy promiſe.* Then turning himſelf to the Inquiſitor, he bravely ſaid to him; *Aſk me now what you pleaſe, I ſhall plainly anſwer whatever the Spirit of God ſuggeſts to me to ſay, and hide nothing.* And being interrogated, he made ſuch a confeſſion of his Faith, as laid Popery upon its back, diſcloſed its Errors, and confuted its falſe Doctrines. They uſed all imaginable arts to induce him to recant; and when no other arguments could prevail, they put him to the moſt terrible trial of all. *Do not you love your Wife and Children?* ſaid they to him. *You know*, replied he, *that I love them from my heart, and that it is my love for them which diſtreſſes me moſt of all. I tell you truly, if the whole world were turned into pure gold, and given to me, I would freely reſign it, ſo I might keep thoſe dear pledges with me in my confinement; though I ſhould live upon dry bread and cold water, and be covered with contempt.* Forſake then, ſaid they, your heretical Opinions; you need only in one word to expreſs your ſorrow and *recant*; and then you may live with your Wife and Children as formerly. *I would comply with what you require of me*, ſaid he, *if in ſo doing I did not ſin againſt God and my own conſcience: And therefore, I will never for the ſake of Wife, or Children, or all the world beſides, renounce my Religion, which I know to be true, as long as God ſhall ſtrengthen me with his Grace.* Thus he remained ſteadfaſt in the Faith, and was at laſt pronounced Heretical by the *Inquiſitor*, and being delivered over to the ſecular Arm, was ſtrangled and burnt.

Thomas

[1] Bibl. Belg. Val. Andr. *p.* 101, *&c.*

Thomas Calberge, a Tapiſtry-maker at *Tournay*, had tranſcribed ſome ſpiritual Hymns out of a Book that was printed at *Geneva*, and lent them to a friend, who likewiſe lent them to another: For this the laſt perſon was taken up, and being aſked how he came by them, he diſcovered his Author, and he again the ſaid *Calberge*. Thereupon *Calberge* was cited before the Magiſtrates, where he appeared, owned his Tranſcript, juſtified the Contents, and perſevered in his Profeſſion, without fearing that fire in which he was conſumed on the 25th of *June*. AN° DOM. 1554.

About this time there were likewiſe put to death at *Gant* a young man of the Anabaptiſt Sect, together with a woman that left ſix Orphans behind her, and after that another man of the ſame Perſwaſion.

The Emperor's German *Soldiers tolerated in the publick Exerciſe of their Religion.*

It was obſerved with amazement by ſome, that the Emperor, being at war with *France*, allowed the *German* Soldiers that were *Lutherans* and in his ſervice in the *Low-Countries*, to have Miniſters among them both in the Camp and in Garriſon, who made no ſcruple to preach the Goſpel, and declare the Word of God to all that they converſed with; nor was there any fault found with them for ſo doing. Thus it happened at *Antwerp*, where Queen *Mary* reſided, during the time that the Regiment of *Lazarus Swend* lay there; and liberty was alſo granted to thoſe ſtrangers to eat fleſh on Faſt-days, whilſt the ſame practices coſt the Subjects their lives. This adminiſtered freſh occaſions for murmuring and diſcontent.

More Executions for Religion.

Somewhat later, and as it is ſaid, in the year 1555, *John Malo* was murdered at *Mons* for his boldneſs in aſſerting in a certain company, that *the Hoſt was an Idol*. For this he was kept above a year at the bottom of a dungeon; and being afterwards led to execution, he cried out aloud: *How often have we hazarded our lives for the Emperor when we were his ſoldiers? and ſhall we now ſcruple to lay them down for our Lord? We can never loſe them to greater advantage: but indeed we ſhall not loſe them, for inſtead of this ſhort and tranſitory life, which we lay down as a pledge for him, we ſhall obtain a happy and everlaſting life.* 1555.

At the ſame place afterwards *Damian Witkok*, the widow *Waldrue Karleer*, and *John Porceau* loſt their lives for their Religion. Againſt the firſt of theſe it was objected, that he had ſufferd Heretical Conventicles to be holden in his houſe. Againſt the widow, that ſhe allowed people to read the Scriptures in her houſe; and her own Son to exerciſe himſelf in the ſame, without accuſing him on that account.

The Zeal of a Tapiſtry-Weaver.

There was much talk at this time about a certain Monk at *Gant*, of whom it was reported, that he declaimed againſt Popiſh ſuperſtition in his Sermons, and preached up Chriſtian Truths. *Otto vander Cateline*, a Damask or Silk-Weaver of *Gant*, who had fled a little while before from *England* to *Eaſt-Freeſland*, on the account of Religion, and was now come back to the place of his nativity, went upon a certain day to the Church where the ſaid Monk preached, who contrary to his expectations aſſerted, that the Sacramental Bread or Wafer, by vertue of the five words which the Prieſt uſed in conſecrating it, was changed into the real body of *Chriſt*, and conſequently that *Chriſt* was there corporally worſhipped, invoked and eaten. As ſoon as the Sermon was done, *Otto* took off his hat, and cried out as loud as he was able, whilſt the Monk was ſtill in his Pulpit: *Heark you my friend, your whole Sermon is a contradiction to the Holy Scripture.* And thereupon further offered to ſhow the falſity of his poſitions in the preſence of the whole Congregation. The Monk adviſed him to be gone; but the other drawing yet nearer to him, ſaid with great vehemence: *O you falſe Prophet, who make the people believe that the Bread is the real body of our Lord Chriſt, who after he had ſuffered for us, aſcended into heaven.* In the mean time the Congregation were greatly alarmed, all of them calling to him with one voice: *Alas friend, what is it you do?* He replied with the ſame warmth as before: *They be all falſe Prophets; they ſeduce you, believe them not.* Then he went out of the Church along with the crowd, and was adviſed by every body to make the beſt of his way; but he refuſed, ſaying: *What I have declared ſo publickly, deſerves well to be conſidered.* Having ſaid thus, on he went, but was ſoon overtaken and ſent to priſon. Then being examined, after a brave defence of his Confeſſion of Faith (for he was well verſed in the Holy Scriptures) on the 27th of *April* he was ſtrangled at a ſtake, his body ſteeped in Tar, and afterwards tied up to the Gallows. This man ſuffered Martyrdom in the 30th year of his age.

At

An° Dom. 1555. At *Mechlen* two Brothers, named *Francis* and *Nicolas Mathews*, being ſuſpected of Hereſie, were upon account of their Confeſſion, and Steadineſs therein, firſt excommunicated by the Inquiſitor *Ruard Tapper*, as corrupt Members, and afterwards (it being taken for granted, that Excommunication deprived them of the civil Right of Burgherſhip) put upon the rack, to extort from them the names of their fellow-Hereticks; and when they would accuſe none, nor abjure their Religion, they were burnt on the 23d of *December* for obſtinacy.

A raſh Action of a Velvet-Weaver; and the dreadful Puniſhment inflicted on him for the ſame.

Bertrand le Blas of *Tournay*, a Worker in Velvet, had for ſome time forſaken the place of his nativity out of the horror he had for Popiſh Idolatry, and ſettled at *Weſel*, whither he endeavoured to perſwade his Wife and Children to come to him; on which account he had taken three ſeveral journeys to *Tournay*, but in vain, for ſhe refuſed to follow him. Finding that he could not move her, he continued privately in the Town the laſt time, which was in *December*, until *Chriſtmas* Holidays: Then recommending to the Prayers of his Wife and Brother, that the project he had formed, without telling them what it was, might ſucceed, he went to the Church of *Notre Dame*, the chiefeſt of the Town, where walking thrice round the Choir, he attempted to put it in execution before the High Altar; but not being able to do it there, he went to the Pariſh-Chappel, and continued ſtanding with his head covered, till the Prieſt elevated the Hoſt, and then running to him, [k] he ſnatched k the conſecrated Wafer out of his hands, crying with a loud voice: *Ye miſtaken and ſeduced people, can you imagine that this is* Jeſus Chriſt *the true Saviour? Behold*, continued he, and broke it in pieces, throwing it to the ground and ſtamping it with his feet, *this I do for the honour of God, and to ſhow that there is no knowledge nor ſenſe in this Bread.* This action at ſuch a ſolemn time occaſioned ſuch an aſtoniſhment and terror among the people, that *Bertrand* might eaſily have concealed himſelf, and eſcaped if he would, but he did not ſtir a foot; and ſo was apprehended. Being aſked if he was ſorry for his offence, and whether he would do the ſame if it were yet to be done, he anſwered: *That he would do it again a hundred times if it were in his power, and dye a hundred deaths for it, if that were alſo poſſible; ſince what he had done was for the Honour and Glory of his Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt. He was tortured three times with great rigour, to make him name his accomplices; but he would accuſe none. On the 28th of the aboveſaid month a dreadful ſentence was paſt and executed upon him. They cloſed his mouth with an iron-padlock, and drew him on a hurdle to the Market-place. There they put his right hand and right foot between two red-hot irons full of points, with which they preſſed and ſcrewed them, till they had quite loſt their figure, and were reduced to ſtumps. Then they tore his tongue out of his mouth; but becauſe he called upon God and could make ſome articulate ſounds with the help of the root, they locked up his mouth again. Then binding his arms and legs together backwards, they faſtened them to a chain from a pully, and ſo raiſed the body up and let it down again over a ſmall fire till it was roaſted or broiled, continuing to do ſo till he gave up the Ghoſt. His aſhes, after the body was quite conſumed by the flame, were thrown into the *Scheld*.

In this ſame year divers Anabaptiſts were likewiſe put to death; at *Antwerp* ſix men, and a young maid; at *Kulenberg* a certain young man was burnt after having lain three years in priſon; and at *Dort* the Daughter of one *Peeters* (becauſe as we find it on the Regiſters of the Town, ſhe had been re-baptized, and had frequented Conventicles) was firſt disfranchiſed by ſound of bell, and then put into a Sack, and drowned at *Putoxtoren*.

The Hiſtory of Johannes Anaſtaſius Veluanus, *his Impriſonment, Fall, Recovery*, &c.

About this time [l] *Johannes Anaſtaſius Veluanus* publiſhed *The Layman's Guide*, l or a ſhort account of all the principal Articles of the Chriſtian Faith; with a Preface to the Nobility, Cities and Towns of the Province of *Guelderland* and County of *Zutphen*, and to all the lovers of Chriſtian Truth. In the ſaid Preface he relates what had befallen him ſome time before, on account of his Religion, what he had done, and what was his end in writing it. The ſubſtance of which taken from his own words, is as follows. [l] Having preached about ſix years at *Garden*, a little Village in the *Veluw*, he was apprehended on the firſt of *January*, 1550, carried to *Arnhem*, and through fear of death made a ſinful recantation: His principal enemies were

I

[l] *The Layman's Guide, by* John Anaſtaſius, *in* Dutch. *See* Uitenb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. *p.* 144. & Henr. Antonid. Præf. ad Syſt. Theol.

were *Francis Sonnius* and *John Gruwell:* They found upon him two Manuſcripts, the one contained his Sermons, the other the matter of the book which he now publiſhed; in which the Popiſh Idolatry was refuted, and the noble Truths of the Goſpel brought to light by *Luther* and his followers, were recommended: It likewiſe contained a Lamentation over [1] the Impriſonment of the Elector of *Saxony*, [2] and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and [3] the depoſing of the Elector of *Cologne*; and particularly he lamented the Emperor's ſuffering himſelf to be ſo miſerably deceived by the Pope. He was on the 3d of *February*, condemned to a perpetual impriſonment in an high Tower of the Caſtle of *Hattem*; from whence however the ſaid *Sonnius* and *Gruwell* promiſed he ſhould be diſcharged, if he would write as much in the behalf of the Pope as he had before writ againſt him; for which purpoſe they lent him a Bible, and ſome of the ancient Fathers, with Pen, Ink and Paper. Having ſtaid there about two years, he was releaſed from thence in *December* 1551, upon good ſecurity that he would not go out of his houſe. *Sonnius* kept him in this condition a year and half, till *Whitſuntide* 1553, and then ſuffered him to go where he pleaſed, after ſtrictly charging him to repair to *Louvain* within a certain time, and there to ſtudy the School-Divinity. He was to be maintained by ſaying Maſs and ſinging in the Choir, as he diſcovered by the Letters directed to ſome of the Divines at *Louvain*, which he broke open. In the ſaid Letters it was likewiſe deſired that they would watch over his behaviour, and give an account of it to *Sonnius*. Anno Dom. 1555.

" Thus, *ſays he in the ſaid Preface*, I was reduced to great ſtraights: I muſt either " ſuffer my poor Mother and the reſt of my friends, who had given great bail for " me, to come into grievous troubles, or act againſt my conſcience, and damn my " own ſoul. Now tho' I was reſolved by no means to engage myſelf in the idolatry " of the Maſs, yet I went to *Louvain*; but I left it on the third day, without ſeeing " any of the Divines of that City. *Then he goes on, and ſays*, that he went from " thence to *Straſburg*, where he writ *The Layman's Guide*. His conſcieuce urged " him to repair the ſcandal he had given by recanting, with an open Confeſſion of " his Faith. He therefore humbly beſought all that were preſent at, or had heard " of his misfortune *(ſo he terms his Recantation)* to forgive him for *Jeſus* ſake, " and like good Chriſtians to accept of his labours. I hope, *added he*, by the help " of God, to continue ſteadfaſt henceforwards in the Truth; and I recommend it to " all Paſtors, diligently to attend to their Functions, and to preſerve themſelves " from dangerous Recantations." This little Tract of his handled the Articles of our Chriſtian Faith pretty much upon the foot of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, as *Melanchthon* thinks, particularly thoſe relating to *Free-Will* and *Predeſtination*. Having ſhown in the ſaid Book what kind of *Free-Will* God had beſtowed on mankind, and graciouſly continued after the Fall, whereby we may yield to or reſiſt the attraction from God, *he adds*, " That he does not mean, that by the ſtrength of our own " *Free-Will*, we can merit the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, much leſs that we can " merit Heaven—and that therefore his notions have nothing in common with the m " *Pelagians* and other Sects, [m] who too much exalt the power of man, and bring " down the merits of *Chriſt*—But the *Predeſtinarians*, *continues he*, do alſo affirm, " that thoſe who are *called* can neither improve nor prejudice their Salvation; but " if God has *elected* them, they muſt neceſſarily be *ſaved*; and if *reprobated*, or " not *elected*, as neceſſarily continue in a ſtate of Damnation. Likewiſe that all " good actions and all ſins are committed neceſſarily. This opinion is (I think) " prejudicial to men, and ought not to be entertained. For if it were ſo, then " would God's *Secret Will* ſhock and contradict his *Revealed*, and he would take " pleaſure in our periſhing. Beſides, many good men would be embarraſſed in their " Prayers, and always doubt whether they were of the number of the *Elect*. Wicked men would be yet bolder, and ſkreen even their worſt actions behind the doctrine of Predeſtination, as ſome have already begun to do. When *Chriſt* ſpeaks to " the whole Congregation by the Miniſter in theſe words: *Repent, and believe the Goſpel*: Mark i. Matt. vij. 7, and again, Chap. xj. ver. 28. and *Ezek.* xviij. 32. " it plainly follows, that he equally offers his Salvation to all thoſe whom with uniform gracious expreſſions he invites into one Temple; or elſe he muſt mean differently from what he ſays. *A little farther he ſpeaks thus:* The primitive Chriſtians

[1] Sleid. Comment. *p.* 325, *&c.*
[2] Sleid. ib. Corput's *Life of* Melanchthon. *p.* 500.
[3] Sleid. *p* 167, 226, *&c.* Hiſt. Conc. Trid. *p.* 223. Bezæ Icon. *p.* H. 1111.

Anº Domi. 1555. "ſtians did all agree in theſe ſentiments the firſt four hundred years, as all the "Fathers, both *Greek* and *Latin*, teſtify——Among the Catholick writers, *Auſtin* "was the firſt Predeſtinarian, and had entertained the notions of *Free-Will* full 20 "years before he writ. The earlieſt Chriſtianity was the pureſt; for which rea- "ſon, their Opinions ought to be not a little eſteemed; eſpecially the general Con- "ſent of the Doctors of the firſt ages. But it muſt be owned alſo, that ſome have "carried human power too high. And it cannot but much affect us, that the Mar- "tyrs, who ſhed their blood for the cauſe of *Chriſt*, were of the ſame opinion—"

Speaking again of Predeſtination in a Chapter by itſelf, he uſes theſe words: "Here "we muſt hold with the primitive Chriſtians, that God has eternally decreed "within himſelf, to help and ſave by his holy Spirit ſuch perſons who uſe all poſ- "ſible means to be inſtructed, and continue obedient when they are called; and in "like manner to ſtrengthen and confirm others in the way of Salvation who ear- "neſtly beg it of him. And on the other hand, that he has decreed to damn "others who do not obey their call——In this ſenſe are all the expreſſions to be un- "derſtood that are produced againſt us, as in the 13th Chapter of the *Acts*, *Thoſe* "*that were ordained to eternal life, believed.* The meaning, *ſays he*, was, that "God had ſo ordained, that thoſe ſhould be drawn to Salvation who ſuffered "themſelves to be inſtructed in the word of God; and that it was for ſuch obe- "dient perſons that the Father gave his Son. *John* xvij. And thoſe he has choſen "in *Chriſt*; *Epheſ.* i. and predeſtinated according to his fore-knowledge, *Rom.* viij. "*The drawing* which our Saviour mentions in *John* vi. implies, that our feeble "power muſt be aſſiſted by the word of God, and by his Spirit. By preaching "and reading the holy Scriptures we are drawn and induced to make uſe of our poor "Free-Will, and to pray for the help of God. Thus God works in us a good will. *Phil.* ii.

In his Chapter about the puniſhment of Hereticks, he vehemently oppoſes the putting them to death: "Chriſt, *ſays he*, forbad the Apoſtles to burn the Unbe- "lievers, or to call upon God for that purpoſe, or to adviſe men to ſuch acts of "cruelty, *Luke* ix. Think otherwiſe on the parable of the Tares, *Mat.* xiii. And "on his command only to avoid falſe Prophets, *Mat.* vii. and xxiv. *Luke* xxi. And "*Paul* requires, *Tit.* iii. That Hereticks be admoniſhed, and if they continue obſtinate, "then that they be ſhunned and avoided. And in 2 *Cor.* x. he ſays, our weapons are "not carnal. See likewiſe *Revelat.* ii and iii. concerning the ſword that iſſues out "of the mouth of the Biſhops.——True Chriſtianity is for perſecuting no body ——Good Chriſtians have always dealt tenderly with Hereticks, without tyranny "or bloodſhed: but the Hereticks and Infidels have always perſecuted and ſlain the "Orthodox. Take warning by the *Jews*, *Heathens*, *Arians*, and *Mahometans*, who "all diſputed concerning the Faith, with the ſword; as alſo the *Donatiſts*, of "whoſe tyranny and cruelty ſee *Auſtin*, lib. lxviii. cap. xxii——But the crueleſt of "all are the Popiſh Monks and Biſhops——O! if the firſt Chriſtians were to "return to the world, what would they ſay of ſuch blood-thirſty tyranny! they are "imbittered beyond meaſure againſt the poor Anabaptiſts. Is it not repugnant to "nature, reaſon and juſtice, to put to death, for paſt miſtakes, a man of good mo- "rals, who is ready to be ſet right? Tho' it were lawful to murder Hereticks, yet "ſuch men ought to be ſpared, becauſe they cannot be called Hereticks. The "ſword of the Emperor ſhould be turned againſt ſuch perſons who wilfully do any "wrong to their neighbours——But they, who while they mean well, are de- "ceived, or are ſo ſlow and dull of underſtanding as not to be capable of better in- "ſtruction, ought by no means to ſuffer on that account——Some Officers and "Judges impriſon and put to death theſe Anabaptiſts merely to keep their fat em- "ployments; others, that they may inherit, and divide the ſpoil of thoſe poor "creatures. Such Judges, rather than have quitted their places, would have mur- "dered even our Saviour and his Apoſtles. Where it is the practice to put to death "Anabaptiſts of good and peaceable lives; there likewiſe they would put to death "all thoſe orthodox people whom they call *Lutherans*. They would be glad if all "the *Lutherans* had but one neck, to the end that they might cut it off at one "ſtroke, as *Caligula* wiſhed concerning the people of *Rome*. Here I call the very "conſciences of the Monks, Sophiſts and Heretick-hunters of *Louvain* to witneſs: "They are always prepared to kill us, but few of us are ready and prepared ſtead- "faſtly to confeſs the noble Truths of Chriſt. Both which things are to be la-

" mented. What ſhall we be able to ſay at the Tribunal of our Lord, that we are Anº Domº
" not able to live as irreproachably, and to die as couragiouſly in the defence of 1555.
" our true Faith, as ſome of the Anabaptiſts in defence of their Errors? It is to be
" lamented that they are ſo grievouſly miſtaken with reſpect to the Divinity and In-
" carnation of *Chriſt*, in matters relating to the Government, to the Church, and
n " Infant-baptiſm: but that ſome of them live ſo unblameably, n and die ſo bravely
" for all thoſe Articles which they think to be divine, is in ſome ſort to be com-
" mended, and ſhould ſtir us up to be more conſtant and perſevering in our own
" Faith, which we judge to be more conformable to the word of God; and at the
" ſame time we ought to be aſhamed that ſo many of us who go by the name of
" the *Evangelical*, lead ſuch ungodly lives, ſo eaſily apoſtatize from our Religion,
" and accept of the *Interim*. That command under the Law of putting to death falſe
" Prophets, and the Worſhipper of Idols, which we meet with in the 13th, 17th and
" 18th Chapters of the fifth book of *Moſes*, is changed among Chriſtians into Ex-
" communication, as *Paul* gives us to underſtand in the 5th Chapter of the firſt
" Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, by quoting the 17th Chapter of the abovementioned
" book. See likewiſe the Writings of the ancient Interpreters and Commentators
" upon *Moſes*. ——

" If *Hereticks* be to be put to death, thoſe *Papiſts* have chiefly deſerved ſuch a
" fate, who adviſe Princes to protect and defend all Papal Hereſies, and cruelly to
" ſlay all *Chriſtians* that oppoſe them, as ſome Biſhops, Monks and Prieſts have
" done, eſpecially thoſe who are Inquiſitors and bloody Judges of poor Chri-
" ſtians. Such *Baalites* were ſlain by the Prophet *Elijah* and by King *Jehu* ——
" I doubt the Monks and Prieſts will cry ſo long for *Fire*, *Water*, and the *Sword*,
" till God ſhall raiſe up another *Jehu* or *Joſiah*, who will uſe them as they have
" treated many thouſands of Chriſtians within the ſpace of a few years.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK IV.

An° Dom. 1555.

IN the midſt of this bloody Perſecution, which fell chiefly upon the Anabaptiſts, that Sect failed not to increaſe and ſpread it ſelf through all the Country. But there abounded among them ſuch a ſelf-conceitedneſs, as induced many of them to believe at laſt, that the only true Chriſtian Church was among themſelves; and that out of their Church (the ſole Ship of *Peter*) there was no ſalvation.

From this opinion reſulted a narrowneſs of ſoul, which did not only cauſe them to miſtake Humane Poſitions for Divine Commands, but alſo produced a certain Excommunication, whereby they excluded all ſuch as were not of their Sect and (as they ſoon diſagreed among themſelves) one another too, as far as in them lay, out of Heaven.

The abuſe of theſe Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and Excommunications, which are ſaid to have ariſen among them long before the year 1550, was the occaſion of great and numberleſs Schiſms and Diviſions for very ſlight reaſons: and conſiſted, as ſome think, in two things chiefly: Firſt, in that they applied their Excommunications to other caſes than thoſe for which our Saviour *Chriſt* bound and excluded men from Heaven. Secondly, in that they exerciſed them with ſo much rigour and ſtrictneſs, and laid ſo great weight on them, that they thereby rendered other no leſs neceſſary Commands of the Goſpel, void, and of no effect; juſt as if the uſe of Excommunication, which was only inſtituted for *Order's* ſake, were ſo great and important a Command of our Lord, that all other Commands, even ſuch as related to Morality it ſelf, muſt give place to it.

1 *J. H. V. P. N.* or *Charles* of *Gant*, who in the year 1578, ſerved as Secretary to the Anabaptiſts in the diſpute at *Embden* (as he tells us himſelf in the relation of the riſe and progreſs of the Differences among the Anabaptiſts) teſtifies, that theſe people puniſhed with Excommunication ſuch as fell into any one of thoſe open ſins mentioned in the fifth Chapter of the *Epheſians*, and elſewhere, without any previous admonition; even though the guilty perſon ſhewed never ſo great ſorrow, and bewailed his miſtake. He adds too, that no penance of the excommunicated perſon could be done in the houſe of a Brother or Siſter, nor even in the houſe of the Offender himſelf, if his Wife were a Member of the Church; but only without, and in a *worldly houſe*, ſo they phraſed it; nor might he come into any of their Aſſemblies, unleſs he humbly prayed

[a] *See* S. Epiſcop. *on* Matth. v. *p.* 473.

prayed for such a favour. 1 Every person during his Excommunication was to have no fellowship nor conversation with any of the Brothers or Sisters in the same Faith, nor even with any Relations, nor with the Partner of his bed, nor follow his ordinary calling. An° Dom. 1555.

This rigorous way of proceeding against Offenders was opposed by other Anabaptists in *Waterland* and *Franeker* about the years 1554, or 1555. They asserting, that Excommunication ought not to be practised till after three Admonitions, according to the rule in the eighteenth Chapter of St. *Matthew*. But these were out-voted by the other violent Party, excommunicated and cast out. The moderate Anabaptists being in this manner cut off, and divided from their Brethren, became a particular Sect and Community under the name of the *Franekerians* or *Waterlandians*: But *Leonard Bouwens*, one of their greatest enemies (who from a Skipper became a Teacher) gave them the nick-name of *Dung-carts*, because, according to him, they took up and admitted all kind of filth and ordure; though there was not in those days so much depravity and immorality to be found among the *Waterlandians*, as among those that had cast them off. *The moderate Anabaptists nick-named* Frankerians, *&c.*

2 *Menno Simons* endeavoured to prevent this Schism; but the love of divisions had no ears for his Counsel. In his Letter, dated the 13th of *November*, to the Brethren at *Franeker*, he represented to both the contending Parties what displeased him in their conduct: In one party he condemned their never using Excommunication till after Admonition; which he thought ought not to take place with respect to such flagrant crimes as immediately require the punishment of the Magistrate. In the other party, he blamed their excommunicating all carnal persons and even those that were penitent, without preceding reproofs; as also their requiring people to do penance out of the Community; and even holding for carnal and worldly persons those who after falling through infirmity had publickly acknowledged and bewailed their transgressions. Besides, it gave him great offence, that people should be obliged to accuse before the Congregation those who had with sorrow and contrition of heart confessed their secret sins to them, on pain of being treated after the same manner as the offenders themselves. After reproving them for these things, he advises them to prudence and peace, and ends his Letter thus: *If you have used any hard words or reproachful language against one another, purify your hearts, and reconcile your selves in* Christ Jesus. *Remember you are the Lord's people, called to peace, put under the Cross, separated from the world, hated to the death. As you are baptized in one spirit, fulfil ye my joy, and be of one mind in* Jesus Christ. *Build up, but do not pull down: Instruct one another in love: Do not* tear *nor* rend *each other*; *but let saving Peace subsist among all God's children, and continue unviolated among us all for ever and ever.* Menno Simons *endeavours to heal the breaches among the Anabaptists.*

3 At *Embden* there likewise happened something about the same time which promoted the Schism occasioned by Excommunications, and the dividing Husbands and Wives from each other, which was a necessary consequence of the former. *Swaen Rutgers*, an Anabaptist woman, refused to avoid all conversation at bed and board with her Husband, who had been excommunicated. Some of the Heads of that Sect were of opinion, that she might be born with, she being otherwise a person of good fame; but other leading men were of the contrary opinion. Each side had its followers. Thereupon they writ to *Menno*, intreating his advice and assistance. He declared for the moderate Party: and in a Letter he writ to the Brethren at *Embden*, he referred to one of the Articles made in a little Synod of seven Ministers and several Elders in the year 1554, at *Wismar*, upon the like occasion: and then gives it as his opinion; "That those things should be determined according to particular Circumstances: "that the surest rule they could follow was to press nothing upon people against "their conscience, but bear with them in love and meekness: For I hope, *continued* "*he*, that each godly person is so well instructed of the Lord, as to understand, "that if either the Husband or the Wife be perjured, or a Thief, or given to Witchcraft, "or an Offender of such kind, as to deserve the cognizance of the Civil Magistrate; "or *A fresh Schism at* Embden *among the same people, about avoiding an* excommunicated Husband *or* Wife.

[2] *This* J. H. V. P. N. *of whose account of the Schism among the Anabaptists we had made use, in relating the matters which concern that Sect, affirms in his Preface to the abovementioned Treatise, that he had faithfully and impartially noted the things that he himself had inquired into, seen and heard, and found to be true, touching their Disputes and Divisions, for the space of fifty years. And indeed most of those Anabaptists that lament their mutual separations, do own the impartiality of his Pen. This man writ in the year* 1615, *and in the* 73*d of his Age.*

[2] *These Articles are in the Book* de Succes. Anab. p. 79.

[1] *See* Menno's *Summary*, p. 421.

An° Dom. 1555. " or if through temptations and promiſes, or threats and violent uſage, it happen " that the preſervation of their Faith become incompatible with their marriage-ſtate; " in ſuch caſe it may be lawful to ſeparate from each other: But if the man and the " woman mutually agree to forbear each other in the point of Religion, and be per- " ſwaded, that ſo long, they ought not in conſcience to part, let them remain toge- " ther, ſeeing they are one fleſh, and have lived with each other for years, as became " married people; for there may reſult great ſcandal and danger from their ſeparation; " ſince we all bear fleſh and blood about us. In ſuch caſes as theſe may our merci- " ful God preſerve me from ever teaching or conſenting, that a ſoul which thinks it- " ſelf thus bound in conſcience not to part, and in all other reſpects has walked in the " fear of the Lord, ſhould be put under Excommunication. It is therefore an ex- " treme trouble to me to underſtand, that a certain limited time has been ſet to " *Swaen Rutgers*, after which, if ſhe do not forſake her Huſband, ſhe is to be caſt " out, and delivered up to Satan. O my elect Brethren! take care what you do; " what a handle are you going to give againſt your ſelves to the Blaſphemers! What " an evil report are you bringing upon the word of the Lord, and upon the Congre- " gation! How many people are you driving away from the truth! For which reaſon " we never durſt preſs it as a Doctrine univerſally to be received, as foreſeeing the " inconveniences that might reſult from thence. Would to God we had all continued " in this opinion. How would it have cauſed me to rejoice! My ſoul ſhall never " conſent to theſe improper meaſures. My deſires are, and my endeavours ſhall be " according to the beſt of my poor talents, to teach ſuch a Goſpel as may build, but not " pull down; as may carry with it a ſweet ſavour, but not a ſtinking one. Nor do " I intend to diſturb the Work of the Lord with a buſineſs of which I can ſee no " ſure event. I cannot live by, nor lean upon the faith of another: I muſt make " uſe of my own, as the Spirit of the Lord has taught me out of his holy Word. " Thus you have my opinion and my anſwer. The Lord enable you to comply " with it unanimouſly in peace and charity: That you be not too ſtrict, nor too " remiſs. Excommunication is inſtituted for Reformation, not for Deſtruction. O " that you were all like-minded with me herein! How cautiouſly would this matter " be managed? Now every body follows his own fancies, and thinks them to be of " the Spirit and Word of God. Lord grant them thy Spirit and Wiſdom, that they " may ſee and judge aright! uſe diligence to hold the unity of the Spirit in the band " of peace ——". Thus far *Menno*: but theſe peaceful leſſons and exhortations had no effect; for the Schiſm at *Embden* went on.

After much conteſtation, *Naeldman*, *Haines*, *Schedemaker*, and their followers, who were for moderate Counſels, were overcome by the Rigids; at the head of whom were *Philips* and *Bowens*, and were condemned, excommunicated, and caſt out; and all ſuch as then and ſince, at ſeveral times and places, have oppoſed Excommunication, are called *Waterlandians* and *Franekerians*. *Menno* kept himſelf neuter at firſt, afterwards he ſeemed more doubtful, and as *Schedemaker* and his followers affirm, and indeed as appears from his own Writings, would have fallen in with them, if he had not dreaded the ſame Excommunication. *Leonard Bowens* told him plainly, he muſt take their part, or be contented to ſee them divided into two Sects: but others were of opinion that no ſide was to be taken, and that a man ſhould keep himſelf free; and that embracing the violent ſide could not hinder, much leſs heal, the diviſion into two Parties, which was already made. And poſſibly he deſigned, by this behaviour, to ſet up a third Party, and put himſelf at the head of it. In ſhort, their diſputes roſe to ſuch a height, that *Menno* was at laſt perſwaded to join with the violent Party.

Menno joins with the violent Party againſt the Franekerians.

After this, *Menno* in his old age went with *Leonard Bowens* and others of his Party to *Cologn* to propagate their Notions among the *German* Anabaptiſts; but they would not hear of them, eſpecially of thoſe relating to a ſeparation between Huſband and Wife in caſe of Excommunication. *Syles* and *Lemkes*, who were Teachers among the *Germans*, maintained, that the Brother or Siſter, whoſe Spouſe was fallen or excommunicated, might be left to their liberty to ſtay with, or leave their Yoke-fellow, according as their conſciences directed them. This occaſioned freſh diviſions: they ſeparated from the *Germans* as from worldly perſons, ſtrengthened the Schiſm with an external token of a new Rebaptization; and the *German* Baptiſm, which they allowed of before, was now reputed as null and invalid. A certain Brother among the *Germans*, who had formerly ſettled at *Franeker*, where he was received into the Community, and

The Riſe of Rebaptization among the Mennonites.

and had been choſen a *Miniſter of the Word*, was now required to be rebaptized together with others, which if he refuſed, as thinking his firſt Baptiſm to be good, he was to be deprived of the *Brotherhood*, and ſhut out of the Congregation. An° Dom. 1555.

After theſe things, that is, in the year 1558, *Menno* writ his *Explanation of the Apoſtolical Excommunication.* Here he maintained the abſolute neceſſity of Divorces; relating among other matters, that he had known above three hundred married perſons who had fallen away, and were, ſaid he, in a ſtate of Perdition, becauſe they had not obſerved the rule of Divorces; and he feared leſt this evil might have happened in ſome meaſure, by his bare ſilence. He was therefore reſolved now to ſpeak out, and prevent his own deſtruction, by bearing his teſtimony for the neceſſity of ſuch ſeparations. Here he alſo declares, that ſcandalous carnal ſinners, ſuch as Whoremongers, Adulterers, Drunkards, and the like, ought, without any intervening admonition, to be cut off from the Congregation of the Lord.

Richard Philips, in a Book which he publiſhed this year, about *caſting perſons out of the Church*, maintained, *That a true Penitent ought to be very well ſatisfied and contented, that his proper puniſhment* (meaning Excommunication) *was laid upon him by the Lord, and by the Congregation.* This Doctrine gave great offence; eſpecially ſince it was known that *Menno*, with *Richard* and the Chiefs of the Elders of their Community being aſſembled in the Country of *Meklenburg*, had forgiven *Giles van Aken* that infamous Adulterer, and, without any Excommunication or Caſting out, had received him for their Brother, upon his confeſſing his ſin, begging forgiveneſs, and promiſing amendment.

The Caſe of Giles van Aken, *and his ſad End.*

The ſaid *Giles van Aken*, a Preſbyter or Biſhop among the Anabaptiſts, was upon a certain time, which is not expreſſed in the Memoirs from whence I have this ſtory, ſeized upon, and thrown into priſon at *Antwerp*; but, through dread of the fire, abjured his Religion; and even went ſo far, upon promiſe of life, as to undertake that ſome of his fellow-priſoners ſhould recant with him. But his plot being diſcovered and made known to ſome of them, they would not hearken to him: and one *Hans de Buſcher*, an Elder among thoſe people, having found means, at the hazard of his life, to ſpeak with *Van Aken* in the priſon, ſet his wicked intentions ſo effectually before his eyes, that he teſtified his ſorrow for his ſin. Thereupon he was again admitted into the *Brotherhood*; though ſoon after he was beheaded as an Apoſtate; whereas had he confeſſed his being reconciled to the *Anabaptiſt* Communion, he muſt have been burnt alive. He was attended upon the Scaffold with a Confeſſor, and was heard to ſay, juſt before his Execution, that *it was too much to loſe Soul and Body together.*

Further abuſes of Excommunication.

The rigour of Excommunication, which we mentioned above, was ſoon after extended not only to publick and ſcandalous offences (from which, for the moſt part, were excepted Avarice, Self-intereſt, Partiſhip, Pride, Oſtentation and Senſuality) and to falſe Doctrines which were notorious, and ſometimes to Hereſies which themſelves did not perfectly underſtand; but even to little miſtakes and inadvertencies, and to difference of opinion in matters of a very trifling nature.

With reſpect to Divorces;

In order to render Divorces and Separations between Men and their Wives more effectual, they uſed ſometimes to hide or convey away the Wives from the excommunicated Huſbands, without, or againſt their conſent: inſomuch that ſome could receive no news of them for a long time; and ſome never. By this ſort of ſeparation much greater evils were produced; for it drove ſome to violate their matrimonial bed, others to deſpair, and even to ſelf-murder.

And to Out-marriages, *as they were called.*

They likewiſe excommunicated and ſhut out of Heaven all ſuch as married out of their particular Aſſembly; that is to ſay, ſuch as entered into the Conjugal ſtate with perſons of another perſwaſion; whereby they did not mean *Jews*, *Heathens*, or *Idolaters*, but thoſe who made profeſſion of their Faith in another Congregation, or at leaſt not in theirs. This they called an *Out-marriage*. Neither would they abſolve thoſe that contracted ſuch marriages, nor admit them into their Communion till they had prevailed upon their Spouſes to enter into the ſame with them, or till they were parted by death; no, notwithſtanding they had repented of ſuch Out-marriages.

A Canon made by them for corroborating theſe Excommunications.

And to give the greater force to their Excommunications and ſuch kind of Separations between Man and Wife, they agreed upon and eſtabliſhed the following Order: **That none of their Community who had caſt his eye upon any particular perſon, with intention of taking her to wife, ſhould be allowed to ſpeak to her or woo her himſelf,**

An° Dom. 1555. **himself, but make known his mind to a Minister of God's Word, take his advice in the matter, and make use of his intervention.** "Now if the Minister did not "approve of the marriage, or had a mind to marry the young woman to another, "he was at liberty to do it: but if he did not oppose the marriage, and it took "effect, then the Pastors or Ministers met together, called first the Bridegroom be- "fore them, and afterwards the Bride, and strictly examined them upon several "Articles of their Faith, as professed in their Sect, and particularly about Excom- "munication and Divorces. *The first Question was*, Whether they entirely and in "all things agreed with their Community? *The Second*, Whether if it should so "happen that either of them were excommunicated, the obedient person, he or she, "would faithfully, and in conformity to the rest of their Brethren, avoid all con- "versation with his or her Spouse? To which if they did not answer in the affir- "mative, the marriage was not suffered to proceed. And the parties were obliged "to make the same profession and promise in the face of the Congregation upon the "day of their joining in the band of matrimony. And forasmuch as some pre- "sumed to marry whilst these things were in agitation, without knowledge of the "Ministers, it was deemed a grievous sin; and their cohabitation, open Adultery or "Whoredom, which was also punished with Excommunication." But this Order has since grown obsolete.

Some earlier Disputes among the Anabaptists.

In the book or relation abovementioned there is likewise notice taken of other quarrels among the Anabaptists, of a much earlier date: The first was in the year 1547, between *Menno* and *Richard Philips* on the one side, and *Francis Kuper* and *Adam Pastor* on the other.

There were two private consultations between *Menno* and his friends thereupon; the first was holden at *Embden*, the second at *Goch*. *Pastor* leaned to the opinions of the *Arians*, for which he was excommunicated by *Richard Philips*; and *Kuper* who relapsed to Popery, by *Menno*. *Henry van Freen*, and *Anthony van Kulen* separated from the Anabaptists about the year 1550; but we find very little account of the motives and true circumstances of these differences.

A Congregation of the Anabaptists at Wismar *excomunicated by* Menno.

[1] But in the year 1553, the *Low-Country* Exiles, who, in time of *Edward* VI, had gathered a Congregation at *London*, (which upon his death was dispersed by Queen *Mary*;) after a dreadful northern journey in which they suffered so much from the *Lutherans*, found at *Wismar* two distinct Communities of the Anabaptists, one of which sided with *Menno*, who was then present; and the other consisted of persons excommunicated by him, for no other reason, but because they sometimes frequented the *Lutheran* Churches, in the belief that they were at liberty to hear the Ministers of that perswasion as well as their own; [2] and that no body ought to deprive them of that liberty.

[3] At the same time also there arose a dispute between *Hermes Bakkareel*, and *Martin Mikron*, Teachers among the Exiles, and *Menno*, concerning *the use of offensive Weapons*, *Divorces*, the *Incarnation* of our *Saviour*, and particularly about that bold and rash judgment of *Menno*, whereby all persons, and especially Ministers, who did not agree in every point with him, were condemned as worldly and carnal men. Thus were *Menno*'s good intentions attended with human passions and infirmities; yet it must be owned that he laboured very much, and contributed a great deal towards the reformation of Doctrine and Manners: And even in the midst of his fierce zeal there appeared sometimes the rays of moderation and good temper when amongst his own people; but his stiffness against others, and his complying with the temerity and self-conceitedness of the most violent of his Fraternity, whom he durst not oppose, or else his own unsteadiness, darkened, as some think, the brightness of his other qualities. That he had too much conceded to the opinions of *R. Philips*, *L. Bowens*, and *G. van Aken*; he himself, before he died, was sensible, and acknowledged; at least some of the most moderate Anabaptists do not deny it; and some of them affirm, that *Folkard Martson*, a man of learning and credit among those Anabaptists, who are now called the *Freeslanders*, and Father of *Richard Folkard Velus* (famous also for his Learning, and for his Chronicle of *Horn*) related how *Menno*, when at the point of death, gave this last lesson to those that stood about him: *Be not servants of men, as I have been.*

[1] He

[x] Vid. Joh. Uitenhov. Simp. & Fid. Narrat. *and* Corput's *Divine Tribunal*, p. 159.

[2] Ibid. *p.* 123.

[3] *See* Menno's *Admonition to the Learned*, &c.

[1] He died in a field near *Oldenſlow* between *Hamburg* and *Lubeck*, on the 13th of *January*, in the year 1559, and in the 66th of his age. An° Dom. 1555.

A new Sect of Anabaptiſts that join with Henry Nicolas, *and are called the* Family of Love.

[2] There were yet other Anabaptiſts who, after the Schiſm at *Embden*, were doubtful for a while what ſide to take, and at laſt embraced that Sect which is called *The Houſe or Family of Love*. That Family was ſuſpected of being more addicted to carnal than ſpiritual Love. [3] *Henry Nicolas* a *Weſtphalian*, born at *Munſter*, but who had lived a great while at *Amſterdam*, and ſome time likewiſe at *Embden*, [4] was Father of this Family. [5] "He appeared upon the ſtage about the year 1540, "ſtiled himſelf the *Deified Man*; boaſted of great matters, and ſeemed to exalt "himſelf above the condition of a human creature. He was, *as he pretended*, "greater than *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, becauſe *Moſes* had taught mankind to *hope*, *Chriſt* "to *believe*, but he to *love*; which laſt being of more worth than both the former, "he was conſequently greater than both thoſe Prophets. [6] For this reaſon, *ſaid* "*he*, *Moſes* abode in the Court of the Sanctuary, *Chriſt* had the miniſtration of "*Faith* in the holy place, [7] and he himſelf that of *Love* in the *moſt holy place:* [8] So "that he was not like *John the Baptiſt*, a Fore-runner of *Chriſt*, but *Chriſt* was ra-"ther a type of him. [9] He talked of his Humanity, and of the Exiſtence of his "Deity——As likewiſe of the Kingdom of *Iſrael* which was to be raiſed and "eſtabliſhed in the time of his Miniſtry." [10] Some of his children or diſciples eſteemed his Writings above thoſe of the holy Pen-men: [11] but others who were for embracing no humane doctrines till they were convinced of the truth of them, nor would acknowledge them for true till they had tried them by the only Touch-ſtone, the *Word* of *God*, were of opinion, that [12] of the works of the writers among the Sects of that age, there were none that had leſs Method, Argument, Senſe, or Truth than theſe of *Henry Nicolas*; which were nothing but a Rhapſody of incoherent matters, aping the Stile and Manner of the Prophecies, and entirely void of Judgment, Wit, and Learning, but abounding throughout with vain boaſtings, and impudent applications of all thoſe Prophecies relating to *Chriſt* (and which are declared by the Apoſtles to have been fulfilled in him) to his own perſon. [13] He ſcraped an acquaintance with *Richard Kornhert* (whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this Hiſtory) endeavouring to bring him under his yoke; for which purpoſe he ſhewed him ſeveral of his books, and among the reſt his *Looking-glaſs of Righteouſneſs*, which had not then been printed. *Kornhert* confuted him out of the holy Scripture, but he vouchſafed him no other anſwer, than by ſaying: *Wiſdom is always juſtified of her children*; for it ſo fell out, as he himſelf affirmed, that his Spirit commanded him three times that he ſhould not reply to *Kornhert*'s reaſons; but *Kornhert* rather thought it was, becauſe he could not. [14] A learned Author writes, that theſe Children of the *Family of Love*, perſwaded themſelves that they only were the *Elect* of God, and all others *Reprobates*; as alſo, that it was lawful for them to deny, even with an Oath, what they pleaſed, to wit, to Magiſtrates and all others who were not of their Community. Some of them ſuffered themſelves to be ſo far tranſported with frantick notions that reſulted from their Doctrines as to imagine themſelves to be *God*. [15] *Kornhert* writes, that in the year 1577, he had with great concern heard the ſame from the mouths of two perſons at his own houſe, and that otherwiſe he could hardly have believed it, tho' he had frequently heard it affirmed. He repreſented the folly and blaſphemy of ſuch opinions to one of them named *N.* after this manner: Firſt, *Kornhert* aſked him: *Do you believe that God is without beginning and ending, and that he is everlaſtingly happy?* To which *N.* anſwered, Yes, K. *Can any one be happy without being joyful? N.* No. K. *No body is joyful without knowing that he is ſo, and why.* *N.* Right, for happineſs cannot be without joy. K. *You anſwer well; but pray tell me, how old are you? N.* About five and forty years. K. *Say then, did you not obſerve with pleaſure about eighty years ago, that you were happy? N.* Eighty years ago I was not in being, how could I then rejoyce, or know any thing of my happineſs? Methinks you mock me *Kornhert. No, poor Mortal!* replied *Kornhert*, *but*

[1] *Hiſt. of Anab. Mart.* p. 129. Chron. van Twisk. *p.* 1075.
[2] Succeſ. Anab. *p.* 86.
[3] H. A. Vander Lind. Præf. *p.* B. 3.
[4] Kornhert. Lib. III. *p.* 58. [5] Gaſpar Finkhoven.
[6] Vander Lind. ib.
[7] *See his Looking-Glaſs, and* Kornhert's *Confutation*, p. 144.
[8] [9] [10] [11] [12] [13] Kornhert *Vol.* III. *p.* 142.
[14] Camb. Anal. Reg. Eliz. *p.* 301. *al.* 318-319.
[15] Kornhert. III. 58.

An° Dom. 1555.

but you mock me, whilst you falsly boast your self to be God, for God is eternal, and happy, and joyful; but you are not so.

About a month after there came to him another named *M.* of the same Sect, and he likewise pretended to be God. *Kornhert* said: *It is not long since I had such another God as you here, and convinced him of his error. Did you only pretend to be divine, that might be endured; but to say you are God, is as falsly as blaspemously spoken.* The other replied: you suffer me to say I am something divine, what difference is there between that, and saying, I am God? K. *A great deal: We find men who thro' Grace have been made partakers of the Divine nature, and may therefore very properly be termed Divine, but there is one self-existing God. It is the same difference as between being enlightened, and being the very Light itself.* Having thus said, *Kornhert* brought the man into a chamber where the Sun shined, and continued thus: *Now, that you are enlightened, or shined upon by the Sun, I see, and know plainly: but because you partake of its rays after this manner, can you with any truth affirm, that you are the Sun itself? And if you would be yet more fully convinced that you are not the Sun, pass into the shadow, or into my dark cellar, and see then whether you be the Light, or can enjoy any part of it; and yet it would be so, if you yourself were the Light or Sun.* Then *Kornhert* asked him farther: *Does not God know all your thoughts? M.* Yes, he does. K. *Tell me then the secrets of my heart. M.* I shall not communicate such great mysteries to one that mocks me. K. *Neither shall I believe such great boasters.* These were some of the fruits of their divisions.

Of Libertines *or* Free-Thinkers.

In the Histories of those times there is also mention made of another Sect, called *Libertines*, or *Free-Thinkers*: (which name was likewise applied to *Henry Nicolas* and his followers:) They were people that had little or no value for the whole Worship of God, as revealed by his Word, for the Ministry, or any publick Confession of Faith; they never frequented either Churches or Conventicles, but with worldly views: they looked upon all Religions to be the same, and that it was a very indifferent matter, whether they adhered to that or this persuasion, conforming to the times and to the strongest side: They were of opinion, that it was lawful to dissemble their thoughts in religious matters. † The Popish Churches swarmed with such people at this time, and these hypocrites were the greatest enemies of the poor people that suffered martyrdom for their Faith.

Henry-Anthony vander Linden reckons among these Free-Thinkers, *Adrian Fossenhol*, a Lawyer, and *Balthasar*, Prior of the *Dominicans* at *Antwerp*; and he thinks that this kind of men had made use of the Book of *Sebastian Frank*, concerning whom *Luther* said, *That he had wallowed in the dung of all mankind, and at last was choaked with his own.* But *Frank* in his own justification replied; *That he had kept himself neuter among all the different Sects, without approving or condemning any of them.*

In the mean while the *Low-Countries* found themselves under the yoke of another Master, and of a greater persecutor of the *Reformed* than his Father, whom they had lost.

In October, 1555, *the Emperor resigns his Crown to his Son* Philip.

In the month of *October* 1555, the Emperor *Charles* V. divested himself of his Imperial and Royal Dignities: To his Son *Philip* he resigned his *Low-Countries*, together with *Spain*, the *Indies*, and all that belonged to that Crown; [1] but as to *Germany*, over which his Father had before in vain attempted to place him, he was excluded from thence by his Uncle *Ferdinand.* At the same time Queen *Mary* took her leave of the States.

Conjectures of the Papists upon this extraordinary occasion.

This Resignation of the greatest dominions in Christendom, had been meditated by the Emperor above thirty years before, as [2] some say; but [3] others think that to be very improbable. The occasion of it has likewise been much agitated: [4] some think he was weary of publick affairs, his health failing him, as well as his fortune: others, that the stings of conscience, on account of several things he had done against it, obliged him to discharge himself from worldly matters, that he might timely make his peace with God; but Historians differ likewise in this matter: [5] Those of the *Romish* Church ascribed part of his uneasiness to his having entered into a confederacy with *Henry* the Eighth of *England*, the Pope's mortal enemy; to his

[1] Hooft's *Hist.* Lib. III. Borr. Lib. I. Strada Lib I. Thuan. Lib. XVI. *p.* 767, &c. Hist. Conc. Trid. Lib. V. *p.* 345.

[2] Cam. Vita Melanct. *p.* 366.
[3] Corput's *Life of* Melanct. *p.* 592.
[4] Hooft ibid. [5] Strada ibid.

his intermeddling with matters of Religion, and invading the Pope's province, having by his own authority cauſed the Book, entitled, *The Interim*, to be written, printed and diſperſed, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh the Plan of Religion mentioned in it; as likewiſe to his having beſieged *Rome*, and taken the Pope priſoner. [1] On the contrary the friends of the *Reformation* replied, that theſe Events, rightly conſidered, might be eaſily juſtified, but [2] that there were other and much ſtronger objections againſt him; namely, ſo many wars and quarrels to ſubdue *France*; the exciting troubles and inſurrections in the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the cruelties uſed by the *Spaniards* to make that a Province to their Kingdom; [3] the treacherous impoſing on King *Francis*, that he might procure a paſſage through his territories for appeaſing the Sedition at *Gant*; [4] the drawing the Landgrave of *Heſſe* into his net by a trick and equivocation; but above all, the Rivers of blood ſpilt on account of Religion, and the many Placards againſt Hereſie, which (they ſaid) were written with blood rather than ink, and had coſt about fifty thouſand lives. Theſe were the things which they thought ſhould lie moſt at his heart. However it was, they could be no light nor trivial reaſons that occaſioned ſuch a change in the Emperor; [5] but it may with more juſtice, or charity at leaſt, be aſcribed to ſome godly motives which Heaven inſpired him with; and his endeavouring to conclude his days with good actions, ought to paſs for an argument, that the reſignation of his Crown was the effect of virtuous intentions. [6] This, together with his wiſe Foreſight, Conſtancy and Equanimity under good and bad fortune, was highly commended by all, and not without cauſe; to which ſome add his Piety, ſhining forth in the zeal and pains he exerted in compoſing the differences in Religion by a lawful Council: But nothing has better proved, as *Thuanus* affirms, the greatneſs of his ſoul, than this laſt ſcene of his life, in which this mighty man, accuſtomed to conquer others, got the victory over himſelf, by freely forſaking a manner of life ſubject to ſo many misfortunes, and, after having lived for the world, by living for himſelf and God. Accordingly this Prince was heard often to quote a notable ſaying of one of his old Generals, who is better known by his virtue than his name: which Gentleman ſuing for his diſmiſſion, with a deſign of quitting his poſts and the world together, and being aſked by the Emperor, What induced him to take ſuch a ſtrange reſolution, anſwered thus: *That there ought to intervene ſome ſpace between the hurry of life, and the day of one's death.* The Emperor applied this advice to himſelf, and followed it.

An° Dom. 1555.

Conjectures of the Proteſtants concerning the ſame.

A wiſe Saying of one of the Emperor's Generals

People compared this action of the Emperor, who from his Childhood had been educated and converſant in the greateſt affairs of the world, and who being not much above fifty years old, diveſted himſelf of all his greatneſs, quitted the world to devote himſelf wholly to the ſervice of God, and from a mighty Prince became an humble and pious Monk, [7] with that of another perſon (*Paul* the Fourth) who had formerly quitted the Epiſcopal dignity to betake himſelf to a Convent; but being not long after choſen Pope, at the age of about eighty years, accepted the tripple Crown, gave himſelf up entirely to all kind of pomp, and pride, and to the acquiring a great name, for the love of which he ſet all *Europe* on fire with the Wars which he kindled.

The difference between this Act of the Emperor, and that of Pope Paul IV.

In *Auguſt* 1556, the Emperor, with both his Siſters *Eleanora* and *Mary*, ſailed for *Spain*, where he betook himſelf to the Monaſtery of St. *Juſtus*, on the borders of *Caſtile* near *Placentia*.

The Emperor puts himſelf into a Monaſtery in Spain.

[8] About the ſame time King *Philip* renewed and confirmed, by a Placard dated the 20th of *Auguſt*, the preceding Placards of his Father againſt Hereſie; particularly that of the 25th of *July* 1550, and made them perpetual Edicts: And, in order to eſtabliſh the *Inquiſition* the better; this artifice was made uſe of: It was an ancient cuſtom, that at the beginning of every reign all thoſe who had Patents or Commiſſions for any employments under the Government, ſhould bring them to Court, and there receive others from the new Prince. This was likewiſe done by the *Inquiſitors*; but, inſtead of renewing thoſe private directions which they uſed to receive, and which were only perſonal; all Judges and other Officers were now openly required by

King Philip *renews all his Father's Placards againſt Hereſie, and makes them perpetual.*

The Artifice made uſe of in the new Commiſſions to the Inquiſitors.

[1] Sleid. Com. *p.* 121. Calvin. Tract. Theolog. *p.* 349. Ib. Prælect. in Ezek. cap. xx. ver. 9. Ub. Em. *p.* 934, &c.

[2] Corput ib. *p.* 601. Hooft ib. Lib I. *p.* 18, &c. Thuan. Lib. XXI. *p.* 945, &c. Servit. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. Lib. V. *p.* 373. Strada Lib. I. *p.* 22.

[3 4 5 6] Corput. ib. *p.* 601. Hooft ib. Lib. I. *p.* 18, &c. Thuan. Lib. XXI. *p.* 146, &c. Servit. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. Lib. V. *p.* 373. Strada Lib. I. *p.* 22.

[7] Hiſt. Conc. Trid. *p.* 365. 317-318

[8 9] Strada Lib. I. *p.* 10. & Corput ib. *p.* 595. Borr. I ib. I. *p.* 10. Bentivogl. Lib. I. *p.* 27. Jac. Winſenb. ib. *p.* 22.

An° Dom. 1557. by the Placard to be aiding and aſſiſting to the aforeſaid *Inquiſitors* in the diſcharge of their office.

But when this Placard was ſent abroad in hopes of its being promulgated every where, without diſcovering the alterations made in it, as eaſily happens on ſuch occaſions; the trick was found out, and the *Inquiſition* loſt ground inſtead of getting it. For the Magiſtrates of *Antwerp* being mindful of what happened in the year 1550, on the like occaſion, were much more cautious in meddling with it than the Government expected; but weighing the conſequences, they foreſaw ſo many inconveniencies, that they deferred the publication, and ſent Deputies to Court to repreſent what was promiſed them by the late Miniſtry on account of the *Inquiſition* in the ſaid year 1550, and to ſignifie that they could not conſent to publiſh any ſuch Placard, praying that they might be firſt heard againſt it, or at leaſt diſcharged of their Oath, becauſe of the ſtorms which they foreſaw would ariſe from that Quarter.

Antwerp oppoſes theſe new Placards.

The courage they ſhewed in this matter had the deſired effect for the preſent; for *Philip* being at war with *France*, ſtood in need of the kindneſs of his ſubjects, eſpecially thoſe of *Antwerp*, for the ſake of their money; and ſo the Placard that gave ſo much offence was revoked, not only at *Antwerp*, but in the three other great towns of *Brabant*. But it had been already promulgated at *Louvain* and *Bois le Duc*.

But this different conduct in ſubjecting ſome Cities to the *Inquiſition*, and excuſing others, ſerved to render the reſiſtance of the City of *Antwerp* and the deſign of the King much more known.

The Perſecutions revived.

In the mean while the fire of Perſecution wanted no fewel to feed upon; at *Mons* in *Hainalt*, two men being ſuſpected of Hereſie, becauſe of their diligent ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures, were impriſoned about the beginning of the year, and without much inquiry into their notions of religious matters, condemned to be beheaded. One *Adrian van Lopphen*, an inhabitant of *Bruges*, returning from the Fair of *Frankfort*, and halting at *Aſte* in the aforeſaid Province, gave his Pack, that was full of ſcriptural Books, into the cuſtody of the Miſtreſs of the Inn; ſhe, being curious, opened it in his abſence, found ſome of thoſe books and ſhewed them to a Prieſt: upon that, immediately followed the impriſonment of the owner, who after ſome time was burnt to death in a ſlow fire.

About this time alſo the *Dominicans* at *Liſle* began to charge the Magiſtrates from their Pulpits with being too ſlack in putting the Laws in execution againſt Hereticks, and with conniving at their Aſſemblies and Conventicles, which daily increaſed. Upon this they ſearched the houſe of one *Robert Oguier*, one night, from top to bottom, and found ſome prohibited books in it, for he was known to be a Leader of that kind of people. His eldeſt Son *Baldwin*, whom they chiefly ſought for, happened to be from home; but returning in the mean time, he, with his Father, Mother and Brother, were all apprehended together. When they charged the Father with neglecting to go to Maſs, and keeping unlawful Conventicles in his houſe contrary to divers Placards; he owned both, and gave the following anſwer to the Magiſtrate: *I do not go to Maſs, becauſe the precious Blood of the Son of God, and his Oblation of himſelf is thereby rendered void and of no effect*; *for* Chriſt *did by one only Sacrifice perfect for ever thoſe that are ſanctified. The Apoſtle mentions only* one Oblation, *Heb.* x. 14. *We read of no Maſs in the Holy Scriptures, but only of the Lord's Supper. The* Maſs *is a human invention. And* Chriſt *tells us in* Mat. xv. 9. In vain they do worſhip me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. *I own likewiſe*, continued he, *that I have kept Aſſemblies, or Meetings of good and godly people; but ſuch Meetings were not prejudicial to the Government by any means, but rather promoted the Honour and Glory of our Saviour. I know very well that theſe were forbidden; but I knew at the ſame time that Chriſt commanded them; ſo that if I obeyed my Prince, I muſt diſobey God: I will therefore rather obey the Lord than men.* One of the Magiſtrates aſked him: *What do they do in your Meetings?* Whereupon *Baldwin* the eldeſt Son replied: *I will give your Lordſhips a full account of that matter.* Having obtained leave, he went on thus: ° *When we are there come together in the name of the Lord, to hear his holy word, we all fall down at once upon our knees to the ground, and confeſs in humility of heart our ſins before the divine Majeſty. Then we all join in the ſame Prayer; to wit, That God's Word may be purely* °

The diſcreet and couragious behaviour of Rob. Oguier *of* Liſle.

purely preached to us, and rightly underſtood by us. We alſo pray for our Sovereign Lord the Emperor, and for all his Council, that the Commonwealth may be governed with Peace, and to the Glory of God. And you, my Lords, are not forgotten by us, as our immediate Governours; we likewiſe pray to the Lord for you and this whole City, that he would ſupport you in what is good and juſt. Do you therefore ſtill believe, that our meeting together for theſe purpoſes can be ſo criminal as has been repreſented to you? As a proof, I am ready, if you pleaſe, my Lords, to recite thoſe very Prayers before you. Some of the Judges made a ſign to him that he ſhould do it; whereupon he kneeled down before them, and poured forth his Prayer with ſuch a hearty zeal, fervency of ſpirit, and vehement emotion, that it drew tears from the eyes of his Judges; *and theſe*, ſaid he, ſtanding up, *are the things that paſs in our Conventicles.* After this, the priſoners made a confeſſion of their Faith. An° Dom. 1555.

They were likewiſe put to the rack, to force them to own who frequented their meetings; but they would name no body, excepting ſome that were already known or fled. Four or five days after, the Father and his eldeſt Son were condemned to the fire. As they were leading away to execution, the Monks would have perſuaded the Father, at leaſt to carry in his hand an image of *Chriſt* crucified, adding: *Lift up your heart to God, for you know that this Crucifix is nothing but a piece of wood*; and thereupon they bound it to his hands; but *Baldwin* ſnatching it away, cry'd: *My Father, what do you mean! Will you turn idolater at the point of death? Let not the People be ſcandalized*, continued he, caſting away the image; *becauſe we deſire to worſhip no Wooden* Chriſt; *for we bear about* Chriſt Jeſus, *the Son of the Living God, in our hearts; and we feel his holy word written in the bottom of our hearts in golden characters.* Mounting the ſcaffold, he begged leave to make a confeſſion of his Faith in the hearing of the people. But the anſwer they made him was: *There is your Father Confeſſor, have you any thing to confeſs, you may diſcloſe it to him*; and at the ſame time they drew him nearer to the ſtake. As ſoon as he was at it, he began to ſing the ſixteenth *Pſalm*, and at the ſame time one of the Friers cried; *Heark how they chaunt their vile Errors in order to deceive the people.* To which the Martyr replied: *Dare you ſay, that the Pſalms of* David *are Errors? But this is your ancient practice, to blaſpheme the Holy Ghoſt.*. Then turning himſelf to his Father, he ſaid: *Be of good cheer, my Father; it will ſoon be over.* Whilſt the Executioner was faſtening the Old Man to the ſtake, he ſtruck him with a hammer upon the feet; whereupon he ſaid to him: *Friend, you have wounded me; why do you uſe me thus cruelly?* A Monk hearing him ſay ſo, cryed out: *O theſe wretches! they would be accounted Martyrs, and yet if they are handled a little roughly, they ſquall as if they were murdered.* To him the Son replied thus: *Do you think we can fear pain or death? By no means. If we had feared thoſe things, we ſhould never have expoſed our bodies to this ſhameful end.* Then he repeated the following words ſeveral times: *O God the Eternal Father, grant that this ſacrifice of our bodies may be acceptable in thy ſight, for the ſake of thy well-beloved Son.* Upon which one of the Monks broke out into this bitter expreſſion: *Villain, thou lieſt; God is not thy father; the Devil only is thy father.* During this kind of dialogue, the young man lifted up his eyes to Heaven, and turning them again upon his Father, ſpoke thus to him: *Behold, my Father, I ſee the Heavens opened, and millions of Angels ſurrounding us, rejoicing for the confeſſion of the Truth which we have made before the world. Let us likewiſe rejoice for the Glory of God, which appears before our eyes.* One of the Monks ſcreamed out, and ſaid: *I ſee hell gaping, and as many devils waiting to hurry you away to their infernal manſions.* At the ſame time one of the ſtanders by, call'd out with a loud voice: *Courage*, Baldwin, *be of good heart, your cauſe is juſt; I am one of yours.* Having thus ſpoken, he eſcaped through the crowd, notwithſtanding they were encompaſſed on every ſide by the Trained Bands, the Officers of the *Inquiſition, &c.* who were all armed. The Father and Son were heard talking with one another in the midſt of the flames, even when they were at the higheſt; and the Son was obſerved to encourage his Father till they both expired. The Reader may meet with other circumſtances of this their Conſtancy in the *Book of Martyrs*, particularly that of the *French* impreſſion; where we likewiſe find a certain Letter written by *Baldwin Oguier* to the diſtreſſed Congregation at *Liſle*, containing ſeveral remarkable paſſages; in which he encourages them under their Perſecution, warns them againſt Perverſions, and aſſures them of the Peace of his own Conſcience. Amongſt other things, he adviſes them not to forſake their holy Aſſemblies thro' fear

Anno Dom. 1555. fear of their enemies; *For if*, ſays he, *you forſake the Chriſtian Congregations, then aſſure yourſelves there will ariſe among you a wonderful confuſion of Languages, much more dangerous than that which happened at the Tower of* Babel. *Can* Satan *invent a better method than this, to crumble you into Sects and Parties? Certainly no. He knows very well, that you learn to ſpeak the ſame language and the ſame things in the Congregation, and that charity is thereby increaſed among you. In ſhort, much good reſults from it, as has plainly appeared hitherto. Keep therefore to the Apoſtle's leſſon*, Heb. x. 25. Not forſaking the aſſembling ourſelves together. *Beware carefully of all falſe doctrine, of deceivers, who are now wandering about the world, ſuch as the* Anabaptiſts, *a very dangerous Sect. Avoid likewiſe thoſe Hypocrites, who whilſt they pretend to honour God outwardly, deny him in their hearts. There are among you even people of condition, that are enemies of the Croſs of* Chriſt. The younger Brother *Martin* alſo writ letters of the ſame tenor. Their Mother *Johanna* was prevailed upon at firſt by the Monks to recant, and endeavoured to have perverted her Son the ſaid *Martin*; but when ſhe addreſſed herſelf to him, he anſwered weeping: *O Mother, what have you done! Have you denied the Son of God, who redeemed you? What has he done to you, that you ſhould diſhonour and injure him in ſuch a manner? Now is that misfortune fallen upon me which I moſt dreaded. O my God, why have I lived to hear that which pierces my heart with grief!* Theſe expreſſions ſo affected the Mother, that ſhe burſt into tears, confeſſed her Apoſtacy, and begged pardon of God in the following words: *O Lord*, cried ſhe as earneſtly as her Son, *be merciful to me, hide my miſdeed in the merits of thy Son. Grant me ſtrength to abide by my firſt Confeſſion, and confirm me in it to the laſt breath of my life.* And when the Monks came to her afterwards, ſhe ſaid: *Depart, Satans, get you gone, for you have no more ſhare in me. I will ſubſcribe my firſt Confeſſion, and if I can't do it with Ink, it ſhall be done with my Blood.* Afterwards this Veſſel, which had been ſo weak and brittle, behaved with as much courage as her Son, who could not be prevailed upon either by threats or promiſes. When he was going to ſpeak on the Scaffold, his Mother called to him and ſaid: *Speak out*, Martin, *that they may know we are no Hereticks.* But they would not ſuffer him to make any confeſſion of his Faith before the people. This moved her, whilſt they were tying her to the ſtake, to ſay to the By-ſtanders: *We are Chriſtians; and what we are about to ſuffer is neither for Theft nor Murder, but becauſe we will not believe any thing beſides the Word of God.* Thus they underwent the Fiery Trial, recommending their Souls to God, about a week after the burning of *Robert* and *Baldwin Oguier*.

Some *Anabaptiſts* were likewiſe put to death this year on account of their Religion. At *Belle* in *Flanders*, an old woman and two young maidens. At *Gant* one man, at *Antwerp* two, at *Nimwegen* one. At *Beverwick* in *Holland*, a certain Baker, named *Auſtin*, was ſentenced to the fire: As he was going to execution, he ſaw one of his acquaintance, of whom he took leave, recommending him to God; the other anſwered him: *I hope we ſhall meet in Heaven hereafter.* A certain Burgomaſter, a violent and blood-thirſty man, who had ſaid ſome time before, *That he would provide turf and wood to burn the ſaid Baker*, hearing the man's wiſh, replied: *This Heretick is not bound thither, but will go from hence into everlaſting fire.* Upon this unmerciful Judgment, *Auſtin* ſummoned him to appear within three days before the Judgment-Seat of God: [1] A ſure and dreadful Summons! The Baker being bound to a ladder, and ſo thrown into the fire, had no ſooner given up the ghoſt, [2] as the *Anabaptiſts* have recorded it, but the Burgomaſter was ſtruck with a diſeaſe that made him fall into a kind of madneſs, of which (crying out all the while, *Turf and Wood, Turf and Wood*) he died on the third day.

1557. On the 22d of *March* 1557, one *Arnold Dirkſon*, a *Flemiſh* Farmer, was burnt at *Monnikeree* on account of his Faith.

Soon after *Charles Regius*, formerly a *Carmelite* Frier at *Gant*, who, having quitted the *Romiſh* Church, and dwelt a while in *England*, where he tranſlated the Comment of *John Bale* upon the *Revelations*, and the Hiſtory of *Francis Spira*, into *Dutch*, and by reaſon of Queen *Mary*'s Perſecution, fled from thence to *Embden*; was ſeized at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, whilſt he was viſiting and ſtrengthening his brethren of the reformed Religion in thoſe parts; where, after many trials and temptations, which

[1] [2] Hiſt. Anab. Mart. *p.* 245, *&c.* Et Lipſ. Monita & Exempla Polit. *p.* 146.

he bravely and prudently withſtood, the ſpiritual Judges declared him a Heretick, degraded and delivered him over to the ſecular arm, by whom he was condemned to the fire; which death he ſuffered with patience and conſtancy on the 27th of *April*. An° Dom. 1557.

The famous Story of Angelus Merula.

Angelus Merula, born at the *Bril* in 1482; (for ſo far it will be neceſſary to look back on account of the martyrdom of this true-born *Hollander*, in which there are ſeveral circumſtances that we ſhall be obliged to enlarge upon) this Gentleman, I ſay, having taken the degree of Maſter of Arts at *Paris*, and Licentiate in Divinity, entered into Holy Orders at *Utrecht*, where, for the ſake of his great Learning and good Manners, he was preſented by the Heer *Jooſt van Kruningen*, Lord of the ſaid place, and of ſeveral other Towns about it, to the Benefice of *Henſleet*; in which having with great diligence applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, he obſerved more and more with how many ſpots and errors the Church of *Rome* had been defiled and corrupted, of which he now and then gave ſome hints to his people: but not thinking it convenient to reform immediately, and all at once, in his Church, thoſe things which he conceived to be inconſiſtent with the Word of God, he proceeded ſtep by ſtep in his deſign; and began firſt in the year 1552, by making ſome alterations in the *Maſs-Book*, touching the *Merits* and *Mediation* of the *Saints*; which matters were thus expreſs'd in the ſaid Book: *Omnipotens ſempiterne Deus, qui nos omnium Sanctorum merita ſub una tribuiſti celebritate venerari: quæſumus, ut deſideratam nobis tuæ propitiationis abundantiam, multiplicatis interceſſoribus, largiaris.* That is: *Almighty and everlaſting God, who haſt vouchſafed that we ſhould commemorate the merits of all the Saints on this day; we beſeech thee to give us the deſired treaſure of thy propitiation, thro' thoſe manifold Interceſſors.* This Prayer was altered by our good Prieſt in the following manner: *Omnipotens ſempiterne Deus, qui nos omnium Sanctorum* gloriam *ſub una tribuiſti celebritate venerari: quæſumus, ut deſideratam tuæ propitiationis abundantiam,* ſolius Unigeniti tui, qui omnium Sanctorum eſt Gloria, interceſſione, *largiaris.* That is: *Almighty and everlaſting God, who haſt granted us to celebrate the* Glory *of all the Saints on this day; we beſeech thee to give us the deſired treaſure of thy propitiation,* **thro' the interceſſion of thy only Son alone, who is the glory of all Saints.** Proceeding in this manner, he now and then ſuggeſted to his hearers, particularly to the *Heer van Kruningen*, ſeveral Doctrines in oppoſition to Popery; ſometimes publickly from the Pulpit, and ſometimes in private converſation. He was likewiſe the occaſion that the ſaid Lord, who was his Protector as well as Patron, agreed to reform ſeveral matters relating to his Cure; namely, to prohibit the oblations to certain images in the Church of *Henſleet*, and divers ſuperſtitious proceſſions. But after the death of this *Heer van Kruningen*, he did not meet with the like favour and ſupport from the Son, who having married *Jacoba* the Siſter of *Maximilian* of *Burgundy*, Lord or Baron of *Beveren*, Marquis of *Ter-Veer*, and Stadtholder of *Holland* and *Zeeland*, and by this alliance being obliged to keep great meaſures with the Court; he, tho' otherwiſe a man of a ſweet and merciful temper, durſt not oppoſe the fury of the Clergy. *Merula* therefore being accuſed by ſome zealous Eccleſiaſticks, was not long after cited to ſome of the Courts of Juſtice, and an inquiry being made into his Alterations in the *Maſs-Book*; *Franciſcus Sonnius*, Deputy-Inquiſitor, went in the year 1553, to *Henſleet*, where having ſearched into his Books, Papers and Writings, he drew up ſeventeen Articles againſt him, upon the evidence of ſome of his hearers: but he defended himſelf ſo well, that nothing could be faſtened upon him. Thereupon *Sonnius* required him to produce thoſe Papers in which he had written his Sermon-notes. Some of his friends diſſuaded him from producing them; but his own honeſt conſcience, which charged him with no falſe doctrine, exhorted him not to conceal them. *If*, ſaid he, *I ſhould diſſemble the things I have preached to my people, they will perhaps report, that I have either deceived, or intended to deceive them: Wherefore, that which I was not aſhamed to preach, I will not be afraid of openly confeſſing.* Thus he delivered up the Sermons he had preached. Among a great number of Books and Letters which *Sonnius* carried away, he found that little Treatiſe called the *Interim*, with ſome *Annotations* againſt Popery. Thereupon the Paſtor of *Henſleet* was apprehended. Among the Charges brought againſt him, extracted from the Depoſitions of his hearers, from his Notes upon the *Interim* and other Books, and from his Sermons, were theſe that follow: *That it was better to neglect ten Maſſes than one Sermon. That nothing more was neceſſary to be believed than*

An° Dom. 1557. *what could be found in the Word of God. That Faith without Love was no true nor living Faith. That we are to live according to the rule of the Gospel, but not after any other rules. That it was no Christian poverty to quit our own goods, and to beg those of others. That the Song,* Salve Regina, *was blasphemy against God and Christ; since it ascribed those things to a meer creature, which only belonged to God and Christ. That all things necessary to salvation are fully taught us in the holy Scriptures. That the whole* Roman *Church throughout* Italy, *had apostatized from the belief of the Soul's immortality. That in* Rome, *and almost over all* Italy, *there were hardly any free from the sin of Sodomy, and the disbelief of a Resurrection. That the Decretals and the New Articles of Divines tended to corrupt Christian simplicity. That no Synods, nor Councils of men, tho' the whole world concurred therein, ought by their Decrees, to draw us away from the promises and commands of God.* [1] To all these accusations he answered briefly in writing, which was accompanied with a Protestation at the end: *That what he had noted upon the little Tract called the* Interim, *or other printed papers, was not designed to the prejudice of any, but only out of charity and a desire to find out the Truth: that he had never shewn or given those Notes to any, nor disputed with others concerning them. That he supposed, that the General Council, which was appointed to meet first at* Pisa, *then at* Vincenza, *and lastly at* Trent, *did allow him and the rest of the Clergy to observe and propose remedies for the abuses and corruptions of the Church. Wherefore he thought it could not be imputed to him as a crime or misdemeanour, that he had privately remarked something of that nature; and the rather, since he was informed, that the Bishop of* Utrecht, *and even the Archbishop of* Cologne, *insisted on it, that he with some others should assist at times in the Council on behalf of the* Low-Countries.

In the mean time *Sonnius* endeavoured to blacken this good man with the *Heer van Kruningen*, and to obtain leave to carry him away to *Utrecht*; but that was refused him, till at the desire of the Statholder, and with the consent of the Judges, he was carried prisoner to the *Hague*, and kept there at the charge of the said Lord. Being there, *Sonnius*, and afterwards *Tapper* the Inquisitor-General of the *Low-Countries*, preferred an Indictment against him. After some proceeding, *Sonnius* requested of the Courts of Justice, that the accused person might be removed to *Utrecht*. The Judges writ about it to the Lord of *Kruningen*, whose prisoner he was, who was then induced to consent. *Angelus Merula* being informed of it, he by his Brother's Son presented a petition to the States of *Holland*, wherein he besought them, *That as they had formerly done on the like occasion, they would not allow their Prisoner to be carried into another Province, contrary to their Privileges, since he was ready to answer at the* Hague, *and to do what was necessary on his part.* The States having considered his petition, commanded the Keeper not to deliver him, declaring at the same time, that in the next assembly they would farther weigh the matter, and proceed therein as was just and meet. *Sonnius* in the mean time delayed this affair as much as he could, in order, as it is thought, to tire the old man. On the other hand, the Prisoner did his utmost diligence by Letters and Messages to bring the business to an issue, or at least that he might have the *Hague* for his prison at large, giving good bail, because the Winter came on, and he, besides his age, was incommoded with other infirmities. After great attendance and intercession, the Princess *Mary*, Governess of the *Low-Countries*, was prevailed upon to write to the Court of *Holland*, to the end the old man's confinement might be alleviated, and he delivered to the custody of two Messengers in some place of security. The Court refused to execute the Order, because he was the *Heer van Kruningen*'s prisoner. But having considered his case, it was resolved at last, that he should be removed to a certain Convent, called the *Provosty of Middleburg*, at the West end of the *Hague*; where he continued some months, enjoying a little more liberty. Having again petitioned the Princess for his release, upon the conditions abovementioned, it was so contrived by his enemies, that she referred his case to the Inquisitor *Tapper* and some others. *Tapper* thereupon repairing to the *Hague*, immediately put him under a closer confinement. But the Court of Justice taking pity on him upon account of his deafness, they, in deference to the Princess, deputed two persons from the Council to have an eye to the proceedings, and to protect him against all insults and severity, as far as was consistent with

[1] Angel. Hist. Trag. *p.* 4, &c

with their oaths and honour. However, they forced him to anſwer to one hundred and eight Articles extracted from his papers, by a ſimple, *I believe*, or *I believe not*. And this he did for the ſpace of an hour, without any previous conſideration, and afterwards defended the principal points of his Faith againſt the ſaid Inquiſitor, in the preſence of the Stadtholder and the Council, during a whole month, by word of mouth and writing, with ſuch invincible eloquence and wonderful ſteadineſs, as amazed his greateſt enemies, and ſtruck them dumb. He begged that he might be permitted to read ſome of his Manuſcript pieces aloud, and in the preſence of the Council; but the Inquiſitors refuſed him that favour: And when he ſhewed their unreaſonableneſs, he was anſwered, that they would lay before their Lordſhips, copies of all thoſe pieces; but they never kept their word; and they took it ill, if any of the Gentlemen there preſent touched any of the Paſtor's Notes and Comments, in order to peruſe them. He alſo complained, that they did not allow him time enough to anſwer to ſuch a number of Articles, nor to keep any copy of what arguments he uſed for his own defence and juſtification. And when he ſometimes deſired leave, for the help of his memory, to look over thoſe papers which he had delivered to them before, they would not grant him ſo reaſonable a requeſt, to the end, that not knowing what he had already replied to, they might ſee whether he faultered or varied in his anſwer, and ſo enſnare him. When he complained to the Lords Juſticiaries of the violent and unjuſt proceedings of the Inquiſitors, they replied: *We are appointed by the Queen to be only Witneſſes of what paſſes in this affair, but not to be Judges.* An° Dom. 1557.

After this they removed him to his firſt priſon, and finding themſelves overmatched in diſpute, they ſtrengthened their arguments with threatnings of death, in caſe he refuſed to recant. [1] But when neither this could make any impreſſion upon him, they employed *Nicolas van Nieuland*, or, as he ſtiled himſelf *à Nova Terra*, a *Hollander* of *Egmont*, nominal Biſhop of *Hebron*, Suffragan Biſhop of *Utrecht*, and at that time Paſtor of *Harlem*, to bring him over by fair ſpeeches, and (as they expreſſed it) to reconcile him to the Church. Whereupon the good old man declared: *That he was not conſcious he had left the Church, but, on the contrary, he had been always of it, and would continue in it. That having been formerly called by the Higher Powers to examine the* Interim, *together with other Divines, he had upon that occaſion (ſickneſs and weakneſs confining him to his houſe) noted ſeveral things in writing concerning it, but without the leaſt intention of promoting any tumult or ſedition: that he therefore kept all his Remarks to himſelf, and for his own uſe: And theſe were the things which the Inquiſitors now brought upon the ſtage, and from thence charged him with Hereſie.* He complained likewiſe in particular againſt *Tapper: That the Council having thought it proper he ſhould own in general, that he had erred in ſome indifferent matters, and he not being altogether averſe from ſuch a kind of acknowledgment, that he might not ſeem to give an occaſion of mutiny to the people; the ſaid* Tapper *did nevertheleſs the next day ſtrenuouſly inſiſt upon his abjuring all the Articles, though ſome could be proved to be agreeable to the Holy Scriptures.* That this indeed he refuſed, and ſaid: *That he who acts againſt his conſcience, prepares a hell for himſelf.* Yet he owned, *That he might have erred, and that it was poſſible he might err for the future; but that as yet his own heart did not accuſe him of ſowing and propagating error or diviſions among the people.* He farther declared, that he would never recede from the following doctrines: *That God alone is to be called upon and prayed to. That Chriſt is our only Mediator and Interceſſor. That the honour paid to Images is vain, unprofitable, and unbecoming us. That we are juſtified by Faith only, and not by Works. That the merits of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion are the only propitiation for all our ſins.* Being aſked whether he pretended to be wiſer than the whole Church? He anſwered: *That he was wiſe according to the Word of God; to the Commands of which he would be obedient, without pinning his Faith on the inventions of men.* He ſaid, that among other things, he looked upon it as a great abuſe, that the people uſed the following *Reſponſe*, *Chriſti Virgo*, and the *Antiphony*, *O Maria, cujus oratio de potenti procedit brachio!* that is, O Mary, *whoſe Prayer proceeds from a powerful arm!* As alſo that the Church ſung theſe and ſuch like Hymns, tho' not conſiſtent with the word of God, no more than what

[1] Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg.

An° Dom. 1557. was rehearſed in ſome places of our Lady, to wit: *Agna Dei, quæ tollis peccata mundi!* that is, *O thou Ew-Lamb of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the world!*

In the mean while ſomething happened that alarmed the *Inquiſitors*, and gave them much trouble: The people flocked to the *Hague* from all parts, at the time they expected that Sentence ſhould be pronounced againſt him. The whole Aſſembly of the States of *Holland* was moved with compaſſion at the misfortune and miſery of the old man, on account of his good name, extraordinary Learning, admirable Eloquence, great Probity, and unexhauſtible Charity to the poor, who now cried, *That they were bereft of their Father, their Patron, Defender, and only Truſt and Comfort in their neceſſities.* He had, among other alms, built an Hoſpital for the poor in the *Brill* (for he poſſeſſed a great eſtate) which, as ſome think, firſt tempted theſe greedy *Inquiſitors* to fall ſo eagerly upon him. All cried out as with one mouth, and particularly the Lawyers, that in this matter the Rights of the Court of Juſtice were violated by the *Inquiſitors*, who drew to themſelves the whole management of the Law, and had broken through all the Rules and Forms of it. But the latter were notwithſtanding of opinion, that never any Heretick that had fallen into their hands, deſerved death better than he; and yet they owned at the ſame time, that it would be impoſſible to burn him without running a great riſque of their own lives, ſo dear was he to the Common people; nor was he leſs beloved by the Great ones, though they durſt not ſhow it. On the other hand, if they let him eſcape, they imagined it would be diſhonourable to the Church. To avoid the danger, and yet to attain their ends, the *Inquiſitors* ſet their wits on the rack, and choſe a round-about way of falſhood and treachery, too vile to enter into the thoughts of *Hollanders*, *Chriſtians*, and *Divines*. They made uſe of the Biſhop of *Hebron*, a well-ſpoken man, to bring about their wicked ſtratagem. This Prelate therefore one time when the good old man was brought from the priſon to the Court, in expectation of the ſentence of Death, threw himſelf at his feet, bare-headed, and with folded hands, and the tears guſhing out of his eyes, ſpake to the following purpoſe: ——

" That they were all of them very ſenſible they were not to compare with " him, who was a hundred times more learned than they; and were be- " ſides convinced, that his intentions were honeſt and good; that they " were all of his opinion in the chiefeſt points; that they ſhould not be ſorry " to be overcome by him with Truth; that there was little or no difference " between them, ſave only about ſome Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtoms and Ceremonies, " which being in their own nature indifferent, depended on the pleaſure of the Go- " vernours of the Church, and might be augmented, diminiſhed, altered, and abro- " gated, as they thought fit, provided it was done without giving offence. He " ought therefore to ſubmit himſelf herein to the Church and her Deter- " minations, to avoid tumults and factions. He ſaw how the people were heated, " and the conſequences might be fatal to them all. It would not be acting " like a Chriſtian, to expoſe them (though they had been his adverſaries) to the " violence and madneſs of the inconſtant Mob. If you be weary of your life, *con-* " *tinued the Biſhop*, why will you involve us in the guilt of your death? If you " have a mind to die, you may find ſome body that does not honour and eſteem you " ſo highly as we do, who will be ready to imbrue his hands in your blood. And " tho' we happen to be ſtoned (as you may eaſily obſerve we run that riſque) " before we be able to juſtifie our proceedings; yet the Counſellors, who will ſee " the Sentence againſt you put in execution, will bear witneſs, that your inſatiable " thirſt after the glory of Martyrdom, has rendered you guilty both of your " own blood and ours. Conſider then, and do not precipitate your ſelf into that ruin " which it is in your own power to avoid. The people may cry you up, per- " haps, for a while; but when they grow cool and come to themſelves, they will " ſay, that no body offered this violence to you, but that you brought it on your " own head, and were beſides the cauſe of ſpilling much more blood. Save your " ſelf therefore for the ſake of the Poor, who with ſo many tears ſue for your " life, in kindneſs to the People, and for the great hopes that all the Deputies of " the State have conceived of you. In preſerving your ſelf, you will alſo do us " an unſpeakable kindneſs, in that we ſhall be taken for the Preſervers of godly " men, and not for their Oppreſſors and Deſtroyers, as ſome now conſider us. " Grant us the life we now enjoy, which, though we did not receive it from you,

" we

" we ſhall own our ſelves beholden to you for, as long as we breathe; for our lives " are at preſent in your hands. And as for your own life, we do not pretend that you " ſhould thank us for it, but your ſelf. It is but a ſmall matter by which you may " obviate all this impending miſchief; ſecure your own and our honour, your own, " and ours, and many more mens lives; to wit, if, ſetting aſide the more weighty " Articles of Faith, and leaving them *in ſtatu quo*, you would only acknowledge, " *That you had imprudently and unſeaſonably endeavoured to aboliſh a few indifferent* " *Points, Cuſtoms and Ceremonies, and ſay, you are ſorry for it.* Do this and live, " and we ſhall live with you. And if what we ſuggeſt to you ſhould in any wiſe " be repugnant to your conſcience, we will pawn our ſouls to the great Judge of " the Earth, and let them bear the guilt, but let yours be free." An° Dom. 1557.

Theſe words pronounced with a ſhew of humility, and in a ſerious and loud Tone, in order to make the greater impreſſion on the deaf old man (which were likewiſe accompanied with an oath, by giving one hand to the priſoner and laying the other on his own breaſt) moved him ſo much, that turning himſelf to the *Heer van Aſſendelft*, Preſident of the Council, he aſked him, what his Lordſhip thought he ſhould do? To which the other made him this ſhort reply: *Aſk your own conſcience within, but no body without.* The Paſtor not hearing him well, and being aſhamed to trouble ſo great a man with repeated queſtions, ſuppoſed that he approved of that expedient which the inſidious Biſhop had offered him, who alſo at the ſame time cried out aloud, *Why do yo ſcruple the following my Lord's advice?* In ſhort, he conſented to what they deſired. Immediately they led him to the Scaffold, about which ſtood all the people that came from all parts to ſee the excution; and there they read, not thoſe indifferent Points in which they pretended to agree with him, but the chief Articles of his Belief; and theſe they pronounced ſo low, and mumbled over ſo faſt, that old *Merula* could not hear them, partly thro' deafneſs, and partly becauſe ſome of the Inquiſitors amuſed him on purpoſe with other diſcourſes. In the ſaid Writing, after having recapitulated the principal Points of his Faith, they had added: " That he abjured and execrated all manner of Hereſies, as well " thoſe of *Luther* as others; and all Errors repugnant to the Orthodox Faith " and Doctrines of the *Romiſh* Church. That he believed all what the Church be- " lieved —— promiſing with a ſolemn oath to continue in the Truth and Unity of " the ſaid Church —— declaring, that whoever acted contrary thereto, incurred eternal " damnation —— That if for the future he ſhould happen to entertain any different " ſentiments, he ſubmitted himſelf to the ſeverity of the Canon-Law —— That he " beſought them to pray to God for him on account of thoſe errors which he now " recanted; and that of thoſe whom he had miſled, he heartily aſked forgiveneſs." Thereupon he was aſked with a loud voice, Whether he revoked all that was read out of that paper? To which he anſwered, *Yea*; meaning no more than thoſe indifferent matters which he had been deſired to revoke. However, before he ſigned it he would have read it himſelf; but the *Inquiſitors* cried: *They muſt make haſte and quit that place, becauſe of the clamours of the people, and becauſe there was yet more to be done.*

There was immediately obſerved a wonderful change in the people; their love and compaſſion turned to hatred, anger, and curſes. The Priſoner bore the ſcandal, and his Friends the ſhame of this action. Then followed the Sentence, by which his books, and all his other papers that ſavoured of Hereſie, were condemned to the fire; he himſelf was deprived of his Living, and made uncapable of all Eccleſiaſtical Functions, and required to read his *Abjuration* and *New Confeſſion*, upon a *Sunday* or other Feſtival, from the Pulpit of the Church of *Henfleet*: after all which he was condemned to a perpetual impriſonment, there to do penance with bread and water of ſorrow, and to bewail his ſins; and laſtly, to refund all the charges of his Seizure, Impriſonment, and Tryal, according to the arbitrary pleaſure of the *Inquiſitors*.

Hitherto the old man had no ſuſpicion of the trick that had been played him; but after he was carried to priſon, and acquainted by his Nephew *Merula*, how he was cheated, and what he had abjured, he diſcovered too late the falſhood of their hearts, and the occaſion of ſcandal given to the people, through the appearances of his Apoſtacy. Now though all had been done without his knowledge, and againſt his conſent, yet he was extreamly dejected; and his heart being full, he broke out

An° Dom. 1557. into the following Lamentation: [1] *O my God, how deceitfully have theſe long-robed Calumniators and Fame-ſtealers dealt with me! Have I then appeared, I who had already one foot in the grave, and according to the courſe of nature was half dead, ſo fearful of death, as to offer violence to thy Truth, and moſt unfaithfully to abjure it! That be far from me, O my moſt merciful Father, I never had ſuch a thought; ſuch a villainy never entered into my heart; ſuch counſel have I never taken with the enemies of thy Name: O my God, they have ſolemnly deceived me, and abuſed thy people.*

His ſorrow quickly threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, which encreaſing upon him daily, moved the Lords to conſent, that he ſhould be carried from the priſon called the *Voorporte* in the *Hague*, to *Delft* (the Biſhop of *Hebron* approving it, and his Nephew *Merula* giving good ſecurity for him) and kept in the Convent of St. *Magdelen*. Here he wrote a full Confutation of the Eccleſiaſtical Sentence paſt againſt him. In the mean while the *Inquiſitor*, *Tapper*, was hatching ſomething to his prejudice. He was gone to *Louvain*, and it would be inconvenient to him, as he pretended, to return to *Holland*, in order to finiſh with the old man what the Biſhop of *Hebron* had promiſed him by word of mouth. It tended, as was given out, to the ſoftening of the Sentence. The Priſoner muſt therefore be carried to *Louvain*. This they importuned the Government to agree to, which they did notwithſtanding all the pains his Nephew took to hinder it. But their greateſt difficulty was, how to get him out of *Holland*, and into the clutches of the *Inquiſition*.

In the year 1555, he was carried by the *Procureur*, or Attorney-General, contrary to law, from *Holland* to *Louvain*. There they ſhut him up in a Monaſtery, and all his friends were denied acceſs to him, and he obliged to feed on bread and water every *Monday*, *Wedneſday*, and *Friday*. Some ſay he was confined to a dungeon where there lay two mad men wallowing in their own ordure, and where he was almoſt ſuffocated with their ſtench. They add likewiſe, that the Monks held a ſecret correſpondence with him, liſtened to him, and took pity on him; and as they went begging thro' the Town (for they were of the Order of the Mendicants) related to the Inhabitants all that they had learned from him, how he had been deceived by the *Inquiſitors*, together with his godly Life, Meekneſs, *&c.* This accquired him great favour. He alſo now declared openly, that he would ſtand by all he had ever preached, ſaid, or writ.

That they might wean him from thoſe ſentiments, they held in the year 1556, new diſputes and conferences with him; but he ſtuck to the Scripture, without being ſtaggered by any ill treatment in the priſon, or threats of greater ſeverities for the future. *I do not fear*, ſaid he, *my adverſaries, and I will as freely go to the fire for the Truth which I have taught and maintained in writing, as to the Refectory to ſatisfie my hunger.* They deprived him of his books and papers, and with-held from him the neceſſaries and conveniences of life. They threatened to put him into a ſack, and drown him by night, but neither could that ſhake his conſtancy. Some people of Quality endeavoured to mitigate and pacifie the rage and cruelty of the *Inquiſitor*, but all in vain. However this *Scourge of Hereticks* was once ſo far prevailed upon, that he ſent the Paſtor of St. *James*'s in *Louvain*, to try if he could make ſome accommodation between him and the old man, conſiſtent with the honour of them both; but this endeavour was alſo fruitleſs: For *Tapper* inſiſted upon being intreated by him, and that no mention ſhould be made of the tricks they had played with him in the *Hague*.

Then this *Inquiſitor* would have old *Merula* anſwer a-new to ſeveral points; but he demanded that his papers ſhould be firſt delivered to him. *How can I*, replied he, *give any anſwer to thoſe Articles, unleſs they reſtore to me the papers I writ upon the ſame occaſion? for I am neither a God nor an Angel, tho' my name is ſo. Sometimes through compulſion I anſwered with few, ſometimes with many words; but I remember nothing of it.*

In the mean while his caſe began to be more and more known at *Louvain*, and every body admired the conſtancy and greatneſs of his ſoul. Many Members of the Univerſity cried, that not only injuſtice, but force and violence was done to the old man. A Doctor and Profeſſor in Divinity ſaid ſo many things to his advantage, that

[1] Ang. Mer. Hiſt. Trag. *p.* 73.

that *Tapper* ſent for him, and gave him this check: "Since you have converſed "with the people of beſt faſhion in this City, and have ſpread among the inhabi- "tants many diſcourſes in favour of this old fellow, you have done very wrong; "and now we command you, unleſs you have a mind to incur the like cenſure of "Hereſie, to ſpeak as much evil among all thoſe with whom you converſe, as you "have already ſaid good of him." He was alſo forbidden to ſend or receive any Letters till brought to be peruſed and examined. An° Dom. 1557.

The Inquiſitor, at laſt, perceiving this was not the way to attain his end, petitioned King *Philip* that he might remove the Priſoner out of *Brabant*. This being granted, they carried him firſt to the Abby of *Liſieux* in *Hainalt*, where taking from him all means of defence, together with all Books and Papers, they teaſed him about a year, by the Abbot and others, with many diſputes concerning his Doctrines. Thereupon he petitioned the King, that he might have the Convent at large for his priſon; but his petition was tranſmitted by the King (who had been made believe that the old man had relapſed or apoſtatiſed the ſecond time from the Church) to *Tapper* himſelf, with order to ſend him to another priſon in *Mons*, and to bring the matter to an iſſue.

This was what they aimed at, as yielding a better opportunity of engaging the Temporal Arm (or Civil Magiſtrate) to execute the ſentence already paſſed on him by the Clergy. Accordingly, they removed him from *Liſieux* to *Mons*, on the 4th of *June*, in the year 1557, and threw him into a diſmal Dungeon in the Caſtle. And that their proceedings might have no appearance of treachery, violence, or injuſtice, it was given out, that the Priſoner was a Heretick, taken in one of the neighbouring Towns: under which pretext, the Inquiſitor ſent Deputies to *Mons* to examine him as an unknown perſon. Theſe at laſt declared him a relapſed Apoſtate; the immediate conſequence of which was, the ſecularizing of him, condemning him to the fire, and delivering him up to the Civil Magiſtrates, who were to put the Sentence in execution.

The hurrying him away to *Mons* was managed with great dexterity and ſecreſy, to the end that they might diſpatch him before his friends in *Holland* could have an opportunity to oppoſe theſe wicked proceedings of the *Inquiſition*: for *Tapper* and his Companions were juſtly apprehenſive, that they would endeavour to aſſert their natural Rights according to the Privileges of that Province, which had been remarkably violated in all their proceedings againſt old *Merula*. This was the reaſon that his Nephew could not timely learn the laſt remove of his Uncle from *Liſieux*: ſo that haſtening to *Bruſſels*, and addreſſing himſelf to the Inquiſitor General, he was told by him, that Sentence was paſſed, and that he believed he could not find his Uncle alive. Neither indeed had he found him alive, if ſomething had not fallen out which put off his execution appointed for the 24th of *July*. But riding day and night, he got to *Mons* on the 27th, about ten a-clock in the forenoon, juſt as the good old Paſtor was brought out of priſon, leaning upon his ſtaff, in order to be led to execution. He was ſo meagre and feeble, that he could ſcarce know him, having lain about ſix weeks in the Dungeon of the Caſtle, tormented with Hunger and Thirſt, with Filth and Vermin.

It is related, that after receiving ſentence, he ſpake thus to the Inquiſitors his Judges: *Since ye inſnared me with Lies in* Holland; *ſince ye hurried me away by a trick, as if I had been a Thief, contrary to the privileges of my native Country (according to which I ought not to be tried, much leſs put to death, in any other Province) ſince ye have villainouſly and unrighteouſly condemned me; I bleſs my eternal God and Father, that he has given me, a deaf old man, ſo long and ſo perfidiouſly impriſoned, the ſtrength and courage to reproach you this day with your baſeneſs and treachery, and enabled me to offer up to his Glory this poor deformed body, theſe grey hairs and deep furrows in my face and body (which your cruelty has deprived of all the Chearfulneſs, Complexion, Blood and Vigour that old age had left it) as a Confeſſor and Martyr for the Truth. Ye murder me in this Wilderneſs and barbarous Country of the* Walloons, *as in a Cave: however, there are ſome among theſe unknown people that are not ſtrangers to my Cauſe; yea, theſe Coals with which ye are now going to burn me, ſhall not be extinguiſhed before the rumour of your maſſacring me ſhall have reached the ears of my friends in* Holland.

He

An° Dom. 1557. He was no ſooner come out of the Priſon, but he ſpied his dear Nephew, whom he accoſted with theſe words: *My Son, now is that laſt hour come which I have ſo long wiſhed for: This is the hour in which that great God* (in ſaying which he lifted up his eyes and ſtretched his hands to heaven, for they were not tied, by reaſon of age and infirmities) *has given me an opportunity, not only to ſeal with my blood all that I have teſtified publickly and privately to his enemies, out of his holy Word; but likewiſe openly to declare, that none of thoſe things produced againſt me in the Courts of* Holland, *are true. Having been forced out of my native Land, and dragged from place to place, I am at laſt brought hither, where I am entirely prepared to be offered up a pure ſacrifice to Chriſt my Saviour. My ſoul longs to be with God: the adverſaries preſumptuouſly ſaid it was the Devil's property. That be far from it; that is only their raſh judgment, who amuſe the people partly by pretending that my Doctrines are heretical, though they are agreeable to the* Word of God, *and they themſelves cannot confute them; and partly by the ſad aſpect of my body, which though conſumed almoſt with old age, has been ſo cruelly handled by them, as to become loathſome to look upon; for every body that beholds this filth and vermin with which I am covered, muſt approach me with horror. Thieves and Murderers are treated more mercifully than I am. Go now and acquaint our friends and relations in our dear Country, with what you have ſeen and heard. You have faithfully aſſiſted me as long they would ſuffer it. All that I have would have been yours as my Heir; but let me intreat you to bear the loſs of your inheritance with the ſame equanimity as I endure the loſs of my life. You want neither Senſe nor Learning, both which, you know, I cultivated in you as long as it was in my power. You are now of age, take to your ſelf that Help-meet, whom I, while I was at liberty, had provided for you. I have by my inſtructions wrought a good work in the families of the* Heermans *and* Kerkwervens; *God will give the encreaſe. Truſt in him, who will bleſs your beginnings. Take care, as far as you can, of the Hoſpital for the Poor, which I founded at the* Brill. *And I hope in God, that thoſe Poor will be permitted to enjoy the Almſhouſes and little Endowment I have provided there for them, without lett or hindrance: and that the* Fiſcal *of the* States *will be more merciful than the* Inquiſitors.

When he had ſaid this, the Officers of Juſtice forced him to go on, not without threatening his Nephew for the diſcourſes that had paſſed between them. *I am going,* ſaid he to the Officers; *and I thank my moſt gracious Father, that I am appointed to die publickly, and that thereby it is not in the power of my adverſaries to blaſt with calumnies the Conſtancy with which I am armed, through his Grace; as they would undoubtedly have done, if (as I always feared) they had diſpatched me with Poiſon, or by ſome other means, privately in the priſon, or drowned me in a Sack, as they had plotted to do, whilſt I was in the Abbey of* Liſieux. *However, my blood will not quench that fire which they have kindled againſt themſelves, but within a little time it ſhall break out into a much greater flame, which neither they nor their poſterity ſhall be able to extinguiſh.* Whilſt he was comforting and exhorting his Nephew with the following words: *Believe firmly that you ſhall ſoon ſee the ſalvation of the Lord in the land of the living: behave therefore with Courage, and patiently wait the Lord's time,* they were torn from one another's arms: but the Paſtor going forward between a *Franciſcan* Frier and the Hangman, did not ceaſe all the time to exhort the people in the *French* tongue (which greatly mortified the Monks and others who did not know he underſtood it) *to the knowledge of the Truth, and to the love and fear of God, together with a continual meditation upon the Death and Merits of their only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and not to depend on the merit of their own works.* And he farther declared, that one of the chief cauſes of their putting him to death, was his maintaining, *That our Worſhip ought only to be addreſſed to God.*

Being come out of the Town to the Pile that was prepared with all ſort of combuſtible materials, into the midſt of which he was to be put, he begged of them that he might have leave to pour out a Prayer to God. This was permitted: whereupon with bended Knees and folded Hands praying earneſtly to God, he ſank down juſt before the fire. The people thinking that it was through fear of the approaching torments, ran to him, but found him without life, and freed from all his ſufferings.

This was the End of *Angelus Merula*, in which the Goodneſs and Mercy of God moſt viſibly appeared; for it ſeemed as if he was pleaſed to call him to himſelf, juſt at ſuch a time as was neceſſary to deliver him from that fiery trial, which a poor emaciated body, loaden with age (for he was then ſeventy five years old) and the common infirmities that attend it, and broken beſides with almoſt five years impriſonment, muſt otherwiſe, without a more than ordinary ſupport, have inevitably fainted under. The Executioner, aſtoniſhed at ſuch an uncommon and ſurprizing accident, refuſed to proceed, ſaying, that the Law was ſatisfied by his death. Therefore nothing more was done then, but the dead body was afterwards ordered to be burnt to aſhes. An° Dom. 1557.

This *Angelus* was the Great-Uncle of *Paul Merula*, ſince Profeſſor of Hiſtory at *Leyden*, who has alſo tranſmitted to poſterity an account of this Martyrdom in *Latin*.

In the ſame year thoſe fiery Perſecutions were likewiſe extended to ſeveral *Anabaptiſts*. There were ten men and four women of that Sect put to death at *Antwerp* on account of Religion. At *Harlem* another woman would have been treated after the ſame manner, if ſhe had not been found pregnant; for which reaſon ſhe was committed to the [r] *Spin-houſe*. Two Weavers, one of *Hallum* in *Freeſland*, and the other of *Harlem*, who were impriſoned at the ſame time, were condemned to be burnt; the firſt for ſelling ſome forbidden books; and the ſecond for buying and reading them. The Goods of the firſt were all declared confiſcated to the King, and thoſe of the other, were to be ranſomed at the price of ſixty Gilders, according to the privileges of his Town. After they had been executed, the Officers were going to burn their books alſo; but there was ſuch a tumult, excited by the people, that they were obliged to fly for their lives, leaving the books, which being afterwards thrown among the people, were by that means the more effectually diſperſed.

1558. *Books writ in favour of the Reformation in diſguiſed Names.*

The ſtrict inquiry after Heretical Books was the cauſe that ſome Writers endeavoured to promote the *Reformation* by books under borrowed names, or without any, and printed in foreign Parts. Thus *Johannes Sartorius* of *Amſterdam* publiſhed at *Baſil*, in the year 1558, his Comment upon the Great and Minor Prophets, under the diſguiſed name of *Toſarrius*, a tranſpoſition of his own. In the Preface of the firſt Volume we meet with the following complaints about the corruptions of the Church: "O "the miſerable and juſtly to be lamented State of the Church! But we have deſerved "this ſo palpable darkneſs; for we have preferred Dreams to the Efficacy of the *Word* "*of God*, Hypocriſy to Truth, the Shadow to Light, Mammon to Chriſt, and what "not. Does not that Church appear the moſt agreeable to every body, which "dazzles their eyes with a Religion that is all pomp and ſhew: A Religion in "which a High Prieſt clad in purple veſtments, and covered with precious ſtones, "offers the Sacrifice, and in which all other things are ordered and adminiſtred "after the manner of the Old Law? And is not ſuch a Church preferrable to the "True, Spiritual and Powerful Church which is founded on the plain Word of "*Chriſt?* Nevertheleſs, in this latter is the marrow of Religion, the true inſtruction "of the Comforter, the Holy Ghoſt; in this all the evil that comes from hell is "rejected, and all that is good, learnt and practiſed, agreeably to the living "and powerful *Word of God*. In this School we are really Kings and Prieſts, but "of our Lord Chriſt: for being conſecrated with that anointing which teaches us "all Truth, we offer up our ſelves to the Lord a holy and lively Sacrifice, ſaying "with *Paul: I live; yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me.*" He had been before this committed to priſon, and narrowly eſcaped death, without forſaking his Faith. He lived ſome time in exile, kept himſelf out of the Communion of the *Romiſh* Church, and ended his life at *Delft*, on the 28th of *March* 1567. He was very learned in the *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew* Languages; and as we are told by *Peter Opmeer*, no body was more a maſter of his Mother-tongue, which he poliſhed very much by the Tranſlation of ſome hundreds of *Latin* and *Greek* Proverbs; and ſo happily, in the opinion of *Pontanus* and others, that the *Dutch* was not inferior to the Original.

About the ſame year 1558, *Cornelius Hamſtede*, a Miniſter among the *Reformed*, and the firſt Writer of their Book of Martyrs, tranſported by a Zeal which was owned

[r] *Hiſt. of* Anabaptiſt *Martyrs*. Lib. II. *p.* 258.

An° Dom. 1558. owned to be very unſeaſonable, and which diſpleaſed many of his Perſuaſion, had the boldneſs to preach publickly at *Antwerp* near the High-Croſs, during a Proceſſion of the Clergy, and whilſt they paſſed by him. What happened to him thereupon is not ſaid. He had been bred up to a Trade, which he left for the Miniſtry.

John du Champ, who kept an Ordinary at *Bavay* in *Hainalt*, having been convinced by a foreign Merchant of the abuſes of the Maſs, grew in time more averſe to *Popery*, and endeavoured to bring over his Nephew, a Monk, to his Opinions: But the Letter he writ to him on that occaſion, happened to fall into the hands of the Magiſtrates, by whom he was ſent to priſon. Being examined, he owned, That we partake of the Body and Blood of *Chriſt* in the Lord's Supper, though not with our mouths, but by faith. Some of the Judges ſaid, that they were of the ſame opinion as to that matter. However, after lying there nine months, he was condemned, to which the following accident did not a little contribute. The Court of *Bruſſels* had juſt then received an account, that a certain Anabaptiſt at *Bois le Duc*, who was to have been put to death for his Religion, notwithſtanding he had been prevailed upon to recant it, was reſcued out of priſon by force. This was ſo reſented by the King and Cardinal *Caraffa*, then at Court, that the Magiſtrates, who dreaded them both, condemned *du Champ* and an Anabaptiſt to death, which they ſuffered on the 5th of *February*. Whilſt they were ſtrangling the Anabaptiſt, the other declared before all the people: *That he did not die for any of the errors of Anabaptiſm, or other Hereſies, but only for the doctrines of the Prophets and Apoſtles; bleſſing God for the honour he had to ſuffer in ſuch a cauſe, and praying for all his enemies.*

Giles Verdickt of *Hilverſeel*, was alſo ſtrangled and burnt at *Bruſſels*, whither he went to preach to ſome perſons of his perſuaſion. *Do you think, my Lords*, ſaid he to the Judges when they pronounced ſentence againſt him, *to extirpate that Chriſtianity, which you call Hereſie, by burning and murdering? Alas! you are much miſtaken: the aſhes of my body ſhall brood over this City, and make it ſpring up the faſter; for the blood of the Martyrs is the ſeed of the Church.* His brother *Anthony Verdickt*, a Deacon of the ſecret Aſſembly at *Antwerp*, made two journeys to *Bruſſels* to comfort him in his diſtreſs, and ſupply him with neceſſaries: but being betrayed by the Keeper's wife, his love to his Brother coſt him his life, which he alſo ended at a ſtake, on the 12th of *January* the following year. But being ſtrangled, they did not burn him, but hanged up his body in chains. This made the people cry, that the aſhes of *Giles* were ſcattered in the boſoms and hearts of the Citizens; and that therefore they durſt not burn his brother *Anthony*.

Philip *ſolemnizes the Funeral of his Father.*

A little before, on the 19th of *December*, King *Philip* celebrated the deceaſe of his Father with great pomp and ceremony, in a Ship adorned with numbers of Enſigns and Trophies, bearing the Arms of his Kingdoms and Provinces. At the head was the image of *Hope*, in the middle *Faith* was ſeated on a Throne, and *Love* at the ſtern, to ſignifie that the Glory of God was the end of all his actions. For the Emperor *Charles* had departed this Life the 21ſt of *September* that year, of a burning Feaver, in the Convent of St. *Juſtus*. *An account of the Emperor's Death.*

" He employed the two laſt years of " his life in works of Piety and Charity, living with great Temperance and Abſte- " mioufneſs, and in Faſting and Praying. [1] Of his yearly Income he only ſpent four- " teen thouſand Crowns; the remainder, which amounted to ninety ſix thouſand " more, was beſtowed on the marriages of poor Maidens, in the aſſiſtance of Wi- " dows, and ſupport of Orphans. [2] He would be called only *Charles*, not *Em-* " *peror*. [3] The whole number of his Attendants conſiſted of twelve Perſons, " or, as ſome ſay, but of four. He kept but one Horſe. He was, he ſaid, no " longer uſeful in this life either to God or himſelf. He often lamented his ſins " with tears, ſaying, that in no day of his life he had ſerved God as he ought. " He often prayed for the Peace of the Church: *Into thy hands, O Lord*, ſaid he, " *have I recommended thy Church.* To promote which he had long endeavoured to " compoſe the differences in Religion, by calling a General Council, as we have al- " ready ſhewn. [4] He would likewiſe have procured free acceſs to it for the Prote- " ſtants, to the end they might have there made their own defence. He alſo ad- " viſed the Fathers of the Council, that they ſhould not raſhly exaſperate thoſe " of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, by falling upon and condemning their Books."

In

[1] Borr's *Hiſtory of the* Netherlands, Lib. I. *p.* 4. | Juſt. Lipſ. Monit. *p.* 173.
[2] Bucholeri Ind. Chronol. *p.* 590. ex Zenocaro. | [3] Bor. Ibid. [4] Thuan. Lib. XXI. *p.* 946.

" [1] In his laſt Will, which he had made ten years before at *Auſburg*, he com- An° Dom. 1558.
" plained of Pope *Paul* III. who, he ſeemed to think, did not act a ſincere part, in the
" aſſembling of ſuch a Council. [2] It was the ſame Pope that threatened him, upon a
" certain time, p with Excommunication, and to whom he anſwered by his Ambaſ-
p " ſador: *Will the Pope thunder and lighten with his Excommunications? Tell him, I will*
" *thunder and lighten too with my Canon.* [3] In his laſt retirement he comforted
" himſelf chiefly with reading the life of St. *Bernard*, in whoſe words he thus ad-
" dreſſed himſelf to God with deep ſubmiſſion: *I am altogether unworthy to inherit*
" *the Kingdom of Heaven, by my own merits*; *but* Jeſus Chriſt, *my Lord and my*
" *God, being poſſeſſed of the ſame by a double right, to wit, both as Heir to his Fa-*
" *ther, and through the merit of his own ſufferings, has contented himſelf with one*
" *of thoſe titles, and is graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow on me the other*; *which, by*
" *vertue of his donation, I juſtly claim to my ſelf*; *and truſting to it, I will not be*
" *aſhamed*; *for the Oil of Mercy*, continued he, *is poured into none but a veſſel of*
" *dependance. Now this is the true dependance, when a man abandons himſelf and*
" *relies on his Lord*; *otherwiſe, the truſting to our own merits is no reliance, but rathera*
" *diſtruſt. Our ſins are pardoned by the indulgence of God*; *wherefore we are bound to*
" *believe, that they can only be remitted by him againſt whom they have been committed*;
" *and that he only in whom no ſin is found, has the right of forgiving ſins.*

" [4] About three weeks before he died, he celebrated his own funerals; as if,
" though in good health, he had known how near his end was. When he was
" dying, he declared that he placed all his hopes of ſalvation in *Chriſt Jeſus* only,
" whoſe image upon the Croſs he ſet continually before his eyes, and embraced
" with his arms and heart, ſaying, when he received the laſt Sacrament as a *Via-*
" *ticum*, after the manner of the *Romiſh* Church: *Remain in me, O my deareſt Sa-*
" *viour, that I may remain in thee.*" Upon which he fainted and gave up the Ghoſt. His thus ſeeking his Salvation in *Chriſt alone*, without any other Mediators or Mediation, was thought by ſome to be a tendency towards *Lutheraniſm.* [5] And accordingly *Conſtantin Pontio*, the Emperor's Confeſſor, in whoſe arms he expired, was ſoon after thrown into priſon on ſuſpicion of Hereſie, where he died. For which reaſon the *Inquiſition*, that could proceed no farther againſt his perſon, burnt his effigies; not conſidering, that the puniſhment they inflicted on the Confeſſor, was a diſhonouring the memory of the Emperor.

The Emperor's Confeſſor impriſoned on ſuſpicion of Hereſie, &c.

[6] The Princeſs *Mary*, the Emperor's Siſter, did not ſurvive him a month, dying the 18th of *October* following. His other Siſter, *Eleanora*, died before on the 1ſt of *February*.

About forty Anabaptiſts put to death in the ſame year.

In this year about forty Anabaptiſts fell by the hand of the Executioner; among whom were ſix women; twenty at *Antwerp*, one at *Bruſſels*, one at *Werwijk*, four at *Courtray*, one at *Honſchoten*, two at *Bruges*, ſix at *Tournay*, one at *Leeuwarden*, three at the *Hague*, and one at *Dort*. Among thoſe that were put to death at *Courtray*, was *Daniel Verkampt*; who had been harboured by his Mother, a very ancient woman. The Dean of *Ronſen*, Inquiſitor of *Flanders*, who had examined the Son about his Religion, ſummoned his Mother alſo to appear before him. She was told: *That for harbouring her Son, a Heretick, ſhe had forfeited her life and eſtate, according to the Placard of the Emperor.* To this the poor old Creature thus replied: *My Lords, am I to forfeit life and eſtate for harbouring my own Son, whom I bore in my womb, brought forth with pain, and educated with great trouble and charge*; *who is neither Rogue nor Thief, but was counted the moſt hopeful young man in our Village*; *only becauſe you ſay he is a Heretick? If the Emperor, whoſe Laws you pretend to obſerve, were here preſent, I believe he would ſay, that they are miſapplied, and commend my motherly affection. Indeed, my Lords, you do not act as you ought. If I could have conceived this my Son again, at the inſtant you ſent to ſeize him, have hid him from you in my womb, and have carried him there nine months, and afterwards have endured the ſame pain and trouble in bearing and bringing him up, as I had done before*; *God knows, and you ought alſo to know, how freely I would have undergone it.* This her maternal eloquence ſo moved the

A notable Anſwer of a poor old Woman taken up for concealing her own Son.

[1] Hiſt. Conc. Trid. Lib. VI. *p.* 432.
[2] H. Stevens Apol. pour Herod. *p.* 506.
[3] Vita S. Bernard. Lib. I. cap. XII.
[4] Strada, Lib. I. *p.* 15.
[5] Hooft. Lib. I *p.* 27. Thuan. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 1051, &c. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. Lib. V. *p.* 376, &c. Hiſt. des Mart f. 501.
[6] Thuan. Lib. XXI. *p.* 927.

Anº Domᵐ. 1558. Judges, that they immediately discharged her, but would not be intreated for the Son.

The Anabaptist who was put to death at *Dort*, at this time, had been a Burgomaster at *Menin*, and was fled thither on account of the Persecution. It is thought that his death caused some remorse in his very Judges. Being either suspected or discovered, he had been summoned by the Magistrates to attend them in the Great Church, with intention that he should look upon such a summons as a warning, and so make the best of his way. But his simplicity, and the advice of some of his friends, who too much relied upon the Magistrates, prevailed upon him to appear, where, when he came, he was secured. While he was under confinement, they carried him before the Court of *Holland*, in order to be discharged of him; but that Court inquired into the business, and sent him back to *Dort*, where, after many delays, they were forced to pass sentence of death upon him. The said Sentence being short and remarkable, we thought proper to insert it here word for word, as follows:

The Form of Sentence of Death in case of Heresie.

Whereas George Wippe (for that was his name) born at Menin in Flanders, has presumed to be re-baptized, and has entertained ill Opinions, according to the Evidence that has been given against him before the Magistrates, and his own Confession: He is therefore condemned, to the honour of God, and for an example to the Publick, to be drowned in a barrel, and after that, his body is to be carried to the place of common execution, and there fastened to the Gallows, and his Estate forfeited, and to be brought into the Town's Treasury. Done and declared the 4th of *August* in the year 1558.

But what is still more remarkable, the Hangman, who was to perform this Sentence, refused to do it, saying, that he would rather lay down his Office than be guilty of the death of so good a man; by whose bounty the mouths of his Wife and Children had been often fed and filled; who had often done good to him and others, and never done wrong to any. Thereupon he was remanded back to prison, where he continued seven weeks longer, till at last they caused him to be drowned privately and in the night by another hand.

The Doctrine of the *Reformation* had about this time penetrated into the Northern parts of *Holland*, or the Country commonly called *West-Freesland*. What happened on this account, and which we have more largely related elsewhere, shall be here briefly inserted.

There was at *Enkhusen* a Pastor, or Parish-Priest, named Master *John*, who, for finding fault with some Popish errors, was complained of by the neighbouring Clergy to the Bishop of *Utrecht*, and thereupon summoned before him; but the Magistrates of the Town would not suffer him to appear at the Bishop's Court; and one of them, Burgomaster *John Groot Albertson*, went himself to the Bishop, and asked him: *If he could hear Master* John's *voice as far as* Utrecht? The Bishop was surprized at such a bold question; but after a little farther conversation with the Burgomaster, dismissed the Process against the Pastor.

At another time there was a Meeting of the *Mennonists*, or Anabaptists, of which information was given to the Magistrates; whereupon Burgomaster *Bookgeest*, who lay at that time sick in bed, called his Maid and bad her *go immediately, and warn those people to break up without delay, or they would be all apprehended.* And indeed, upon all occasions, the Magistrates of this Town shewed their moderation in matters of Religion: and whereas in other places people were put to terrible deaths, they spared their Townsmen as much as possible, and punished them only with banishment, small fines, and other easy penalties.

An Account of Cornelius Koltuyn, *Pastor of* Alkmar.

Among those that opposed Popery in the abovementioned Country, there was likewise the Pastor of *Alkmar*, named Master *Cornelius Koltuyn*; of whom I shall relate what happened, out of a certain Letter written with his own hand, before he came to *Enkhusen*; while he was faithfully discharging his Function at *Alkmar*, in the first year of his *Romish* Priesthood, *as far*, says he, *as my* Babylonish *imprisonment could consist with the pure doctrine of the Gospel*: He received Letter upon Letter from *Duncanus*, Dean of the *Hague*, and as such, Inspector of the Pastors, by his *Disciple*, *Nicolas Heynesius*, admonishing him to forbear his new Doctrines, and reproving him for having spoken amiss about the *Consecration of the Palms*, *of the Mass*, *of the Priesthood*, and other Institutions of Holy Church: Being after this called to *Enkhuysen*, and preaching there boldly against the abuses of Popery, he was quickly complained

complained of by ſome Prieſts his enemies, to the Inquiſitor *Ruard Tapper*, and by him cited to the *Hague*, to render an account of his Doctrine: He went thither accompanied by ſeveral Burghers of *Enkhuyſen*, to whom, under God, he was beholden for his preſervation that time: for when he appeared in the Court, he quickly began to deſpair of meeting with juſtice, finding the whole Bench compoſed of ſuſpected perſons, Maſter *Ruard Tapper* being the Preſident; the Paſtor of *the Wood*, Aſſeſſor; *Wolf* of *Utrecht*, Fiſcal or Proſecutor; and the Notary or Clerk, a Servant of the *Inquiſitor*, all of one mind, and all prejudiced againſt him: After they had obliged him to take the Oath of Truth (they call it *Juramentum Calumniæ*) though they took none themſelves, the Fiſcal charged him with thirteen Articles of Hereſie. He refuſed to anſwer to them, inſiſting, according to the legal practice in capital Cauſes, that he might know his Accuſers and the Witneſſes; and flattering himſelf, that he ſhould thereupon eſcape without anſwering: for he knew very well that the Witneſſes, to the number of four or five, and ſome of the principal of the Clergy, were Scoundrels, lewd Fellows, and unworthy of any credit for ſeveral pranks, of which none of the *Enkhuſers* were ignorant. But *Tapper* would not allow his Plea, replying to him: *We believe the Witneſſes, and know them worthy of credit; wherefore anſwer to the Articles, or you ſhall abide with us.* An° Dom. 1558.

Thus he muſt have remained in their hands, (for if he had anſwered right to thoſe who were already prejudiced againſt his Opinions as heretical, it would not have availed him) had not the Burghers of *Enkhuſen* interceded for him with the *Inquiſitor* their Countryman. At their requeſt, this Scourge of Hereticks diſcharged the Court and releaſed their Paſtor, commanding him to amend, unleſs he had a mind to be treated the next time as a relapſed perſon, and merit double puniſhment. Afterwards the Aſſeſſor took him aſide, and adviſed him, as out of Chriſtian Charity, to forſake his errors, and to adhere to the *Romiſh* Church, where he might by his prudent management do much good to his own advantage: *For*, ſays the Aſſeſſor, *as long as you cleave to this ſame* Lutheraniſm, *you will not be able to make any thing of it; you will get infamy, but no honour: you will never ſee good days, nor live at your eaſe, but be always in danger, as it has now happened to you. But if you behave like a true Catholick, you will be highly eſteemed, and live bravely: I will undertake to help you in a little time to a Benefice worth a Hundred Gold Crowns.*

Thus they endeavoured to bring him off both by threats and promiſes. But when he returned to *Enkhuyſen*, and was more and more convinced that theſe things were contrary to true Chriſtianity, and that he ought rather to obey God than Man, he went on in his way as before: Upon which account there was a freſh complaint, conſiſting of ſix or ſeven new Articles, exhibited againſt him by one Maſter *Criſpin*, and one Maſter *Gerard Karſt* of *Harlem*, in a Letter to the Deputy Inquiſitor *Francis Sonnius*. Hereupon he was adviſed by a certain Citizen at the inſtigation (as he ſuſpected) of *Ruard Tapper* at *Bruſſels*, to forbear preaching, being threatened by the ſaid *Sonnius*; notwithſtanding he had convicted *Gerard*, in the ſaid Letter, which had been providentially diſcovered, of falſhood by his own confeſſion, he having charged *Koltuyn* with Articles of the like nature in the names of other perſons, and in counterfeited hands. *Criſpin*, who was alſo conſcious of prevaricating in this matter, fled for it. In the mean while our Paſtor of *Enkhuſen* purſued the advice of Maſter *Ruard*, his Congregation requeſting the ſame thing too, and forbore preaching; inſtead of which he employed himſelf in viſiting the Poor and the Sick. But he was not ſuffered to continue long at reſt; the Letter of the aforeſaid Witneſſes found credit with *Sonnius*, to which was added this freſh charge againſt him: That now he had the opportunities of ſpreading his poiſon more by private inſtructions and exhortations, than ever he had done before in his publick Sermons. For theſe reaſons he was again cited by *Sonnius* before his Tribunal; but the people of *Enkhuſen* would not conſent that he ſhould appear, having now learned experimentally, not only the falſities of his enemies in their accuſations, but likewiſe the arbitrarineſs of their proceedings under a Form of Law: all which convinced them, that if he went, he would never return. Beſides, they obtained by great inſtances and importunity of their Countryman *Tapper*, the chief *Inquiſitor*, a Mandate to *Sonnius*, requiring him to diſmiſs the Cauſe of *Koltuyn*, on condition that he ſhould leave *Enkhuſen*, if he ſtill refuſed to perform the Functions of a good Paſtor; that

An° Dom. 1558.

is: *To defend the Ceremonies of the Church; to preach up Purgatory; to exhort the people to worſhip the Bleſſed Virgin and the reſt of the Saints.* This he would not hearken to, tho' he was adviſed by many of his friends in the ſaid Town, to comply with his enemies in theſe trifles, for ſo they called them, and to keep his Principles to himſelf, for the ſake of all the good he did by his Sermons. To this he replied, that he had already but too much burthened his conſcience in the buſineſs of the Maſs. "We muſt not, *ſaid he*, do evil that good may come of it. "*Paul* requires, that a Miniſter be found faithful. Now I ſhall not be found "faithful, if, whilſt I teach others, I do not learn my ſelf: If I preach con- "trary to the dictates of my own conſcience: If I reprove the ſins againſt the "ſecond Table, and paſs by thoſe againſt the Firſt: If I build up again by my "Actions what I pull down and deſtroy by my Sermons; that is to ſay, if I "preach againſt Idolatry, and at the ſame time exhibit an Idol in the Maſs, with "deſign that the people may fall down and worſhip it: If I teach *Chriſt*, as hav- "ing already obtained an everlaſting Redemption for us by that one Oblation "made to his Father, of his own body on the Croſs, and yet afterwards offer "him up again to the Father by the Sacrifice of the Maſs, to merit freſh "pardon for the ſins both of the Living and of the Dead: If I tell you, that "*Chriſt* inſtituted the Holy Euchariſt with Bread and Wine, in remembrance of "his Death, and for a Seal in our hearts of the Communion of his Body and "Blood, whereby Forgiveneſs of ſins, Juſtification, and Salvation were obtained "for us; and afterwards ſhutting up a Wafer or piece of Bread, carry it about "in a Gold or Silver box, to the end it ſhould be honoured and worſhipped as "whole *Chriſt*, both God and Man: If I teach that *Chriſt* alone has purified us "by his Blood, and that there is no ſalvation without him; and afterwards pre- "tend my ſelf to purge the Dead from their ſins, and to beſtow Heaven upon "them by Holy Water, Incenſe, Vigils, and Maſſes for the ſoul: If I teach that "we are to worſhip God alone, ſince he alone can ſee our hearts, ſince he alone "is our Saviour, and has not given his honour to another; and preſently after, "in the Canon of the Maſs, invoke forty or fifty dead men, and with a loud voice "ſing to *Mary* in the Church, *Come, thou Saviour of the world, and take away our ſins.* "And again. *O* Mary! *command thy Son, that we be not damned. O* Mary! *aſ- "ſiſt us in our tribulation!* If I cry, that none can come to the Father but by "the Son, and therefore that God alone is to be called upon through his name, "who is our only Mediator and Interceſſor; and then go and beg an audience "of God, in the Collects of the Maſs, through the Saints that are dead, and "make the Virgin *Mary* my Interceſſor: For all this treacherous and unfaithful "ſervice, what can I expect elſe, but that *while I preach to others, I my ſelf be- "come a Caſt-away*, and receive my reward with thoſe who ſhall cry to *Chriſt*; "*Lord, Lord, have we not propheſied in thy name, and in thy name caſt out devils, "and wrought many wonders*, according to the dreadful anſwer, *I know you not; "depart from me, ye workers of iniquity?* In theſe matters therefore, my dear "Fellow-Citizens, I muſt not yield to you; but, like ſo many *Satans*, bid you get "you behind me." Having with theſe arguments ſilenced his Tempters, he left them and went away to *Alkmar*, where he ſet himſelf to teach ſchool, and withdrew himſelf from the whole *Romiſh* Church-ſervice, ſave only that he now and then aſſiſted the Paſtors by preaching for them. Hereupon the Attorney-General, Maſter *Chriſtian Ward*, was ſent to *Alkmar* at the inſtigation of *Koltuyn*'s enemies, to procure informations againſt him, which he did. Soon after died there Maſter *Lawrence Zas*, whom *Koltuyn* uſed to call his very learned Maſter, a pious Miniſter of that Town, and a Preacher of *Chriſt*, in whoſe place they choſe *Koltuyn*. But not having ſaid Maſs of a long time, and abſolutely rejecting their *Maſſes*, *Veſpers*, *Vigils*, *Laudamus's* and *Proceſſions*, his Miniſtry was not acceptable to ſome of his people; ſo that he had not been in it above a fortnight, nor preached more than two Sermons, when an Order came from the Vicar of the Biſhop of *Utrecht*, requiring him to forbear. This happened upon the complaint of a few, but conſiderable perſons, who could not endure that he ſhould preach, and not ſay Maſs. It did not ſtop there, for ſince a great many honeſt and well-meaning people, both within and without the Town of *Alkmar*, were excited by his example to enquire more narrowly into matters of Religion, the conſequence of which was their forſaking *Popery*: it ſo increaſed

creaſed the hatred of the Eccleſiaſticks, a fire which cannot be eaſily extinguiſhed, that at laſt the Deputy-Inquiſitor, *Nicolas de Caſtro*, upon ſome new and great complaints, came with his Officers from *Utrecht* to *Alkmar*, with deſign to ſurprize him, and forcibly to carry him away; for which purpoſe he deſired the aſſiſtance of the Sheriff, or *Schout*, as they call him. But *Koltuyn* having been timely warned, left his houſe and fled to *Embden*. After his departure, they endeavoured to perſwade the people of *Enkhuſen* and *Alkmar* that his Doctrines muſt needs be falſe and heretical, becauſe, as ſome of them ſaid, he would not appear and defend them; or becauſe, as others objected, he would not ſtay and die for them; which he ought to have done, had he been aſſured of the Truth of what he taught. But he, to obviate ſeaſonably the ſcandal and offence which ſome of the moſt ſimple might take upon hearing theſe arguments, found it convenient forthwith to publiſh a certain Book formerly written by him, which he intituled, *The Goſpel of the Poor*; in which were contained the chief of thoſe Doctrines for which he was declared a Heretick, perſecuted and excommunicated; and ſent it into *North-Holland*, to the end that the honeſt and unbiaſſed people might themſelves judge of the truth or falſhood of what he had taught. The *Preface* of this Book contained the Letter to his friend *Timothy*, in which, beſides the account he gives of the perſecution of the *Inquiſitors*, from which he had fled, he anſwers the aforeſaid objections. Among other things he ſays: "My not juſtifying my Doctrines againſt thoſe Perſecutors, is no argument of their falſity; for it "is not that I am under any doubt concerning what I myſelf have taught, or that I "could not defend, and prove it to be true, but becauſe they expect I ſhould juſtify "it by the Principles of the new *Romiſh* Doctors, to which it is contrary; and not "by the Holy Scriptures with which it agrees, and by which it may be ſufficiently "defended; from whence I juſtly inferred, that my Doctrines would not be allowed by them to conſiſt with Truth." He farther ſays: "That the Papiſts reject the Word of God, and ſubſtitute in the place of it the Inventions of men; but "not to appear to do it, they perſwade the ſimple and ignorant people that the Scripture is dark, and not to be underſtood by them; that in many places it contradicts "it ſelf, and that therefore the interpretation only belongs to the Church, to whom "*Chriſt* promiſed the Spirit of Truth. They have likewiſe the confidence to aſſert, "that the Church, by which they mean the Pope, is above the Scripture, and that "for this reaſon the Scripture is not to be oppoſed to the Church, but muſt be explained by it. Hence it is, that all that is urged againſt them out of Scripture, "is eſteemed by them as falſified Scripture, and thoſe who build upon it, as Hereticks. This is the reaſon why I did not appear before them, *continues he*, for I "knew very well, that according to this way, I was already condemned of Error "and Hereſie by them; for I ſhould have ſkreened myſelf with the Word of God, "while they alledged the authority of the Church." After this he ſhews from Scripture, and the Writings of the Fathers, "That the real Church of *Chriſt* is not above "the Word of God, but that ſhe ſprang from thence, was founded upon it, and governed "by it. On the contrary, that thoſe whoſe Doctrines were not agreeable to it, were "not of the true Church; and that no body could be juſtly taxed of Error, becauſe he "could obtain no teſtimony to the Truth from ſuch people who were not Judges, but "Oppreſſors of the Truth." He goes on, and ſays: "The Scripture teaches us, that "men ought not to lord it over our Faith. That God will not be ſerved according to "humane inſtitutions. That we muſt neither add to, nor take away any thing from "the Word of God; but all theſe Evils will happen if we do not believe more of "the Goſpel than what men allow us to do, or if we conſent that they ſhall interpret it for us according to their pleaſure." And a little lower: "*Paul* anathematizes not only Men, but Angels alſo, who ſhall preſume to teach any other "Doctrine than what he had preached. By which he plainly gives us to underſtand, "that the Scripture cannot be diſannulled; and that therefore it is not to be wreſted "into a conformity with our opinions, but our opinions are to be framed and modelled according to it." Then again, to ſhow why he did not think it neceſſary to ſtay and ſhed his blood in confirmation of what he had taught, he makes uſe of the following arguments: "Chriſt did not command his Apoſtles that "they ſhould raſhly ſtay to be impriſoned or murdered by their enemies; but that "they ſhould fly to another City when they were perſecuted in this. So did our Saviour himſelf, and before him the Prophets, and after him the Diſciples did frequently

An° Dom. 1558.

"quently

An° Dom. 1558. "quently the ſame. This Command therefore concerns me too, and theſe examples "are for my inſtruction. In caſe I ſhould be ſurprized, then indeed I ought not to "recant my true Doctrine, but confirm the ſame with my blood; but to expoſe "myſelf to dangers which I can avoid, and that without any impulſe of the Spirit, "and againſt *Chriſt*'s expreſs command, does not appear to me to be courage, but "preſumption; and I ſhould not thereby pleaſe, but anger my God, who poſſibly "has provided otherwiſe for me; at leaſt I ought to think ſo, ſince he has not ſuf-"fered me to be ſurprized or overtaken; but has vouchſafed, juſt when I was at the "brink of deſtruction, to warn me by his Meſſenger of the approach of my enemies, "and furniſhed me with proper means to eſcape the ſnare they laid for me." Then he quotes the ſaying of *Syrach: He that loves danger ſhall periſh in it*; and the example of *Peter*, who by preſumptuouſly running himſelf into danger, fell into the great ſin of forſaking and forſwearing his Maſter: To which he ſubjoins, "My Ad-"verſaries themſelves will not agree, that all thoſe Doctrines are orthodox, whoſe "Propagators have ſpilt their blood for them: Otherwiſe they muſt be forced to "own, that the Doctrines of *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, who were burnt at "*Conſtance* for Hereſie, were true. As alſo the Doctrines of *Johannes van Woerden*, "and *Angelus van Henſleet*, that have died for the ſame in our days. This they "will by no means acknowledge; for the conſequence would be, that theſe brave "men were real Witneſſes to the Truth, and Martyrs for *Jeſus Chriſt*, and that their "Doctors and Biſhops were Perſecutors of the Truth and Murderers of *Chriſtians*.

Then he maintains, that people ought only to judge of his Doctrines from the teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt, as revealed in Scripture; and that what he propoſed in his little Tract, called, *The Goſpel of the Poor*, was ſupported by Scripture and Scriptural Writers, not only of former Ages, but of the preſent Times, whoſe names he would conceal, on account of the wickedneſs of the Age. "And if, "*continues he*, I have in any wiſe offended through inadvertency, or erred for want "of judgment, I beſeech you to bear with me out of charity, as I addreſs this Book "to you out of love, remembring that I am a man, and not a God; and that I have "therein propoſed my Confeſſion not as Scripture, but as ſcriptural, and to be "judged of by the Word of God.

1559. This Letter bears date the 12th of *January* 1559. Soon after his flight, his Goods at *Alkmar* were declared forfeited, and ſeized for the King's uſe. After that, he was called to a Church at *Embden*, which he accepted, and ſerved with much edification.

Not long after *Koltuyn*'s departure, one *John Buidelmaker*, an inhabitant of *Alkmar*, fell into trouble at *Enkhuſen*, for having bought ſome of the ſaid Paſtor's little Tracts, and diſperſed them among the people. This ſmelt of Hereſy, as the *Schout* imagined, and ran counter to the Ordinances of the Church, and the *Chriſtian* Faith; who therefore inſiſted, that he had incurred Capital puniſhment, according to the tenour of the Placards. The accuſed perſon urged in his defence, that he did not know that the ſaid Books were heretical; that he had not read them, but only bought them incautiouſly, in order to get his bread by them; and beſides, that thoſe Books were not yet forbidden, nor ſo much as charged with Hereſy: Hereupon he was baniſhed for ever out of the Town.

A zealous Perſecutor falls into Deſpair, and dies.

About this time one of the Magiſtrates at *Antwerp*, named *Gaſpar de Realme*, while he was ſitting in the Court, and zealouſly aſſiſting at the condemnation of ſome perſons on account of Religion, was ſtruck at heart, and being ſelf-condemned and in a deſpairing condition, carried home, where he died of a Feaver, raving and crying, *That he had been guilty of ſhedding innocent blood.*

Great Rewards for diſcovering Hereticks.

At *Antwerp* likewiſe, for the better detection of Hereticks, the Government ſet eight hundred Gilders on the head of a Miniſter, and fifty on that of an Elder, Deacon, or other Officer of the Proteſtant Conventicles. Thus the cruelty of Perſecution was ſtrengthened with the hopes of gain. [1] But in the execution of their bloody Sentences they met with difficulties that gradually increaſed upon them; for the conſtancy of the Sufferers excited ſuch compaſſion in the minds of the people, ſo frequently eye-witneſſes of it, that many of them did not ſcruple openly to pity and comfort the poor Creatures as they were leading to the ſtake. So that when ſome

[1] Hooft's *Hiſt.* p 38, &c. Weſenb *p.* 16. Meteren. *p.* 33.

of them being apprehended in the fact, were preſently ſentenced to the ſame puniſhment, it did ſo little terrify thoſe who were perſwaded, that this cruel, indeed, but ſhort pain, was the ſure way to eternal bliſs, that as their Companions were going to die, they all joined with them in ſinging Pſalms as loud as they could, and in ſuch numbers as rendered it unſafe to ſeize them. Anº Domᵢ. 1559.

At laſt it came ſo far, that whole Bodies and Communities of thoſe that were accounted Hereticks, loſing all patience, broke out into open tumults, and in ſeveral places forced the condemned perſons out of the hands of the Executioner, or at leaſt attempted to do it. *The people reſcue condemned perſons from death.*

When *Adrian* the Painter, who was betrayed by the zeal of his own Father, and *Henry Bokhalt* a Taylor, Elders of the Secret Meeting, were leading to the ſtake at *Antwerp*, on the 19th of *January* 1559, in order to be ſtrangled and burnt, they cried out: *We do not ſuffer for any crime or diſhoneſt action, but only for the confeſſion of the true Doctrine of the Goſpel.* And the Officers making a great noiſe to hinder their being heard, there aroſe ſuch a tumult among the people, that the whole multitude as it were with one mouth, cried out, *Knock them down; kill them*, &c. Thereupon all the houſes and ſhops were immediately ſhut for fear of plundering, the Hangman fled, the *Schout* ſheltered him ſelf in a Church, and the Marquis of *Antwerp* knew not which way to turn: at laſt, however, the uproar was appeaſed, and the ſentence executed.

There had like to have happened ſuch another tumult at *Amſterdam* the month following, when *Cornelius Halewin*, a Lockſmith, and *Herman Janſon*, a Turner, were going to be put to death.

A little before, *Baldwin le Heu* had been beheaded at *Bruſſels* under the Gallows early in the morning, to avoid the concourſe of the people. Some months after, one *Thomas Muſtard* ſuffered alſo by fire at *Valenciennes*, for ſpeaking againſt the Maſs.

The number of *Anabaptiſts* who loſt their lives this year on account of their Religion, amounted to about forty perſons; eighteen of whom periſhed at *Antwerp*, two at *Maeſtricht*, twelve at *Gant*, three at *Courtray*, one at *Waſteen*, one at *Geerſleet*, and three at *Leeuwarden*; and of the whole, nineteen were women. Some were examined concerning their Faith by the Inquiſitors, and particularly by the Dean of *Ronſen*, who for his zeal was nicknamed *Saul*. It is related of this Inquiſitor, that his manner was to go about the Town, attended only with a couple of ſervants, to ſearch for ſuſpected people, eſpecially for *Anabaptiſts*, and to take them up; and that being met one time by the *Red-Rod*, an Officer of Juſtice ſo called, and aſked, *How he durſt venture, ſo ſlenderly attended, to apprehend thoſe Hereticks; whereas I cannot exerciſe my Office*, ſaid he, *but at the peril of my life, though attended with a great many ſervants, and all of us well armed?* The Dean replied; *I have nothing to fear, for my buſineſs is only to take good people, who bear no arms, nor make any reſiſtance.* Then ſaid the *Red Rod: If this be the caſe, that you are to take all the good men, and I the bad, we ſhall ſtock the priſons bravely between us.* *A good ſtory of a zealous Inquiſitor.*

About this time, one *John*, a Glaſier, who was impriſoned and condemned to die on account of his Religion, writ a Letter to his Wife, out of which, what I am relating is an extract, and repreſented to her the duty of a Widow, and how God, the Huſband of Widows, ſupports and provides for them. For which reaſon he recommended her and her Children to the Providence of the Almighty; at the ſame time declaring, that his Faith was ſo well ſettled, that he would not depart from one ſingle Article of it, though his Perſecutors ſhould quarter him for it: *Yea, though they ſhould ſet open the Priſon-door*, (theſe are his words) *and ſay to me, Get you gone, we will ſay you have recanted, only do you hold your peace; I would rather die than be guilty of this diſſimulation.*

The Poets and Rhetoricians did not a little contribute to the Work of *Reformation*, and to the prejudice of Popery, which the *Heer Hooft* deſcribes in the following terms: *The Reformation promoted by the Poets, &c.*

" The writing in Metre and Rhime, was an ancient practice in almoſt all the *Dutch*
" Towns and Villages; for the improvement of which the beſt and moſt facetious
" Wits had their meetings in ſuch places as were allowed by the reſpective Magi-
" ſtrate. Their cuſtom was, not only to write Poems, and to hand them about,
" but likewiſe to act publickly a ſort of Drolls or Plays, in which they ſometimes
" merrily, and at other times more gravely reproved Mens Vices, and inſinuated
" their Duties. Theſe edifying diverſions, whilſt reſtrained by the Government

" within

An° Dom. 1559. " within due bounds, were of no ſmall uſe to bridle and ſway the minds of the vul-
" gar; neither has the Magiſtrate any means more powerful than this, to bring the
" people into a quiet and laſting ſubjection, nor to maintain their own authority
" againſt the incroachments of the Eccleſiaſticks; **ſince it ſeems to be decreed that**
" **the Clergy muſt oppoſe all Governments that will not be led by the noſe by them.**
" Nor can any man pretend by diſperſing Books and Papers among the people, to cope
" with, or ballance the efficacy of a ſmooth tongue, which in one hour will talk
" down a vaſt number of them at once, and which has other methods beſides to in-
" ſinuate into their minds the affections and paſſions of their Paſtor.

" However, theſe Verſifiers did not ſcruple, as often as an occaſion offered, (and
" they frequently met with too good opportunities) to hit the Prieſts on the ſore
" place; and not only to ridicule their groſs abuſes, but alſo to expoſe and render
" very odious the ſeverity of their Perſecutions. This pleaſed the people, and the
" more the Clergy winced at it, the more they convinced the world that they knew
" themſelves to be in the wrong. In the mean while the Great ones laughed in their
" ſleeves, and connived at it all, in hopes that in proportion as the Church loſt
" ground the State would get it, and things would be managed with better tem-
" per.

A Placard againſt ridiculing the Church by Drolls, &c.

But *Philip* had other views; and by a Placard publiſhed on the 26th of *January*, in the year 1559, he forbad all Shows or Interludes, and all Acting, Singing or Rehearſing either in publick or private, Drolls, Farces, Plays, Songs, Ballads, Proverbs, or the like —— wherein any mention was made, or any Propoſitions or Queſtions ſtarted about the Church, or any Religious matters —— And as for thoſe Plays that might be acted for the honour of God, or of his Saints, or for the diverſion of the people, they were not to be acted till they had been firſt examined by the principal Paſtors, Officers, or Magiſtrate of the reſpective places, and till due Leave and Licence had been obtained of them —— This was likewiſe extended to that kind of Plays which were called *Dumb-ſhows*. And the whole was upon pain of being arbitrarily, exemplarily, and ſeverely puniſhed.

In the ſaid Placard were the following expreſſions: **That it was not fit to profane the ſacred Myſteries, nor abuſe the Holy Scriptures, by confounding them with worldly and ludicrous matters; whereas they ought always to be treated with reſpect and reverence in ſuch places, by ſuch perſons, and at ſuch times as ſhould be appointed.**

[1] The War with *France* ended this year, and the Peace was concluded at *Chateau* in *Cambreſis*, the 3d of *April*; by which it was ſtipulated, that all the Towns and Places taken on either ſide within eight years ſhould return to their reſpective owners. In conſequence of which the *French* were obliged to quit one hundred ninety eight garriſoned Forts, and to deliver them all up to the *Spaniards* within three months: King *Philip* was to do the like in the ſpace of one month after, and in the mean while give ſuch Hoſtages as *France* ſhould require. The choice fell upon the Dukes of *Alva* and *Arſchot*, the Prince of *Orange* and the Count of *Egmont*.

To render this Peace more ſolid and laſting, *Philip* was to marry *Iſabella* the eldeſt Daughter of *France*, and who would be his third Wife (his firſt being the Princeſs *Mary* of *Portugal*, who died in 1545; and his ſecond, *Mary* Queen of *England*, that died the 17th of *November* 1558.) and *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*, was to marry *Margaret* King *Henry*'s Siſter, [2] *Both Kings engaged themſelves after having compoſed their domeſtick troubles, heartily to promote the calling and meeting of a lawful Council, for the honour of God, and for quieting the conſciences of their people.* This was one point of the Accommodation. But beſides this, it was privately agreed, at the inſtigation of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Biſhop of *Arras*, *Antony Perenot de Granville*, between both the ſaid Kings, how they might moſt effectually extirpate all ſuch as were ſuſpected of Hereſie in the *Low-Countries*, *France*, and throughout all *Chriſtendom*. But King *Henry* one time in hunting diſcloſed this ſecret to *William* Prince of *Orange*, one of the Hoſtages, ſuppoſing that King *Philip* had before intruſted him with it. This gave an opportunity afterwards to the *Reformed* in *France*, and thoſe of the ſame perſwaſion here, to take meaſures for ſecuring themſelves againſt thoſe wicked Machinations.

[1] Hooft. *p.* 19, &c. Chron. Van Veer. *p.* 248.
[2] Hiſt. Con. Trid. 373. Thuan. 998, 1010. Bentivogl. 15, &c. Hooft. 162, 724. Apol. Pr. Or. 53. Strada. 79.

1 On the 11th of *March*, this ſame year, died at *Bruſſels* the ſo frequently mentioned *Ruard Tapper* of *Enkhuſen*, Dean of *Louvain*, and Grand Inquiſitor of the *Low-Countries*, in the 71ſt year of his age. He was highly eſteemed by all the violent Papiſts, on account of his fierce zeal againſt the pretended *Hereticks*; but the more moderate deteſted his Cruelties. Beſides what we meet with in Hiſtory concerning his ſpite againſt the old Paſtor *Merula*, and others, it is further related of him, that when in the year 1543, there was ſpilt ſo much innocent blood at *Louvain* by his inſtigation, he framed a vile Plot againſt *Perſevald* of *Bruges*, a Licentiat in Divinity, of the Univerſity of the ſaid Town. This perſon allowing his tongue a little too much liberty againſt the Doctors of *Louvain*, was cited to appear before the Inquiſitor, where the poor man, blind and deformed, was charged with the ſin of Sodomy. Thereupon no body daring to ſay a word in his favour, and he alſo refuſing to own himſelf guilty, or teſtify any ſorrow for his pretended crime, *Ruard* took the opportunity to condemn him to a perpetual impriſonment. But being informed ſome time after that he was ready to periſh with hunger, and that the price of his Library was not ſufficient to furniſh him with bread, he bethought himſelf of another ſtratagem; and to the end he might receive no prejudice by his life, nor diſgrace by his death, he gave him into the cuſtody of a Gentleman who had interceded for him, whom afterwards pretending to ſuſpect of Hereſie, he brought into his Court, and there confiſcated all his Eſtate. An° Dom. 1559.

It is likewiſe reported of this Inquiſitor, that ſpeaking one day about putting men to death for Religion, he uſed theſe words: *It is no great matter whether they that die on this account be guilty or innocent, provided we terrify the people by ſuch examples; which generally ſucceeds beſt, when perſons eminent for Learning, Riches, Nobility or High Stations, are thus ſacrificed. And this,* as he thought, *was chiefly requiſite at* Amſterdam. The three Books intitled, *Expoſitions on the Articles of Louvain*, written by him, were publiſhed by the Divines of that place together. In theſe were quoted whole Chapters out of the Works of *Melanchon* and *Calvin*; ſo that what was moſt ſeverely prohibited by the Placards might be ſafely read in *Tapper*'s Books. Wherefore when this *Inquiſitor* ſaid, by way of complaint, one day to the Preſident *Viglius: That the remiſſneſs of the Civil Magiſtrates in the execution of the Placards, was the cauſe that the Hereticks increaſed ſo much in the Low-Countries.* The Preſident denied it, ſaying, *That it was his and his Brethrens fault.* At which *Tapper* falling into a paſſion, *Viglius* proceeded thus: *The Heretical Doctrines which we forbid upon heavy penalties, you divulge in the Books you write, and which are publiſhed by Licence or Privilege. Tapper* anſwered: *We add the Confutations at the ſame time.* But the Preſident concluded the Dialogue with the following words: *I know that very well; but the Readers who nicely obſerve the Arguments of our adverſaries, do not peruſe the Confutations with that attention which they ought, or elſe do not ſufficiently underſtand them.* He durſt not ſay that ſuch Confutations were not ſtrong enough. It was with ſuch diſcourſes as theſe, in order to invigorate the Perſecutions, that Maſter *Ruard* did often moleſt and teaſe the Governours of our Country, and even the Emperor himſelf. But his indiſcreet zeal turned at laſt to his own hurt. It happened in this year, that he coming to *Bruſſels*, deſired an audience of the King: his buſineſs was to procure another bloody Placard. He flattered himſelf that he ſhould meet with as eaſie acceſs to the Son King *Philip*, as he uſed to find with the Father. But they made him wait a great while in an Antichamber; when loſing all patience, he preſſed forwards, according to his uſual cuſtom, through the Guards quite into the King's preſence, who did not anſwer him to his mind, but made him preſently withdraw. This treatment ſo enraged him, that ſcolding and curſing the Council, and foaming and gnaſhing with his teeth, he retired to the houſe of the above-mentioned Preſident *Viglius*, where he fell down, and never returned more to his ſenſes, nor his houſe.

That this unmannerlineſs of the *Inquiſitor* met with ſo rough a return from the King, will not ſeem ſtrange to thoſe that ſhall be informed, that *Philip* never received his beſt and greateſt Subjects with that ſweetneſs of temper ſo peculiar to the Emperor *Charles*, and which he was wont to ſhew to every body; whereas the Son was both moroſe and taciturn. And indeed the *Spaniſh* haughtineſs was ſo deeply implanted in his heart

[1] Val. And. Bib. Belg. *p.* 708, &c, Apotheoſ. R. Tapper. *f.* 37, 63.

An° Dom. 1559. heart by nature and education [1], that it is related of him, that even in his childiſh years, when his Father, on a certain time made his entry into *Antwerp*, and was received with great reſpect and honour by the Magiſtrates and all the People, he beheld it all without once moving his *Bonnet:* which ſo provoked the Emperor, that he gave him a good box on the ear in the preſence of them all, ſaying, *Did* Vives *teach you theſe Manners?* For *Johannes Ludovicus Vives*, that learned Scholar of our great *Eraſmus*, was the Preceptor of King *Philip* the Second.

[1] C. Barlæi Epiſt. *p.* 557.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK V.

IN the mean time the King reſolved to take a journey to *Spain*; and the rather, becauſe what was called *Hereſie* had taken root even there, and began to ſpring up apace. Wherefore to preſerve peace and order, during his abſence, he committed the Government of the *Netherlands* to his illegitimate Siſter *Margaret*, Dutcheſs of *Parma:* He made the Prince of *Orange*, Statholder of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Utrecht*, and afterwards of the County of *Burgundy:* To the Count of *Egmont* he allotted *Flanders* and the *Artois:* To *John* of *Montmorency* Lord of *Couſieres*, *Liſle*, *Douay*, and *Orchies*, or what is called the *Walloon-Flanders:* To the Count of *Arenberg*, *Freeſland*, *Over-Yſſel*, *Groningen*, and *Lingen:* To the Count of *Mansfield*, *Luxemburg:* To the Count of *Barlemont*, *Namure:* To Count *John* of *Eaſt-Freeſland*, *Limburg:* To *John van Lanoy* Lord of *Molembais*, and after his death to *John van Glimes*, his Son-in-law and Marquis of *Bergen-op-zoom*, the County of *Hainault:* To the Lord of *Montigny*, *Tournay* and its Diſtricts: and laſtly, *Gelderland* and *Zutphen*, to *Charles van Brimen*, Count of *Megen.*

AN° DOM. 1559. *King* Philip *reſolves on a Voyage to* Spain.

The Lady Margaret, *Dutcheſs of* Parma, *made Governeſs of the* Netherlands.

And, ſince *Philip* had no greater concern, nor any thing more at heart than the buſineſs of Religion; and his perplexity on that account daily increaſed, by reaſon of the dealings and commerce between the *Netherlands* and ſuch of their neighbours as had ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*; he gave the Dutcheſs, as ſoon as ſhe arrived from *Italy*, and alſo to the Privy Council, a ſtrict charge to put in execution all the Placards or Decrees made both by his Father, the late Emperor, and himſelf. [1] And one day he even went on purpoſe to the great Council at *Mechlen*, and after that to the Meeting of the States in *Flanders*, to recommend to them the extirpation of *Hereſie*, by word of mouth: Letters were alſo diſpatched to all the Statholders and Governours of particular Provinces, ſtrictly charging them, [2] *not to admit any excuſes tending to exempt men from the rigour of the aforementioned Placards, of which he had not conſtituted them Judges, in order to explain or moderate them, but punctually and literally to put them in execution:* declaring farther, *that all ſuch Magiſtrates as appeared cool or remiſs in the buſineſs of Religion, ſhould be held as ſuſpected, and proceeded againſt accordingly; and that none ſhould be choſen, or admitted into any place of truſt, that were infected or branded with any kind of Hereſie, or ſuſpected to be guilty of the ſame.*

[1] Hooft *p.* 24. [2] Bor. Lib. I. *p.* 16.

An° Dom. 1559.

And to the end that mens minds might be kept the more in awe, not only by ſubſequent puniſhments, but likewiſe by a ſevere diſcipline, he introduced ſeveral new Rules into the Univerſity of *Louvain*, with reſpect to the Canon and Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

He likewiſe founded a Univerſity at *Douay*, where the people ſpeak *French*; that he might ſave his Subjects the trouble and charge of ſending their Children to ſtudy or to learn that Language abroad, and prevent, at the ſame time, the danger of Heretical Infections.

And being alſo convinced in his Conſcience how much the irregular lives of the Clergy tended to increaſe the peoples averſion to the Church of *Rome*, he earneſtly promoted the aſſembling a General Council at *Trent*, ſending thither, for the ſaid purpoſe, ſeveral Prelates, Divines, and perſons of the greateſt Fame and Learning, whom he maintained at no ſmall charge: [1] Obſerving too that the Sees of the Archbiſhops were all out of the bounds of his Juriſdiction, he began to be offended at it, ſince it tended to ſkreen them from being obliged to the exerciſe of their Functions in ſuch a manner as the ſtate of Religion required. And even the Biſhops, whoſe Sees were within his Dominions were not, as he thought, equal to their labour, by reaſon of the multitude and increaſe of people within their reſpective Dioceſes: wherefore he found it neceſſary to apply to the Pope, that all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, to whom the care of his Peoples ſouls was committed, might be obliged to reſide in his Dominions, and that the number of Biſhops might bear proportion to that of his Subjects. This ſome think had been formerly recommended to him by his Father the Emperor, and that the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Philip the Good*, had himſelf projected the ſame thing.

For theſe purpoſes, as was pretended, *Francis Sonnius*, whom we have often had occaſion to mention, was ſent to *Rome*. But this project was to have produced much greater effects; and deep myſteries of State were cloaked under the care of Religion. Beſides all this, the States General of the *Netherlands* were appointed to meet the enſuing *Auguſt* at *Gant*, where the Dutcheſs of *Parma* was introduced and recognized as their Governeſs; to whom and to the States was moſt earneſtly and ſtrictly recommended, in a Speech which the Biſhop of *Arras* made to her, the defence of the Doctrines of the *Romiſh* Church, and the extirpation of Hereſie, which he ſtiled *a Monſter of Impiety and Sedition.* To this was anſwered on behalf of the States, that they would exactly comply with the Charge which he was pleaſed to give them; but before they ſeparated, many of them could not forbear to ſhow their fears and uneaſineſs about the deſigns of re-eſtabliſhing the *Inquiſition*; ſome declared plainly, *That the* Low-Countries *were not accuſtomed to ſuch a yoke, and that they even trembled at the name of it: That the evil of Hereſie might be cured by much ſofter methods than thoſe of fire and ſword: That as all the Members of the human body had their particular uſes and properties, ſo had every nation its peculiar diſpoſitions and humours: That the Laws and Cuſtoms which were calculated for* Spain *or* Italy, *could by no means be adapted to the* Netherlands, *no more than to other northern Countries, which were more addicted to liberty than the ſouthern.* By theſe and ſuch like Speeches, which they found means to convey to the King's ears, they would fain have got rid of thoſe terrible Placards, or at leaſt have moderated and ſoftened them; but he would not liſten to their Remonſtrances: nay, when one of his Miniſters ventured to repreſent to him, that by ſuch ſeverities he ran a riſque of loſing perhaps all the *Low-Countries*, or at leaſt a good part of them, his anſwer was, [2] *He would rather be deprived of all his Dominions, than peaceably poſſeſs them with Hereſie.*

New Fears and Jealouſies of a Deſign to introduce the Spaniſh *Inquiſition.*

Private Orders given to the Prince of Orange.

[3] And when he went on board the Fleet at *Fluſhing*, which was to carry him to *Spain*, he even commanded the Prince of *Orange* to put to death certain honourable perſons that were ſuſpected of Hereſie; but that Prince knowing that he could not obey him with a ſafe conſcience, gave them private notice of it.

King Philip *arrives in* Spain.

Philip in the mean while, ſailing with a good wind, arrived in fourteen days at *Laredo* in *Biſcay*; but a Storm ariſing, he landed not without great difficulty, moſt of his Fleet periſhing in the Bay. Upon this occaſion he gave out that his perſon had been ſpared by the peculiar care of Heaven, to the end that he might promote the

[1] Strada. I. *p.* 93. [2] Bentivogl. *p.* 27. [3] *Apology for the Prince of* Orange.

Glory of God, by the extirpation of Hereſie; which work he alſo immediately ſet about. An° Dom. 1559.

1 Accordingly all thoſe who had been clapped up in the priſons of the *Inquiſition* on account of Religion, and who were uſually executed as ſoon as ſentence was paſſed, were now, contrary to cuſtom, reſpited, and afterwards brought together at *Sevil* and *Valladolid*, in order to entertain him with the ſpectacle of their dreadful agonies in the midſt of fiery torments, as if it had been ſome noble and diverting fight. Whether it was that the *Inquiſitors* themſelves had a mind to gratifie their cruel diſpoſitions, or to accommodate themſelves to that of the King; or whether he was inclined by his own preſence to ingroſs to himſelf the honour of this notable piece of work, as if it had been ſome glorious victory; or, laſtly, whether by this horrible butchery of ſo many poor wretches at once, he endeavoured to make himſelf feared, and to fill the hearts of his Subjects with invincible terrors, is uncertain. But the pomp, which was more like a theatrical Repreſentation than a ſolemn and mournful *Act of Faith*, (as the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* term it) by which men of note and good fame, and ſimple women, and others ſcarce at age, were hurried to the ſtake for nothing but meer differences in Opinion, produced tears and ſighs for the unmercifulneſs of the actors, and was more apt to excite anger and deteſtation than reverence and dejection, eſpecially in ſuch people as the *Dutch*, who were uſed to be led but not driven.

His Zeal and Severities againſt the reputed Heretricks.

About this time appeared the Bull concerning the new Biſhops, which had been granted by Pope *Paul* IV. on the 19th of *May* the former year, and confirmed by *Pius* IV. on the 8th of *January* 1560. Hereby were erected three Archbiſhopricks, of which that of *Mechelen* was the principal, and had under its juriſdiction ſix Biſhopricks, *viz*, *Antwerp*, *Bois le Duc*, *Ruremond*, *Gant*, and *Ypres*. The ſecond was of *Cambray*, under which were placed four Biſhopricks as *Tournay*, *Arras*, *St. Omer*, and *Namure*. The third and laſt was that of *Utrecht*, having under it five Biſhopricks, to wit, *Harlem*, *Midelburg*, *Leeuwarden*, *Groningen*, and *Deventer*.

New Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks erected in the Netherlands.

2 By this Conſtitution the Archbiſhops of *Cologn* in *Germany*, of *Reims* in *France*, and the Biſhop of *Liege*, loſt their Rights and Spiritual Juriſdictions over the aforeſaid Biſhopricks.

The Right of Election in order to fill theſe Sees, was granted to the King, but the Confirmation reſerved to the Pope.

3 It was at the ſame time rumoured, that in the ſaid Bull the Pope had declared that the *Netherlanders*, being in a manner ſurrounded and beſieged by Nations who had torn themſelves off from the *Romiſh* Church, and were in open Rebellion againſt him the Head of it; were therefore in danger of falling away from the Faith, on account of the ſnares and deceits of the Secretaries, unleſs new and watchful *Overſeers* were oppoſed againſt them.

In the ſaid Bull it was likewiſe ſpecified, that every Biſhop might beſtow nine Prebends in his Church, and that the reſpective Canons on whom they ſhould be conferred, ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt him in the buſineſs of the *Inquiſition*, and promote the ſame throughout the Dioceſe; and not only ſo, but that two of the ſaid nine were themſelves to be *Inquiſitors*. From hence men gathered, that the ſo terrible and odious *Inquiſition*, which could not be introduced openly, was now to creep in by a round about way with the help of the abovementioned Biſhops.

4 But when it was known, that *Anthony Perrenot de Granville* had the Archbiſhoprick of *Mechelen* conferred upon him, and that the Pope had ſent him a Red Hat, people began to ſee a little deeper into the deſigns of theſe Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Myſteries; and the general cry was, *This is a* Spaniſh *plot to overturn the Liberties of our Nation, to ſubdue and inſlave the States of the Land, and to treat them as thoſe of* Naples *and* Milan *have been uſed already; the foundation on which it is raiſed being an illegal and deſpotical power of the* Inquiſition, *at the head of which is the Cardinal himſelf, and every Biſhop under him in his reſpective See.*

Anthony Perrenot de Granville *made Archbiſhop of* Mechelen *and Cardinal.*

This occaſions yet greater jealouſies and ſome oppoſition both from Clergy and Laity.

To this they added, That *ſince ſeveral Convents were joined to theſe new Biſhopricks for their ſupport, it was ſufficiently evident, that not only Prelates and other Eccleſiaſticks*

[1] Hooft I. *p.* 27. Thuan. XXIII *p.* 1050. Bor. I. *p.* 16. Conc. Trid. V. *p.* 376. Hiſt des Martyrs, VIII. *p.* 495.
[2] Hooft I. *p.* 28. Weſenb *p.* 26.
[3] Hiſt. Conc. Trid. V. *p.* 373.
[4] Weſenb. *p.* 23. Apol. Pr. Or. *p.* 93. Hooft. *p.* 29.

An° Dom. 1559. *ſiaſticks were to be brought under this yoke, but alſo the Gentry and Commonalty; foraſmuch as in ſeveral places, and particularly in* Brabant, *the Prelates were the firſt Members of the States. For the Biſhops being often Foreigners, and therefore by the Conſtitution excluded from the Government, and being always bound by their Oaths to the Pope (a matter which affected the King himſelf) had yet a right to ſit in the Aſſembly of the States, as Prelates in regard to their Convents; and preſiding there, and overawing others, they would either diſtort or curtail the Liberties of the people: and as they would all of them be under the influence of the Cardinal, as their Archbiſhop, ſo the whole authority would center in him, who would likewiſe be the firſt of the Prelates on account of the Abbey of* Aflegem, *which is the chiefeſt among the Convents of* Brabant, *as* Brabant *it ſelf is the chiefeſt among the Provinces. And foraſmuch as the Cardinal was devoted to the* Spaniards *and their* Inquiſition, *nothing leſs could be expected than that the whole management of affairs would fall into their hands.*

But when afterwards ſeveral of theſe new Biſhops were entering on the poſſeſſion of the Lands and Demeſnes of the Religious Houſes annexed to their Sees, thoſe to whom they had belonged, eſpecially the Abbeys of *Aflegem*, *St. Bernard*, and *Tongerloo*, in *Brabant*, oppoſed them ſtoutly, alledging, That the alienating their Eſtates was an invaſion of their Privileges, which the King had ſworn to maintain, and incompatible with the deſign and intention of their Founders. And to ſhow how well grounded theſe their Privileges were, they ſought for the ſupport of learned men in all parts, and beſtowed in Fees and other charges, among the Lawyers of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, about thirty thouſand Gilders: and meeting with but little encouragement elſewhere, they deſired leave to have their Cauſe tried in the Courts of Juſtice, but were not allowed to bring it thither. [1] In fine, deſpairing to keep all, they thought they ſhould make a good bargain of it, if, by giving up a part of their Poſſeſſions, they could ſecure the reſt to themſelves; and ſo they agreed to allow the Archbiſhop eight thouſand Gilders *per Annum*, to be delivered from farther vexations. The King likewiſe obliged himſelf to procure a Bull of the Pope to ſuffer them to proceed in the choice of new Abbots; the old ones dying whilſt theſe diſputes were depending.

However, as theſe innovations did not only concern the Clergy, but the Laity too, the latter joined themſelves with the former in defence of the old Conſtitution, ſtriving (if they could do no more) at leaſt, to prevent the erecting of more than one Biſhoprick, to wit, that of *Louvain*.

Particularly from the Magiſtrates of Antwerp, &c.

The Magiſtrates of *Antwerp* being likewiſe apprehenſive of loſing their Trade, in caſe a Biſhop ſhould be planted among them (the infallible fruit of which would be the *Inquiſition*) uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent it. [2] They at laſt prevailed ſo far, by the importunity of their Deputies, whom they ſent to *Spain* on purpoſe, that the King promiſed to ſecure them from a Biſhop till he ſhould return into the *Low-Countries*.

The Succeſs.

The ſtorm being thus averted from *Antwerp*, the whole Project was defeated, and the reſt of the Cities flattered themſelves, that they ſhould continue to enjoy their common Privileges. [3] Wherefore *Ruremond*, *Deventer*, *Groningen*, and *Leeuwarden* turned their Biſhops out of doors; but, however, there were Biſhops eſtabliſhed at *Ypres*, *Bruges*, *Namure*, *St. Omer*, *Harlem* and *Bois-le-Duc*, as well as an Archbiſhop at *Mechelen*; though in ſome places their welcome was ſo cold, and their authority ſo ſmall, that ſcarce any notice was taken of them.

In other parts the thing was not ſo much oppoſed as the perſons whom the Government had placed in the Sees; there not having been uſed ſo cautious and prudent management as ought to have been, in clearing the way by the nomination of men of ſuch mildneſs and temper as might be acceptable to the people.

The defeating of this attempt much heartened as well thoſe that had withdrawn themſelves from the Church of *Rome*, as thoſe that only oppoſed the *Inquiſition*, and the bloody Placards upon which it was founded; and they likewiſe flattered themſelves that the *Spaniſh* intereſt declining, they had now a fair chance of returning from theſe dreadful ſtorms into a ſafe and peaceful haven.

Hereupon the new Sects began to lift up their heads, and the number of their Proſelytes increaſed proportionably as their fears abated; many going over to them before they

[1] Hooft. *p.* 37. Weſenb. *p.* 36. [2] Strada. *p.* 136. [3] Bor. *p.* 187, &c.

they well underſtood what they profeſſed; and the more readily perhaps for that very reaſon. However, moſt of thoſe that ſuffered for Religion were better grounded in the Principles of their Faith; being convinced of the neceſſity of a *Reformation*, and the weighty reaſons of forſaking Popery. An° Dom. 1559.

1 From the new Biſhops who were to be eſtabliſhed (as the Prince of *Orange* ſays in his Apology) becauſe they were to ſerve for Inquiſitors and Tormentors of Conſciences, we ſhall now return to thoſe that were perſecuted about this time: among whom we find the following recorded; 2 *Chriſtian de Queker*, *Jacob Dienſſart* and *Joan Konings* of *Steenwerk* in *Flanders*, who had formerly taken ſhelter in *England*, where they had Liberty of Conſcience under Queen *Elizabeth*, returning into their own Country, were ſeized at *Furnes*, and examined by the Clergy, and particularly by the Dean of *Ronſen*, *Peter Titelman*, upon ſeveral Articles of their Faith: They freely confeſſed their Opinions in oppoſition to Popery. In order to procure their deliverance, the *Dutch* Congregation at *London* found means to obtain a Letter from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and other *Engliſh* Prelates, to the Magiſtrates of *Furnes*, of the following tenor: *That they were informed, that three perſons of their Communion, travelling to their native Country upon particular affairs, were ſtopped at* Furnes *about a month before, and thrown into priſon, where they ſtill lay; and that they had received other ill treatment, as Hereticks and Apoſtates from the true Faith of the univerſal Church* ——— *That they could not ſufficiently wonder at the raſh impriſoning of them, the more, becauſe theſe honeſt people purſued their journey quietly and privately, without entering into diſputes and conteſts with any one; and therefore could not be charged with the breach of any Placard or Law of the Land. As for their Religion it was pure, and they had made an open profeſſion of it in* England, *leading lives void of offence.* ——— *That being ſettled in* London, *they were the Queen's ſubjects, and went into the* Low-Countries *for the diſpatch of their affairs, after which their intention was to return to* England. *Wherefore they earneſtly intreated them* (the ſaid Magiſtrates) *that they would ſuffer themſelves to be informed of theſe truths in relation to the Priſoners, and forthwith ſet them at liberty. We*, ſaid they in the concluſion of this Letter, *to whom her Majeſty has committed the care and direction of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, have not meddled with any of your people, or other Foreigners, on account of Religious Matters, eſpecially ſuch as have behaved themſelves peaceably among us. But if now thoſe who have put themſelves under our juriſdiction, and are Members of our Church, ſhould be thus treated in other Countries, then ſhould we be likewiſe obliged, though much againſt our wills, to deal out the ſame meaſure to others. However, we expect nothing but good from your prudence and juſtice; adviſing you at the ſame time to abſtain from all Counſels that may tend to the ſhedding of innocent blood, that you may not bring down upon your ſelves the righteous judgments of the living God, into whoſe hands it will be a dreadful thing to fall, eſpecially if conſcious of the truth you ſhall yet perſiſt in ſpilling the blood of innocent people.* This Letter was dated the 20th of *July*, and ſigned, *Matthew*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Edmund*, Biſhop of *London*; *William Meyns*, *Walter Haddon*, and *Thomas Huyke*. *The Perſecution goes on.*

Upon the receipt of this Letter the Magiſtrates deputed two of their Body to carry it to *Bruſſels*, where it was read in Council: however, a reſolution paſſed to proceed with the Priſoners according to the Placard; whereupon they were ſoon after condemned to death. As they went to the Court to receive ſentence, many of their fraternity attended, exhorting, comforting and conducting them; and even when they were at the place of Execution, whither they went freely and with great chearfulneſs, a certain *Carmelite* Fryer, named *John Bels*, was by ſome heard to ſay; Joan, *behave valiantly, the Crown of Glory is prepared for you.* Whilſt the Hangman was faſtening their necks and feet with chains to the ſtake, they ſang the 130th Pſalm, *Out of the Depths*, &c. Whereupon a *Dominican*, called *John Campo*, ſaid: *Now we perceive you are no* Chriſtians, *for* Chriſt *went weeping to his death.* But one of the By-ſtanders anſwered; *That's a lie, you falſe Prophet.*

They were then ſtrangled, ſcorched, and their bodies hung in Chains in the Gallows-field, but ſoon after taken down by the Brethren, and interred.

2 *John*

[1] Apol. Pr. Or. *p.* 92, &c. Strada. II. *p.* 99. [2] Hiſt. Mart. *f.* 518.

An° Dom. 1560.

John Herewiin of *Houtkerk* in *West-Flanders*, who had almost till that very time led an irregular life, having got some knowledge of the Doctrines of the *Reformation* at *London*, was likewise apprehended and imprisoned at *Honschoten*. Whilst he lay there, it happened that two Thieves broke out of Goal, and made their escapes; which he might as easily have done, but would not; partly for fear it should be imputed to those of his Communion, and partly because he found himself inwardly moved rather to stay than to fly. As they were leading him to execution he spake to the people to this effect: *Thus are the servants of* Jesus Christ *rewarded by a miserable world. Formerly when I drank and raked, when I gamed night and day, when I spent my life in all sort of debauchery and irregularity, then was I in no danger of these bands* (lifting up his hands, which were bound, as high as he could.) *I was then welcome where ever I went, and every one was fond of my company; but the moment I entered upon a sober and godly life, the world became my enemy: now it opposes, persecutes, imprisons, and hurries me to execution. But the Servant is not greater than his Lord; wherefore since they persecuted him, they will likewise persecute us.* As he went along he sung the 100th Psalm. And when a *Dominican* Monk said to him; John, *recant whilst you have yet time:* The people cried out; *Thou Hypocrite, repent and be converted thy self.* And when the said Monk turning himself to the Spectators, admonished them that they should not be scandalized even though they heard the Heretick sing of God, some among them answered; *Hold your tongue, none of us are scandalized.* Nay, some of the standers-by sung along with him, some softly, others aloud; and above four hundred persons comforted and encouraged him. One of whom led him by the hand to the stake where he was to be strangled and burnt, strengthening him with godly discourse till he expired; which the Executioner and the other Officers heard and saw without daring to contradict him, being under greater fears and terrors than the man himself that suffered. This happened the 4th of *November*, 1560.

John de Crens, who had in like manner renounced the Popish Religion, was taken up about the same time at *Berthene* in the District of *Belle*, having been accused of Heresy by his Popish Priest. He was delivered into the hands of the Inquisitor *Titelman*, Dean of *Ronsen*, by whom he was carried to *Ypres*, and there examined concerning his Faith, and put to the Rack in order to extort from him a discovery of others of his Perswasion. Continuing firm to his Principles, the Dean proceeded to excommunicate him, and then delivered him to the Temporal Arm to be dealt with according to the Placards. But the Magistrates of *Ypres* understanding that he had been apprehended within the jurisdiction of *Belle*, declared, that he ought to be sentenced there. Accordingly being remanded thither, he was, without cognizance taken of his Cause, and merely upon the Charge exhibited against him by the Clergy, condemned to die. His Confession of Faith which he had prepared, was likewise read wrong to the people; for which reason he begged that he himself might be allowed to give some account of that Faith for which he was to suffer. One of the Sheriffs answered; *They will not let you do it; the people have heard enough already: besides, it is not we that put you to death, but the Placards of his Majesty.* On the 23d of *December* he was first half strangled, then scorched to death, and afterwards hanged up.

About eighteen or twenty Anabaptists were likewise executed this same year on account of Religion, at *Antwerp*, *Gant* and *Terveer* in *Zeland*; seven of whom were women. Some were privately murdered in the Prisons for fear of tumults. [1] Thus one *John Buisson* a Merchant of *Lisle*, who was upon the point of renouncing the Popish Religion, was beheaded in the night in the Prison of *Antwerp*.

[2] They now began to take up people at *Lisle* for words spoken either long before, or through inadvertency, against the Church of *Rome*; and such of them as had but little knowledge of the Truth, or were weak in the Faith, were condemned to be beheaded; but others that had declared more openly against Popery were sentenced to be burnt.

Accordingly, about the end of this year, or in the beginning of the year 1561, four men were executed by fire, as was also *Jacob van Loo*, in the month of *February*. Some days before his death he exhorted the Members of the persecuted Communities by

[1] Dutch *Hist. of the Anab. Mart.* p. 53. [2] Ib. *p.* 257.

by Letters, not to forſake their aſſembling together on account of theſe ſufferings, and particularly the Teacher *Guido de Bres* was admoniſhed by him to perſevere in his duty, and not to forſake his flock, nor imitate thoſe who ſought for places of ſecurity, where they might live at eaſe. They ſent all his Books into the *Franciſcan* Monaſtery to be examined; and condemned the Bible, which was printed at *Geneva*, to be burnt. An° Dom. 1561.

1 On the 28th of *February*, *John de Boſſcher*, Deacon of the Church of the Holy Croſs at *Antwerp*, was executed privately by night in the Priſon of the ſaid Town. They deſigned at firſt to have drowned him, but he being a luſty man, and the veſſel in which he was to have been put, too ſmall, the Hangman thruſt him through with his ſword. Some of his Fraternity were walking the ſame evening before the Priſon to hear what became of him, but the Officers coming out and ſurprizing them, laid hold on one of them, named *John de Keyſer*, an Elder of their ſecret Congregation, whom they drowned the following month.

Peter Annood and *Daniel Galland*, with others who attempted to fly to *England*, that they might enjoy their Religion in ſafety, were ſtopped at *Dunkirk*, where they were about to take ſhipping, and for this Crime only died by the hands of the Executioner on the 18th of *April*. *Galland* was cruelly tormented, but would charge none of his Aſſociates; but *Annood* who was a weakly man, and who dreaded the Rack more than death, began to waver, and his courage to fail; but at laſt, the hopes of preſerving his life, and the fear of torments ceaſing together, he took heart. Adhering therefore to his firſt Confeſſion, he begged pardon of his Fellow-priſoners, and, as he was led to execution, of all the Brethren in his way. He intreated them, that they would acquaint all the Churches that he was riſen from his Fall, and that he likewiſe deſired them to forgive his weakneſs. When this *Annood* was carried to the Tribunal to receive his ſentence, he told them, there were three things that cauſed him and his Fellow-ſufferers to rejoice under the Croſs; *The firſt was their ſuffering for a good cauſe: The ſecond, becauſe they were aſſured of the immediate and certain aſſiſtance of God: And the third, becauſe that ſhort ſuffering opened them a door to everlaſting happineſs.*

On the 3d of *Auguſt*, when *Antwerp* was full of mirth on account of the Plays and Drolls that were exhibited there, and to which the people reſorted from all parts, thoſe who could not bear the errors of Popery, met together in a Wood near *Markſem*, where the *Droſſard* or Criminal Judge came upon them. Here the Congregation, which was four or five thouſand ſtrong, ſuffered themſelves to be diſturbed by half a dozen Perſecutors. The Preacher eſcaped: Others were taken; three of whom got away afterwards by good management, one purchaſed his liberty, and one was beheaded.

At *Tournay*, ſome people whoſe zeal exceeded their diſcretion, were ſo bold as to meet in great numbers in the open ſtreets, and there to ſing aloud the *French* Pſalms that had been put into Metre by *Clement Marot* and *Theodore Beza*. This exaſperated their Perſecutors the more againſt them. *John Lanoy*, an Elder of their Community in the ſaid Town, who with others had cenſured their immoderate and unſeaſonable zeal, was nevertheleſs burnt on the 27th of *November*.

2 *Famianus Strada*, and other Writers, relate this affair of the Pſalm-ſinging, together with the Tumult, and the Perſecution that followed, more particularly, and with the addition of ſeveral circumſtances which we muſt leave to the judgment of the Reader: They ſay, that in the month of *October* of this year 1561, two *French* Miniſters preached in one and the ſame night openly in the Market-place, one at *Tournay*, the other at *Valenciennes*; and that towards morning having gathered a great number of people together (to wit, about a hundred at the latter, and above ſix hundred at the former place) they marched through the Streets, ſinging as they went; but in the midſt of this ſinging and preaching in both theſe Towns, there aroſe a Tumult and Fray between thoſe who approved and others that diſapproved it. This being notified to the Governeſs, the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, by the reſpective Magiſtrates, ſhe ſent the Lord of *Montigny*, Statholder of *Tournay*, and its Dependances to that Town, and the Marquis of *Mons*, and the Statholder of *Hainalt*, to *Valenciennes*. At *Tournay* they apprehended the Maſter of the Houſe where the Meeting was uſually held, and

Tumults at Valenciennes *and* Tournay, &c.

[1] Hiſt. des Martyrs, *f.* 524, &c.

[2] Ib. *f.* 547. Strada. Lib. III. *p.* 127. al. 105—

An° Dom. 1561. and burnt ſeveral forbidden Books which they found in his cuſtody. In the following month, the Night-preacher *Lanoy* was alſo ſeized and puniſhed with death, and ſo the tumult ended. But in another Edition of *Strada*'s Hiſtory, and in the *Dutch* Tranſlation of it, it is ſaid, that this *Lanoy* abjured his Religion, and afterwards lived in Communion with the Church of *Rome*; but this is improbable, if he means the Elder *Lanoy*; for the ſentence of death, which is related at large in the *French* Book of Martyrs, was pronounced againſt him on the 27th of *November*. [1] But ſome think *Strada* means one *Matthew Lanoy*, who had been a Prieſt, and was formerly, by reaſon of his diſorderly life, hanged up in effigie, who being now taken and threatened with death, together with *Henry Pennitier*, another Preacher, apoſtatized and was reconciled to the Church of *Rome*. Theſe men publiſhed an account of this their action, which was anſwered by others.

[2] But at *Valenciennes* things took another turn. In this City were likewiſe apprehended two Preachers, *Philip Maillard* and *Simon Taveau*; but the Marquis of *Mons* did not proceed immediately to execution, but went firſt to his Brother the Biſhop of *Liege*. And when the Governeſs reproached him with his delays, and ordered him to return immediatly and do his duty, he had the courage to anſwer: *That the putting Hereticks to death was neither conſiſtent with his Office nor Inclinations.* Thus ſeven months were ſpent before the Magiſtrates durſt attempt any thing againſt the two priſoners; for the number of their adherents among the common people increaſed daily, and Letters were ſent to the ſaid Magiſtrates full of threats, in caſe any ſeverities were uſed againſt theſe Preachers: and ſome were heard to call to them in the night, adviſing them *to behave like men, with aſſurance that no help ſhould be wanting in caſe the putting them to death ſhould be attempted.* But the Governeſs being informed of all that paſt, prevailed at laſt ſo far, that they were condemned to the fire. The time appointed for their execution was upon a *Monday*, for fear of the Mob, eſpecially the Weavers and Wooll-combers, whoſe cuſtom it was to retire to the Villages every *Saturday* evening, and not to return till the *Monday* following; which they did partly for their diverſion, and partly to avoid going to Maſs. Upon a *Monday* therefore, early before ſun-riſing, the Priſoners were brought to the Market-place: But this deſign could not be kept ſo cloſe, nor ſo haſtily executed, but the people had notice of it, and the place was preſently filled by the concourſe of great numbers of them. Being arrived at the ſtake, *Faveau* cried out with a loud voice; *O Eternal Father!* Upon this cry the people began to rage, and threaten, and preſs forwards, and hurl ſtones. After which they made themſelves maſters of the place of execution, broke down the ſtake, and ſcattered the inſtruments of death. Thereupon the Officers of Juſtice found themſelves obliged to retreat with their Priſoners through a ſtorm of ſtones. Then the people began to walk up and down the City regularly, and after the manner of a proceſſion, with a Pſalm-ſinger at the head of them, who ſang proper Pſalms. Being returned to the Market-place, the Singer was ſet upon a kind of Stage raiſed on purpoſe, in order to preach, as ſome ſay, or to pray, as others.

In the mean time the multitude increaſed to the number of two thouſand perſons; who being animated either by their Pſalm-ſinging or by their growing numbers, began to be very mutinous. At firſt they threatened the Cloyſter of the *Dominicans*, but preſently changed their minds, ſome of the wiſer among them crying, *What will it ſignify to put the Town in an uproar, if our Brethren ſhould in the mean while ſuffer that death in Priſon which we have reſcued them from in the Market? Let us therefore haſten thither, either to ſave them if ſtill living, or to be revenged if they be put to death.* Thereupon nothing was heard but, *To the Priſon, To the Priſon.* Accordingly they flew thither and releaſed the two Miniſters, but the other Priſoners were left in cuſtody. At the ſame time it was ſignified to the Magiſtrates, that they aimed at nothing elſe but the deliverance of their Brethren; and that from thenceforward none among them would move the leaſt tumult or ſedition, if they might be permitted to live quietly and enjoy the exerciſe of their Religion.

Soon after theſe things happened, there was a Garriſon put into the Town. They who were moſt conſcious of having been concerned in the tumult, fled; others were puniſhed. Some adviſed the Dutcheſs of *Parma* to diſarm the Inhabitants, to diſfranchiſe the Town, and to build a Fort in it at the charge of the Rebels: but this being

[1] Nich. Burgund. Hiſt. Lib. I. *p.* 53. [2] Ib. *p.* 54. Strada 128.

being debated in Council, the mildeſt votes prevailed, it not being thought prudent to irritate a Town already too much inclined to the party of *France*, and the rather becauſe they were in Arms againſt *Popery* in that Kingdom. An° Dom. 1561.

A baſe deſign againſt the Scout *of* Amſterdam *defeated, and the Authors of it puniſhed.*

1 At *Amſterdam* the *Scout*, *William Bardes*, had been ſome time before charged with Hereſy, by a plot contrived between Maſter *Henry Dirkſon*, Burgomaſter of the City, and *Floris Egbertſon*, Deputy-Inquiſitor and Curate of the old Church, by whoſe means the contrivance they thought would be carried on the more ſmoothly, as being ſupported by the credit of a Clergyman. Here lived a certain woman born at *Zwol*, named *Fy Harmans*, who, by reaſon of her uglineſs, was always called *Yellow Fy*; this Creature, whoſe Soul was as loathſome as her Body, being excited both by poverty and malice, two dangerous Counſellors, had liſted herſelf among the Informers and Accuſers of thoſe innocent people, who finding no peace for their Conſciences in the *Romiſh* Church, ſought it in the forbidden Conventicles. From ſuch wicked practices the taſte of gain eaſily leads a hardened wretch to worſe. This perſon frequenting the houſe of the above-mentioned *Scout*, was choſen as a very fit inſtrument for their villainous purpoſes by the Burgomaſter and the Curate. Little preſents and great promiſes wrought ſo much upon her, that ſhe devoted herſelf, without regarding the conſequences, entirely to their ſervice. Beſides this woman, they found out another, named *Folke Williams*, of the like ſtamp, whom they alſo admitted into their confederacy, together with one *Cornelius Swart*, a Notary Publick, and *Adrian Johnſon*, a Cutler. Several facts put into the mouths of this profligate Gang by the Burgomaſter and Curate, were ſworn by them; as particularly that *William Bardes* and his Wife were rebaptized, that they had held a Meeting once at their own houſe, and divers times at thoſe of others. This the Inquiſitor communicated to *Ruard Tapper*, the Inquiſitor at *Louvain*, who was then living. The *Schout* having got ſome intelligence of theſe black deſigns againſt him, took his opportunity, implored the favour of the Lady *Mary*, then Governeſs, and upon a ſtrict examination into the matter, procured *Folke* to be apprehended and ſecured in the *Hague*, and cauſed *Fy* alſo to be ſeized in the night and clapped up in priſon. The Priſoners being examined as to the circumſtances of the Rebaptization of the *Scout* and his Wife, declared, that they ſaw it themſelves, ſtanding upon an eminence, through the window of a certain houſe which he had hired without the Town. To diſcover the truth of this particular, certain perſons were deputed by the Court at the *Hague* to view the place. Theſe Gentlemen repairing to *Amſterdam*, called upon the *Scout*, and invited him to walk that way, without imparting to him the occaſion. Being come to the houſe, one of them ſtept upon the ſaid eminence which was before it, from whence extending his arm towards the window, he found it much too ſhort to reach it, and conſequently that it was impoſſible to ſee through the glaſs what was doing in the room; whereupon deſcending, he turned to the *Scout*, and ſaid: *Be of good cheer*, *Mr.* Scout, *your caſe is good*; and without further explanation, the Deputies returned to the *Hague*. However, the matter remained a while in ſuſpence, before he could get the reſt of the Confederates apprehended; the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil powers both ſtanding in the way. But the general horror that all men had for ſo villainous a Plot, turned the ſcale at laſt, inſomuch that the Court of Juſtice at *Amſterdam* granted an Order for ſeizing both Maſter *Henry* and the Curate himſelf; and it was executed with ſo much diſpatch and ſecreſy, that the latter was taken from the Altar, and not ſo much as permitted to change his habit. The Notary and the Cutler were likewiſe ſeized; but as theſe fellows were maſters of their trade, and that it was the perfection of lying to ſpeak ſo uniformly out of ſeveral mouths, it was ſome years before this whole intrigue was quite unravelled, and the truth made manifeſt. At laſt, *Fy* and the other Evidences perceiving that there was no hope of extricating themſelves otherwiſe, begged forgiveneſs and confeſſed the whole matter. Then the Law took its courſe, and the Cutler, who had baffled three Witneſſes by ſo often changing his name, was publickly whipped, and the Notary declared infamous, and incapable of exerciſing his profeſſion, and both baniſhed the City for ever.

The Clergy endeavoured to reſcue the Curate out of the hands of the Temporal Judges, but were hindered by the Governeſs, who declared that ſhe would not violate

[1] Hooft. Lib. II. *p.* 97

An° Dom. 1561. late the privileges of *Holland*. He was then ſentenced to confeſs he had acted maliciouſly, unadviſedly, and without ſufficient information, in what he had written to *Tapper* againſt Maſter *William* the *Scout*, and his Wife, and that he was very ſorry for it: beſides which, he was baniſhed from *Amſterdam*, and deprived of the exerciſe of his Inquiſitorſhip. *Folke* died in the priſon. *Fy* was condemned to a puniſhment adequate to her crimes, to wit, that her Tongue ſhould be torn out of her mouth, then ſhe to be ſtrangled at a ſtake, and her body hung up in chains. At the time of her execution ſhe again confeſſed her wicked contrivance, and how ſhe was engaged in it by the Burgomaſter and Curate; and begged firſt of the Judges, and afterwards of all the people, that the *Scout* might be asked forgiveneſs in her name, and then ſhe ſubmitted to the ſentence which had paſſed upon her; the multitude in the mean while curſing thoſe that ſet her to work, and crying, that they ought to have been treated after the ſame manner. This happened on the third of *May*, in the year 1561.

Maſter *Henry* having taken care that nothing ſhould appear under his hand, and defending himſelf by the avowed perjury of the Witneſſes, eſcaped any farther puniſhment; nay, ſo great was the power of Party-intereſt, that he found means to be choſen Burgomaſter for the years 1563 and 1564.

Endeavours were likewiſe uſed to bring back Maſter *Floris* to *Amſterdam*, who, after he was driven thence, had been called to the Cure of St. *Gudela* in *Bruſſels*. [1] This was the ſame *Floris Egberts* of whom it is related, that being Paſtor at *Edam* in *North-Holland*, before he was called to *Amſterdam*, he wrote to the Divines at *Louvain*, that they ſhould adviſe the Emperor to grant the *Lutherans* two Towns in *Holland*, upon the Sea-Coaſt, on pretence of letting them live peaceably together, and when they were there, to ſet fire to the ſaid Towns and burn them all. Whilſt he ſerved the Office of *Inquiſitor* at *Amſterdam*, he was the man that uſually diſcovered and proſecuted the Anabaptiſts. It is ſaid of him, that in order to effect the ruin of the *Scout* of that City the more effectually, he would have poiſoned the two falſe Witneſſes, *Fy* and *Folke*, when they were ſick, or at his deſire pretended to be ſo, to the end that, after having received the Sacrament, upon the evidence they had given, they might alſo have confirmed the ſame (without danger of ever retracting it) by their deaths: But *Fy* ſuſpecting ſomething, ſpilt the Drink in her bed, and recovered: *Folke* did not eſcape ſo well, it being believed that ſhe periſhed by the like Potion; and that even Maſter *Henry*, the Burgomaſter, was conſenting to it. The reaſon why this man had entertained ſo inhuman a hatred againſt the *Scout*, was as follows: During the Minority of Prince *Charles*, afterwards Emperor, in the year 1508, the gift of the Office of *Scout* was mortgaged to the City for the Sum of 20,000 Gilders, and *William Dirkſon* placed in it by the Burgomaſters, in the room of *Cornelius Dobbeſon*, in the year 1542; in which Office he behaved himſelf ſo well, that for the ſpace of eight years he preſerved an univerſal eſteem. But in the year 1550 (whether he thought himſelf too good to be controuled by his fellows, particularly in matters of Religion, or whether he thought it a proper occaſion to ſeek for a ſurer ſupport) he made ſuch intereſt at Court, that Queen *Mary* diſcharged the Debt of 20,000 Gilders, and appointed him *Scout* on behalf of the Emperor. From that time the favour of the Magiſtrates towards him was turned into envy and ill-will. They began to lay all the ſnares they could in the way of this Imperial *Scout*, that ſo they might bring him into diſtreſs. He was no leſs hated by the Clergy, becauſe of his diſlike to Perſecution, and the Blood-thirſtineſs of the reſt of the Governours.

There was a certain great favour for which the moſt zealous oppoſers of Popery thought themſelves indebted to this *Scout*, though it was never certain whether it came from him: *Viz.* that when any Trouble or Perſecution was hatching againſt ſuch of the inhabitants as were ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm* by the Magiſtrates, notice was privately given them of it by a certain Watch-word, which paſſing from one to another, was preſently ſpread among the whole Party; ſuch for inſtance was the following Scripture ſentence: *Joſeph took the Mother and Child, and fled to Egypt.* As ſoon as ever this ſignal came to the ears of thoſe that had quitted the *Romiſh* Church, they either hid themſelves, or, if the Gates were not ſhut, made the beſt of

[1] Apotheos R. Tapper, p. 59, &c.

of their way out of Town. Some uſed this ſtratagem in the night, (which was the time they were uſually taken up) they walked the ſtreets with their Wives on their right hand, as their Miſtreſſes; but if the Watch or Officers of Juſtice came near them, they went and ſat in the Porches of houſes. An° Dom. 1561.

When the Storm was blown over, they had another ſort of ſignal given them; to wit, *They are dead who ſought the Child's life.* Nevertheleſs in the time of this very *Scout* ſeveral perſons ſuffered Martyrdom on account of Religion, which, as ſome think, was chiefly to be imputed to the reſt of the Magiſtrates, and the badneſs of the times, which went ſo much againſt his mind; though indeed he could not be wholly innocent, ſince none of thoſe who came into trouble, and were impriſoned for their Belief, could be put to death, unleſs, according to the Laws, he as *Scout* or Proſecutor for the State, preferred a Bill of Indictment againſt them. But how much better was it for theſe poor perſecuted people to live under a *Scout* who found himſelf obliged ſometimes againſt his own mind to trouble them, than under his Succeſſor *Peter Peterſon*, who, by reaſon of his ill temper, was even in his Childhood nicknamed *Dragons-blood* by his Comrades; and who afterwards by the great cruelties which he exerciſed in ſtrangling, drowning, and ſpilling innocent blood, under a hypocritical pretence of zeal, and to pleaſe the Prieſts; but too plainly diſcovered the vileneſs of his nature.

About this time *Andrew van Caſtricom*, Paſtor of St. *Pancras* in *Enkhuſen*, who in his publick Sermons, or, as ſome ſay, in certain night aſſemblies, began to declaim againſt Popery, was cited by *Ralph Strakmans*, Dean of *Weſt-Freeſland*, to appear before him at *Horn*, the reſidence of the ſaid Dean. Being come, he was impriſoned in one of the Chambers of the Deanery, in order to be dealt with according to the Laws of the *Inquiſition*; but ſome of the people of *Enkhuſen* finding means, by ſtanding upon one another's ſhoulders, to get up to his window, and to convey him away, prevented it. This happened about the end of *July*; after which the Paſtor retired, and kept himſelf out of the Dean's reach; but *Segar Frederiks*, the *Scout* of *Enkhuſen*, charged ſome of the Burghers with breaking the priſon at *Horn*, and indicted ten of them for it; though for want of proof, or through favour of the Magiſtrates, they eſcaped with a Fine of ſeventeen Pounds and the Coſts.

There ſuffered this year upon account of Religion ſeven and twenty Anabaptiſts, among whom ſeven were women; they were all beheaded at ſeveral places; to wit, one at *Arras*, one at *Wynox-bergen*, five at *Ypres*, twelve at *Bruges*, and eight at *Antwerp*.

But in the year 1562, in the Province of *Flanders* only, there were put to death twenty two perſons, either publickly or privately; at *Gant*, five men and five women; at *Bruges*, one man; at *Wervik*, three men; at *Hontſchooten*, two young maidens, three men, two women, and one boy; and one man of the ſame perſuaſion was ſtrangled and burnt at *Utrecht*.

There lived at *Tournay* about the ſame time a poor blind man, named *Andrew Michaelſon*, who having obtained leave of the Governours of the Hoſpital for blind men, to travel to *France* for the recovery of his health, was directed to *St. Germain en Laye*; where hearing ſeveral Sermons againſt Popery, he upon his return gave ſome account of it to his friends: Soon after he was taken up, and being examined in relation to his doubts and ſcruples, anſwered ſo cautiouſly, that he was acquitted, and ordered to be diſcharged on condition of abjuring all Errors and Hereſies; but ſcrupling to renounce ſome opinions which he conceived to be true, and defending them by Texts of Scripture, he was again taken up, and cruelly tormented, to oblige him to confeſs who were his aſſociates. But he would not betray his friends, nor were they unmindful of him, for one found means to get acceſs to him in the priſon, where he inſtructed, comforted, and incouraged him. On the 23d of *May*, being ſentenced to die, he recited the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in the hearing of the people. When he was led away to the ſtake, he thanked his Judges for having detained him ſo long in priſon, meaning, that by this means he had enjoyed an opportunity of being better informed and ſtrengthened in the knowledge of the Truth. He alſo pricked them to the heart with theſe words: *O Judges! Judges! ye have paſſed ſentence upon me: I do not pretend to do the like by you; but there is one that will judge you.* Applying at the ſame time to the Church of *Rome*,

Anº Dom. 1561. *Rome*, that which is ſaid of the great Whore of *Babylon*, in the 17th Chapter of the *Revelation* of St. *John*.

At the ſame place there were alſo ſome women and girls privately drowned on account of Religion. And *Francis Varlut* and *Alexander Dayke*, who for their averſion to Popery had been baniſhed the Town, being taken without the gates, in a prohibited Conventicle, were beheaded.

Anthony Karon and *Reinoldine Francville* loſt their lives alſo by fire at *Cambray*. *Charles Elink*, who had been clapped up by the Dean of *Ronſen*, was ſtifled in the Water out of the ſight of the people, for they durſt not venture his freedom of ſpeech.

A Confeſſion of Faith publiſh'd

About this time *Guido de Bres*, with the aſſiſtance of *Adrian Saravia*, and three or four other Teachers, publiſhed a little Treatiſe in *French* (which was afterwards tranſlated into *Dutch*) under the Title of *A Confeſſion of the Faith, generally and unanimouſly maintained by the Believers, diſperſed throughout the* Low-Countries, *who deſire to live according to the purity of the Holy Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* The ſaid *Saravia* ſays in a certain Letter, which I my ſelf have ſeen: *That* Guido de Bres, *communicated this Confeſſion to ſuch Miniſters as he could find; deſiring them to correct what they thought amiſs in it; ſo that it was not to be conſidered as one man's work;* [r] *but that none who were concerned in it, ever deſigned it for a Rule of Faith to others, but only for a ſcriptural Proof of what they themſelves believed.*

[r] Epist. Eccles. & Theol. Ep. 181, p. 295, a

Some place *Franciſcus Junius* (whoſe name we ſhall often quote in the following Books) among thoſe that drew up this *Confeſſion*. [1] But he himſelf gives us to underſtand in the account of his Life, that he peruſed it in the year 1566, at the requeſt of the Synod holden in *May* that year, and ſent it to the Brethren at *Geneva*, to the end that it might be printed, if approved by them, and judged uſeful to the Church. But this ſeems to relate to the ſecond Impreſſion; [2] for in the year 1563, this Confeſſion was publiſhed for the firſt time both in *High* and *Low-Dutch*, and in 1566 it was contracted a little, and printed in *French* and *Dutch*.

This *Confeſſion*, which conſiſts of XXXVII Articles, does almoſt in all of them differ from Popery; and in ſome from that of *Auſburg*, eſpecially in the buſineſs of the *Lord's-Supper*; from that of the *Anabaptiſts*, in the Doctrines of *Baptiſm*, the *Incarnation*, and the *Power of the Magiſtrate*; it likewiſe differs from the *Auſburgian* and many other *Confeſſions*, in the point of *Predeſtination*; and from ſome in other Articles. It agrees for the moſt part with the Confeſſion of the *Reformed French* Churches: thoſe therefore that embraced it, gave themſelves, in imitation of the *French*, the diſtinguiſhing title of **Reformed**; which Title, in the ſequel of this Hiſtory, we ſhall not refuſe to beſtow upon them: Others gave themſelves the name of *Calviniſts*, becauſe both the Confeſſions, as well the *French* as this, are drawn up according to the Opinions of *John Calvin*, a famous Teacher at *Geneva*.

[3] The reaſon why they did not follow the Confeſſion of *Auſburg*, was partly becauſe they had already maintained in writing the Doctrines of *Calvin*, and the *French* Churches; but chiefly the neighbourhood and affinity of Language between the *Walloons* and the *French*, and the agreement of that of the *Flemings* and *Brabanders* with the *Walloon* Speech. Nevertheleſs the *Dutch Reformed* ſkreened themſelves ſometimes behind the *Auſburgian* Confeſſion, becauſe it was not ſo diſagreeable at Court as the *French* or *Calvinian*, ſince the latter Sect was eſteemed to be more addicted to tumults and uproars than the *Lutheran*.[4] Before this, the *Reformed* of the *Low-Countries* had adopted the *London-Catechiſms*, both the greater and the leſſer, as far as they regarded matters of Faith, but regulated their Morals only by the Rules of the Holy Scripture.

The People are diſcontented and call out for a General Aſſembly of the States.

[4] In this ſtate of affairs, the Common People began to whiſper, and many to call out aloud for a general Aſſembly of the States of the *Netherlands*, in order to the compoſing their domeſtic differences. The Governeſs diſappointed theſe deſires, by publickly declaring, that among other commands which ſhe had received from the King, one was; Not to conſent to any meeting of the States in his abſence.

But, becauſe about this time all *France* was in commotions on account of the diverſity of Opinions in Religious matters, (which was alſo intermixed with the ambition

2

[1] Fr Jun. op. *p.* 16, &c.
[2] Jac. Trigl. Hiſt. *p.* 144.
[3] Vander Lind. Præf. Syntag. Strada. Lib. III. *p.* 242.
[4] Hooft. Lib. I. *p.* 40.

bition and ſelf-intereſt of the Great ones); and becauſe the *Papiſts* and *Reformed* (who were likewiſe nicknamed *Hugonots*) being headed by ſome of the Chief men of the Kingdom, were ready to break out into a Civil War; the Dutcheſs, fearing that the Storm might fall upon her borders in caſe their quarrels ſhould be compoſed, or that ſome miſchief was already plotted there againſt her; found it neceſſary to aſſemble all the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, and the Statholders of particular Provinces together: During this Meeting ſome of theſe Lords privately concerted meaſures among themſelves for oppoſing Cardinal *Granville* and his ambitious deſigns; but that which they publickly agreed upon was, to depute the Lord of *Montigny* to give the King an account of the ſtate of affairs. An° Dom 1562.

The Lord of Montigny *is deputed to give the King an account of the ſtate of Affairs.*

This Nobleman, after having obtained two Audiences of his Majeſty, was aſked by him, when he took his leave, *What he thought was the occaſion of the uneaſineſs and complaints of the* Netherlanders? To which he replied, *That all the diſcontents ſeemed to ariſe partly from increaſing the number of Biſhops in that clandeſtine manner, without the advice and conſent of the States; the conſequence of which, they feared, would be the eſtabliſhment of an* Inquiſition *for Religion, upon the foot of that in* Spain; *and partly from the univerſal hatred againſt the Cardinal, which was ſo implacable, that yet greater tumults and uproars were to be apprehended.* The King excuſed the Cardinal, and at the ſame time gave him to underſtand that he never intended by increaſing the number of Biſhops to introduce the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*: he added, that he hoped ſhortly to viſit the *Low-Countries* himſelf, and then to gratify both his own and his Subjects deſires. With theſe aſſurances, *Montigny* returned home about the end of the year; where he found all things diſpoſed by the Government for carrying on the Perſecution.

He returns with a favourable Anſwer.

f On the 13th of *March*, 1563, f *Jooſt Rineſtein van Tielt*, and *Michel de Bay*, who were become Inquiſitors-General in the room of *Ruard Tapper* and *Michel Drutius*, appointed Doctor *William Lindanus*, Biſhop Elect of *Ruremond*, to be Deputy or Under-Inquiſitor of the Provinces of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Utrecht*, *Gelderland*, *Freeſland*, *Groningen*, &c. The Dutcheſs likewiſe directed the Court of *Holland* to joyn ſome of the Council and a Secretary to him in the exerciſe of his Function, not ſuch as he ſhould chuſe himſelf, but ſuch as they thought proper; and they were alſo required to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power in all his Inquiries.

For the more effectual promoting ſuch Inquiries there was publiſhed at *Bruſſels* another Placard, bearing date the 29th of *March*, of the following Tenour: **That none of the Inhabitants of the** Low-Countries **ſhould be allowed to come and ſettle in any of the Towns or Villages of** Holland, **unleſs they brought along with them a Certificate ſigned by the Pariſh-Prieſt and Civil Magiſtrate of their former habitation, atteſting that they had been reputed** Good Catholicks, **and were not tainted, nor ſuſpected of Hereſie; and that whoever ſhould forge ſuch Certificates, or make uſe of the ſame, ſhould be puniſhed with Death. And the Officers were ſtrictly to inquire not only into the characters of thoſe that for the future ſhould come and dwell in any of the ſaid Towns and Villages, but alſo of ſuch as had ſettled there at any time for four years paſt, in caſe there were any juſt cauſe of ſuſpecting them. And all ſuch perſons were obliged to prove that their Children had been baptized according to the Rites of the** Romiſh **Church. ——Nor might any women be admitted to exerciſe the employment of** Midwifry **in** Holland, **for the future, but ſuch as ſhould take their corporal Oaths, that they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours, to the end the Children of all thoſe whom they delivered might be chriſtened; and that if they found any perſon refractory in the matter, they would declare the ſame upon Oath to the Magiſtrate; and ſo were all other women obliged to do, if they were called to aſſiſt in bringing Children into the world, on pain of being puniſhed according to their demerits. Women that ſhould happen to be delivered in any other place than at their own home or dwelling, were obliged by the ſaid Placard, upon their return, to bring Teſtimonials from the Town where they were brought to bed, that the Child was duly chriſtened according to the Rites of the Church of** Rome, **upon pain of being held ſuſpected of Hereſie.——All Paſtors and Curates were likewiſe obliged from that time forwards, to keep a Book or Regiſter of the Children they baptized, ſetting down the Day, the Year, and the Names of the Children and of their Parents, and to exhibit the ſame to the Officers, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, as often as it ſhould be deſired of them.**

A new Placard for preventing the Growth of Hereſie.

An° Dom. 1563. And further, they were bound to deliver the ſaid Regiſter, from year to year, into the hands of the Magiſtrates of the Town where they dwelt, which Magiſtrates were alſo required to record and preſerve the ſame. All Officers were likewiſe ſtrictly to enquire after Anabaptiſts, and others that kept Conventicles, purſuant to the Placards made by the Emperor Charles V. —— It was moreover forbidden upon Sundays and Holydays, eſpecially in the time of High-Maſs, and the Sermon before noon, to tipple in Publick-houſes, to play at Foot or Stool-ball, or to ſhoot at Butts, on the forfeiture of twenty Stivers for each perſon, and double the Sum for him that entertained or received them. —— By this ſame Placard, Parents were required to ſend their Children to Church, and to School, in order to be inſtructed; the Poor every Sunday and Holyday, at leaſt, and others, two or three times a week, on pain of arbitrary puniſhment to be inflicted upon the reſpective Parents. —— The Officers were ordered to viſit not only the houſes of Booksellers, as former Placards directed, but likewiſe diligently to take care that no Pedlers went about with Books for ſale, and to ſearch their Packs, and among their other wares, for them. —— All Perſons having any knowledge where forbidden Meetings and Conventicles were held, were obliged to give the Officers notice, who were empowered to pay them twenty five Golden Carolus's for every ſuch detected Conventicle; and the ſame was to be allowed for in their Accounts.

The Dutcheſs likewiſe writ the ſame day to the Council of *Holland*, requiring them to publiſh this Placard, and to renew thoſe of the 25th of *September*, 1550, and the 20th of *Auguſt*, 1556. And to give publick notice every where, that all people ought to go to Maſs every *Sunday* and Holiday, purſuant to the Rules of the *Romiſh* Church; and that whoever were abſent a month together, ſhould be puniſhed according to the diſcretion of the Judges; and if they remained contumacious, be baniſhed for the ſpace of four months: and further, that the Magiſtrates of *Texel* ſhould be ſeverely called to account for their remiſſneſs in executing former Placards.

In *Flanders* and *Brabant* the Magiſtrates wanted no ſuch ſpur, being too much diſpoſed to diſcharge their Office in this reſpect, to the great damage of the Proteſtants or *Reformed:* For at *Tournay*, one *William Cornuan*, Elder of their perſecuted Church, was ſtrangled and burnt on the 13th of *July*. He had been in the beginning of the Perſecution baniſhed the Country on pain of death, for ſinging Pſalms along the ſtreets; and he was beſides accuſed of having prayed in the open Market, when the Miniſters *Maillard* and *Faveau* were reſcued at *Valenciennes*, and thereby promoting the tumults. He owned that he had read that Form of Prayer which is contained in the *French Catechiſm*, at that time, but denied he had any hand in the ſaid tumult. *Michael Robillart* of *Arras* was likewiſe burnt in that City on the 20th of *Auguſt*.

The better to diſcover the *Reformed*, there were certain Commiſſaries appointed to require all whom they ſuſpected to anſwer upon Oath, whether they had lived according to the Ordinances and ancient Practice of the Church of *Rome*, and would continue in the ſame for the future; and whether they went to Confeſſion and Sacrament three times a year, and to Maſs every *Sunday* and Holiday. Upon refuſing to take this Oath, *Nicaſius de la Tombe* and *Roger du Mont* were burnt in the months of *November* and *December* of this year. At *Antwerp*, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, one *Walter Oom*, a Maſon, was privately drowned in priſon for his Religion.

The progreſs of the Perſecution, which is puſhed on by the Cardinal de Granville.

John de Wolf of *Oudenard*, who was taken up there, about the ſame time, for having ſuffered his Child to be baptized in a Meeting of the *Reformed*, underwent great tryals from the Prieſts and Monks; but the foreſt of all was on account of his love to his Wife, a young, handſom and engaging woman, whom he had married not long before, and who had lately brought into the world his firſt Child. He would fain have glorified God by an honeſt and ſteady Confeſſion: he would lik wiſe gladly have remained with his Wife and Child: The Spirit ſtrove againſt Fleſh and Blood, the preſent time with the future, and temporal things with eternal. In the midſt of this conflict, which was more terrible to him than death, he implored the help of God, and at laſt his Faith, and Hopes of a better life triumphed. He continued therefore ſteadfaſt, and exhorted his Wife (when ſhe took her leave of him in the Priſon where he was drowned) to walk in the way of Truth, and bring up her Child, the pledge of their mutual love, in the fear of the Almighty. At *Halewiin* alſo in *Flanders*, ſeveral Anabaptiſts, who had been betrayed by the Paſtor of

that Town, were apprehended by the Dean of *Ronſen* and carried away to *Liſle*; among thoſe was *John de Swarte*, a Miniſter, with his Wife and four Sons. The two youngeſt of his Children not being at home when the *Inquiſitor* broke into the houſe, were warned by the neighbours to eſcape; but one of them ſaid to the other, *Let us not ſeek to ſave our ſelves, but rather die with our Father and Mother.* In the mean time they carried the Father out, who ſeeing his Sons, ſaid thus to them: *Will ye go alſo to the new* Jeruſalem? One of them who was ſcarce ſixteen, cried, *Yes we will Father*; and ſo they ſurrendered themſelves. Together with them, two other perſons of the ſame Perſwaſion, who happened to be in the houſe, were likewiſe ſeized, as alſo two married couples, and one ſingle woman, all which (except one woman that recanted) and a man that called out to them and comforted them, were at ſeveral times burnt at *Liſle*. An° Dom. 1563.

There were alſo three men of the ſame Perſwaſion put to death at *Gant*, one at the *Goos*, and one at *Sierixzee*.

1 The diſcontents againſt the Cardinal *de Granville*, who not only puſhed on the Perſecution with great violence, but had likewiſe drawn to himſelf the whole management of affairs under the name of the Governeſs, were in the mean time riſen to ſuch a height, that the Prince of *Orange*, and the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn* abſented themſelves from the Council of State, and even repreſented to the King ſeveral times in writing, as their own opinion, and that of the chiefeſt among the Nobility, that his Provinces of the *Netherlands* would be utterly loſt if the Cardinal were not removed from thence, at the ſame time aſſuring him: *That as to the buſineſs of Religion, they would always behave themſelves as faithful ſervants and vaſſals to the Church of* Rome, *as they profeſt themſelves to be. And were it not*, added they, *that the Nobility had heartily eſpouſed that intereſt, certainly Religion would not have been at this time of day in that tolerable condition of quiet and tranquility in which it now appears: the minds of the common people being entirely corrupted with the contagion of Hereſy.*

Diſcontents againſt the Cardinal.

The Prince of Orange *and the Counts of* Egmont *and* Horn *abſent themſelves from the Council, and ſend Remonſtrances to the King.*

About this time aroſe that odd mark of diſtinction by wearing a Fools-cap embroidered on the ſleeve, which was afterwards turned into a bundle of Arrows, and was worn by moſt of the Nobility that entered into a mutual engagement againſt the Cardinal.

Into this engagement or confederacy entered the Prince of *Orange*, the Counts of *Egmont*, *Horn*, *Hoogſtraten* and *Meegen*, the Lords of *Brederode* and *Montigny*, with ſeveral more of the greateſt of the Land. This, and the growing averſion and imbittering of men's minds, prevailed on the King to conſent that the Cardinal ſhould be removed, which happened in *March* 1564, when he ſet out for the Country of *Burgundy*, but pretended that the cauſe of his Journey was a viſit to his Mother.

They form a Confederacy; which occaſions the recalling of the Cardinal.

Not long after, the Prince of *Orange*, the Count of *Egmont*, and the Count of *Horn*, the Admiral of the Fleet, returned to Council. At the ſame time the Prince of *Orange* writ to the King: *That he ran a riſque of loſing his Principality for adhering to the ancient and holy Faith of the* Roman *Church.* However, he cauſed t *Franciſcus Baldwinus* to publiſh a certain Treatiſe, wherein he ſhowed not only by Arguments but by Examples, that the peace of the State might be maintained, even amidſt a diverſity of opinions in matters of Religion. This *Baldwin* was a native of *Arras*, a perſon eminently learned both in Divinity and Law, but by converſing with *Calvin*, tinctured a little with his Principles; yet he was a man of great temper and moderation, without the leaſt mixture of unſociable zeal; ſo that his wonderful prudence in Church matters had acquired him great reſpect throughout *France* and *Germany*. 2 He maintained, *That Religion, which was in a manner deſtroyed by diſſentions and diſputes, might be much more eaſily re-eſtabliſhed by friendly conferences, and by putting thoſe of different Perſwaſions upon an equal foot, or, at leaſt, by treating them equitably, than by violence and force of arms: That if men proceeded this latter way, he foreſaw it would come to paſs, that the ſtrength of the* Proteſtants, *which was then but ſmall and diſunited, would increaſe and be collected, and that from ſtrife of words, people would proceed to blows, and apoſtaſy from the Faith.*

They return to Council.

The learned Franciſcus Baldwinus, *by encouragement of the P. of* Orange, *writes in defence of Moderation.*

The Prince of *Orange* backed him with his favour and patronage; and having acquired no ſmall knowledge by converſing with him, he endeavoured to fix him in the *Ne-*

[1] Hooft. Lib. I. *p.* 41. Bentivogl. Lib. I. *p.* 52. Strada, Lib. IV. *p.* 159.

[2] Grot. Anal. Lib. I. *p.* 18. Bor. Lib. I. *p.* 30. Thuan. Epiſt. Nuncup. *p.* 9.

Anº Dom. 1563.

He and the famous Caſſander *are propoſed as Mediators in the diſputes about Religion.*

therlands, with the hopes of obtaining an honourable place among the Profeſſors at *Louvain*, and of aſcending by thoſe ſteps to the dignity of a Privy Counſellor. Count *Lewis*, Brother to the Prince, propoſed him for a Mediator in the diſputes about Religion; but the Count of *Horn* maintained, that [u] *George Caſſander* might be employed with great advantage in that affair. u

This man was born in *Flanders*; and ſuch was the luſtre of his Piety, Moderation and Learning, that the Emperors [w] *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian* earneſtly deſired his aſſiſtance in healing theſe wounds of *Chriſtendom*; believing, that ſuch as he who were convinced that many of the old Tenets were ſuperſtitious, and that ſome of the new were eſpouſed only for the ſake of their novelty, and that one Schiſm uſually ſprang out of another, were the fitteſt perſons to mediate between both Parties, by eſtabliſhing men's Faith upon Fundamentals only. [1] Whereas in the uſual differences and diſputes about Religion, the cavilling and playing the Critick on every point, did ſo embarraſs many tender and unſtable minds, that they fell into ſtrange and endleſs abſurdities, and even into deſpondencies and deſpair itſelf. Others again of a humour more gay and indolent, perceiving ſo many Arguments to be caſt into the ſcales on both ſides, and finding them, as they thought, almoſt to equiponderate, haſtily concluded, that the matter was not worth conteſting at all. This occaſioned in them, firſt an extream latitude in Principles, and next in Life and Manners. w

King Philip's *zeal for extirpating the reputed Hereſy.*

In the mean while, the King charged the Governeſs by Letter after Letter, *to extirpate Hereſy*; turning his thoughts ſo much that way, that he ſeemed to have forgotten all other cares, even ſuch as highly became his Royal Dignity. [2] The Jeſuit *Famianus Strada* relates, That he inſtructed her by ſchemes and projects which he himſelf had formed, and which he communicated to her in his own hand-writing, how to diſcover the Hereticks, and to worry them when ſo diſcovered: For which purpoſe he ſent her Liſts in which all the circumſtances of their Dwellings, Quality, Age, Stature, *&c.* were accurately deſcribed. The Dutcheſs herſelf was likewiſe zealous enough in theſe matters, and was at that time as well ſeconded by moſt of the Governours of the reſpective Provinces; who ſince the diſmiſſion of the Cardinal, thought themſelves doubly obliged to ſerve the Court.

This increaſes the flames of Perſecution.

However, the *Perſecution* and Puniſhment of *Hereticks* produced various effects in different places. At *Rupelmond* a Prieſt was thrown into priſon for leaving *Popery*. This man finding no other means of eſcaping, reſolved to ſet fire to the room that was next his own, in which the Records and Archives of the Country were preſerved, hoping to ſlip out during the terror and confuſion, and whilſt the Soldiers were employed to extinguiſh it. Having communicated this deſign to his Fellow-priſoners, who were nine in number, it was agreed upon, and ſoon after put in execution, but not with that ſucceſs as he had flattered himſelf; for by the diligence and good conduct of the Military men, the fire was immediately put out, and the Incendiaries themſelves ſeized as they were flying, and puniſhed accordingly. The Prieſt had the favour of being beheaded, becauſe he recanted and returned to his former Religion, not only forſaking, but even curſing the opinions of the *Reformed*.

3 But at *Antwerp*, the burning of *Chriſtopher Smith*, or *Fabricius*, who was more ſteady in his Principles, occaſioned no ſmall trouble. This perſon had been a *Carmelite* Fryer at *Bruges*, the place of his nativity; but afterwards forſaking Popery and the Cloyſter together, he took to himſelf a lawful Wife and retired into *England*, where he lived ſome time; but being called afterwards by the Brethren into his own Country, he conſented to become a Teacher of the *Reformed* at *Antwerp*. He behaved himſelf much to the edification of his people for the ſpace of ſix months, till he was cunningly betrayed by a certain hypocritical creature, whom they called *Long Meg*, a maker and ſeller of Caps. This woman pretending ſhe wanted farther inſtruction in the matter of Religion, cauſed him, on the 2d of *July*, to be ſeized, together with *Oliver de Bok* of *Aloſt* in *Flanders*, who being Profeſſor of the *Latin* language at *Heidelburg*, was come hither for ſome concerns of his own. The next day *Fabricius* was put upon the Rack and examined concerning his Employment, Marriage, Aſſociates, and the nature and management of their ſecret Aſſemblies. They could not extort from him any accuſation of others, but he freely declared his own Faith, and the Doctrines he had preached. After this followed his diſpute with the Prieſts, who bore

[1] Hooft. Lib. I. *p.* 38. [2] Ib. Lib. IV. *p.* 170. | *p.* 87. Thuan. Lib. XXXIX. *p.* 488. Strada Lib. IV.
[3] Hiſt. des Mart. *p.* 689. Nich. Burgund. Lib. II. | *p.* 172. Meteren. Lib. I. *p.* 33. Weſenb. *p.* 16.

bore very hard upon him. They would likewiſe have interrogated his fellow-priſoner, but he refuſed to anſwer, appealing always to the Elector *Palatine*, his Sovereign, who alſo brought to paſs by a Meſſenger, whom he ſent expreſly to the Court of *Bruſſels*, that orders were given for releaſing him out of priſon. But as to *Fabricius*, he neither found nor ſought any other diſcharge but death: And being ſentenced to the fire, he bore his Croſs with inexpreſſible and inimitable courage, patience and ſubmiſſion. Inſtead of receiving, or wanting any comfort himſelf, he exhorted and ſtrengthened both friends and ſtrangers, by ſeveral Letters which he writ from the priſon, a little before he ſuffered; not excepting even the wretch that betrayed him, whom he forgave, and admoniſhed to repent. The evening before his execution, a great number of people met together about the priſon, ſuppoſing he was to be privately murdered there, where they ſpent the whole night in ſinging Pſalms and ſpiritual Hymns, till day appeared. On the 4th of *October* in the morning, when he was going to execution, obſerving the great concourſe of the people, from all parts, and fearing a tumult, he addreſſed himſelf to them in theſe words: *My dear brethren, let none of you attempt to releaſe me, but ſuffer the Lord to perform his work in me.* Some others he exhorted to perſevere in the Doctrine which he had taught them. Some called to him, ſaying, *Fight manfully, worthy Brother, for this is the time.* The Marquis hearing them ſay ſo, called out to his Guards, *Seize them, kill them*, and threatened to fire upon them. Being come to the Market-place, *Chriſtopher* kneeled down before the ſtake, to offer up his Prayers to God in thoſe deplorable circumſtances; but they would not ſuffer him to ſpeak, but made the Hangman chain his body to the ſtake, and throw a rope about his neck. Whilſt this was doing, many of the Spectators began to ſing Pſalms, particularly the 130th. The Halbardeers called out to them to hold their peace, and from threats proceeded to blows; but the people repayed it with ſuch a ſhower of ſtones, that firſt the Executioner and his Aſſiſtants, and afterwards the Marquis, the *Scout* or Sheriff, with the reſt of the Officers of Juſtice, were forced to flee for it. Before the Marquis went off, he was heard to ſay, *Dear Citizens ſtand by us; fellow-ſoldiers protect us; it is not we that put him to death, but the commands of the King; take care what you do, it is the King's Juſtice which you fight againſt.* But not a man would ſtir hand or foot for him. So they were forced to let the people go on, who immediately ruſhed forwards to the ſtake, where ſome took away the fagots, others looſened the chains and the halter; but it was all too late, for the Hangman, before he fled, had broken his ſkull with a hatchet, and, to make ſure work with him, ſtabbed him with a dagger in the back. An° Dom 1563.

This was the deplorable End of *Chriſtopher Fabricius*, in the 37th year of his age: but the tumult which was raiſed on account of his death, laſted ſeveral days. The day after his death there was a paper fixed up in the Market-place, importing that *there were a great many perſons in* Antwerp, *who had vowed to revenge his death in a ſhort time.* And *Long Meg*, the woman that betrayed him, narrowly eſcaped; for ſoon after being met in the ſtreet, they pelted her with ſtones and curſes, and if ſhe had not ſpeedily ſaved herſelf in a houſe, would have torn her to pieces. One of thoſe who had aſſaulted her being taken up, was afterwards hanged. This ſtruck a terror into the reſt, and reſtored the publick tranquility.

After this tumult there were two men burned at *Liſle* upon the account of Religion, without any oppoſition: *John Katel*, in *November*; and *Paul Millet*, formerly a *Franciſcan* at *Tournay*, who had married a Wife, and was become a Preacher among the *Reformed Walloons*; on the 12th of *December*. But the Magiſtrates of *Bruges* ſet themſelves againſt the Inquiſitor of *Flanders*, in his proſecuting this affair, if what a *Spaniſh* Monk, whom the King made uſe of as his Spy, writ to him concerning it be true: For, when the ſaid *Inquiſitor* had cauſed a certain perſon whom he ſuſpected of Hereſie, to be ſeized by his own Officers (the *Scout* having refuſed his aſſiſtance for fear of the Magiſtrates) and was carrying him away to priſon; the Magiſtrates preſently ordered the Officers themſelves to be apprehended, impriſoned, and fed with Bread and Water, till the Governeſs could be informed of the matter: And diſcharging the pretended Heretick, they cauſed publick notice of it to be given at the Market-place, in great contempt (as the Papiſts complained) of the Church of *Rome*, as well as of the *Inquiſitor*. But the Magiſtrates inſtead of begging pardon for this affront, haſted away to the Dutcheſs, to complain of the tu-

An° Dom. 1563. mult, which the *Inquiſitor* would have excited in their City (whoſe Privileges they declared they would never ſuffer to be thus infringed) if they had not timely quieted the minds of the people by this wholſome, though ſevere method.

It was eaſy to obſerve by all theſe Events, that more gentle means were neceſſary to preſerve the publick peace; but the Clergy ſtill kept on their pace: They cauſed a certain *Engliſhman*, who died at *Bruges*, to be buried in unhallowed ground, becauſe he had refuſed to take the Sacrament after the *Romiſh* manner. Whereupon the *Engliſh* making complaint to the Council of State at *Bruſſels*, obtained an Order to the Magiſtrates of *Bruges*, to take the Corpſe up again, and give it an honourable interment in conſecrated ground.

Theſe things were done by the lawful Powers, in a regular way: but at *Bruſſels* a perſon who was condemned to the Gallys for his Religion, was reſcued on the way by twelve armed men. At *Midelburg* there were likewiſe two Anabaptiſts taken by force out of priſon, and two others put to death. At *Armentiers*, two men ſuffered for their Faith. At *Gant*, a Mother and her Son; two Siſters, a Mother and her Daughters; and again, a man and two women. At *Tournay* a woman; and at the *Hague* a man, named *John Gerrits Ketelar:* This man relates in a certain Letter, that he had been inhumanly tortured to make him confeſs who it was that re-baptized him; but that he bore it all without the leaſt murmuring or complaint: He wiſhed he was able to deſcribe his own heart and courage in the manner he felt it whilſt he was on the rack, and received ſuch cruel ſtripes; adding, *That the Word of God and his Saviour's bitter ſufferings for Sinners, made ſo deep an impreſſion on him, that he thought upon nothing elſe.*

In a certain Village under the juriſdiction of the *Scout* of *Horn*, there were three of the inhabitants, named *Cornelius vander Werf*, *Jacob Stierman*, and *Cornelius van Wormer Veer*, who were reported to with-hold their Children from Baptiſm, and to be the Leaders of their Sect. Of this the new Biſhop of *Harlem*, *Nicolas à Novâ Terrâ*, gave notice to the *Scout* of *Horn*, deſiring him to do his duty according to the King's Placard. The Letter bore date the 11th of *Auguſt*. There was likewiſe a complaint againſt *Allard* of *Alkmaer*, Curate of the aforeſaid Village, for keeping in his houſe a certain woman called *Clara*, who, under the pretence of being a Midwife, received Children, and helpt to convey them away privately; in order, as it was ſignified to the *Scout*, *to deprive them of the holy Sacrament of Baptiſm, on which their ſalvation depended*. *John Gruwel*, at that time Dean of *Weſt-Freeſland*, ſought likewiſe to bring the ſaid Anabaptiſts into trouble by his Letters to the abovementioned *Scout*. One of his Letters, which I have ſeen, and can produce, ſhows plainly how the Clergy of thoſe times wreſted the Scriptures to bring the Civil Magiſtrates into their meaſures: which Letter being tranſlated out of barbarous Monkiſh *Latin*, is word for word as follows:

After wiſhing all Happineſs, thro' him from whom alone all Happineſs proceeds:

Moſt Honoured Mr. *Scout*,

I Pray and beſeech you, through the bowels of Mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *to keep a watchful eye over the Flock at the* Beets, (this was the name of the aforementioned Village) *where the wicked, and the enemies of the Church ſo boldly oppoſe God and our holy Mother the Church.——— Beſides thoſe ſix infants who have not been regenerated in* Chriſt *and the* Church, *there are come hither three women big with child, who refuſing to ſtay to be brought to bed at the place of their uſual habitation, have ſought out ſtrange and unknown places for that purpoſe. You are not ignorant of the tenour of thoſe pious Letters which the Biſhop of* Harlem *has written on this occaſion, no more than of the real complaints which the true zeal of my heart has extorted from me, and not any malice or ſpite. If theſe evils be not obviated by the help of God, and your concurrence, the Cauſe of* Chriſt *is ruined at the* Beets. *You know alſo what the Canons ſay in this matter, viz.* If Error be not reſiſted it is aſſiſted. *And again,* He that does not hinder another from erring, ſhews that he himſelf is in error. *And beſides, you know the Law of God declares,* If ye bring not your youngeſt brother again, ye ſhall not ſee my face. *And,* foraſmuch as you have let the guilty man eſcape, your ſoul ſhall anſwer for his. *And,* I have appointed you for a Watchman over the Houſe of *Iſrael*. *Beſides,* I ſhall require

quire his blood at your hands. ——You have eaten of the Milk, you have been cloathed with the Wool, but you have not fed my Flocks. That which was weak, ſick, broken, rejected, and loſt, have ye not ſought.——A terrible judgment hangs over the heads of ſuch as are placed over others. ——*Now to what purpoſe are all theſe Texts of Scripture, but only that, poſtponing all other conſiderations, we ſhould imitate the pattern of our Saviour?* The Son of man is come to ſeek and to ſave that which was loſt. *All this you may bring to paſs without any noiſe of Law, whether by proſecuting them, or ſeizing the ſhips in the Haven of* Horn: *in ſo doing you will ſave your own ſoul, and the ſouls of thoſe that are under your Government. For if an injury to our neighbour ought not to go unpuniſhed, how much leſs that which is done to our Lord and Saviour? But of this enough. I conclude with moſt earneſt intreaties, that you would have at heart the ſalvation of ſouls, which the death of* Chriſt *has purchaſed for us.* An° Dom. 1563.

From *Wijdneſs*,
Oct. 14. 1564.

Your Worſhip's Unworthy,

but Moſt Devoted, Servant,

GRUELIUS.

The *Scout* being thus puſhed on by the Biſhop and Dean, cited the three men, mentioned in the Biſhop's Letter, together with *Reijer Piersjens*, *Geurt Hedts*, and the Wife of *Nicolas de Kramer*, all of them inhabitants of the *Beets*, before the Magiſtrates of *Horn*, whom he moved, that they ſhould be firſt made cloſe priſoners: but I find nothing more about them, ſave only that they kept out of ſight for a while; for the Magiſtrates of this Town were ſo moderate in the buſineſs of Religion, that many Schippers and Merchants belonging to *Zeland*, *Amſterdam*, and other places, being ſuſpected of Hereſie at home, and forced to fly for it, found here a ſafe retreat. This cauſed Navigation and Commerce to flouriſh at *Horn* to ſuch a degree, that they were obliged to think of enlarging their Harbour. [1] But the *Pater* of St. *Mary*'s Convent told them in his Sermon, that he could put them in a way to receive all the Ships: *They needed but to ſend away all the* Heretical Schippers, *that came from other parts, and he would warrant that their Harbour ſhould hold all the reſt.* By this advice he got the name of *Haven-widener*, and was in contempt with the people ever after. But againſt ſuch Heretick-haters the Magiſtrates endeavoured to oppoſe other Teachers of milder Principles. Maſter *Martin Peterſon*, Paſtor of the Great Church, a good natured man, and one that had charity for thoſe of a different Perſwaſion, being lately dead, endeavours were uſed to bring *Clement Martſon*, who was alſo famed for the ſweetneſs of his temper, into the ſame Benefice. For this purpoſe the Burgomaſter, *Jacob Syms*, was ſent along with him, by the Town, to *Bruſſels*, to obtain the approbation of the Council, and from thence to *Louvain*, that he might undergo the Heretical Touch-ſtone, before the *Inquiſitor*, according to the manner of thoſe trying times. For before this, the Townſmen themſelves had the privilege of chooſing their own Paſtors, without any interpoſition of the Government. They obtained all they aſked, and yet we find the ſaid *Clement* was ſoon after turned out (without any reaſon given) and one Maſter *Richard* put into his place, who afterwards ſufficiently poiſoned the minds of the people with his furious zeal. As for *Clement*, he became Paſtor of the Church of St. *Antony*.

The Reformation favoured by the Prince of Orange.

[2] But greater and ſtronger were the efforts for moderation in religious matters, that proceeded from a higher hand. Several Lords of the Council of State, among whom the principal were *Orange*, *Egmont*, and *Horn*, who ſince the departure of the Cardinal, had acquired more authority, inſinuated upon all occaſions, *That it ſeemed to them impracticable to extirpate ſuch a number of Hereticks by the methods of fire and ſword. That on the contrary, they grew the faſter: that other means ought to be tried, to wit, the Reformation of the Clergy, and the good Inſtruction of the Common people.* Afterwards they proceeded a little farther, and declared, *that tho' the Clergy ſhould lead better lives, and the people be better inſtructed, yet the Placards ought likewiſe to be abrogated, and the times conſidered, which could by no means*

[1] D. Velij *Chron of* Horn. *p.* 159.

[2] Hooft Lib. II *p.* 48.

An° Dom. 1564. *bear with theſe ſeverities.* Some time after they opened their minds yet more freely, and added; *That in caſe Liberty of Conſcience were granted people for the exerciſe of their Religion privately, or in their own houſes, ſo as not to give publick offence; and if the Wine as well as the Bread were allowed to the Laity in the Holy Sacrament, there would then be hopes of ſurmounting other difficulties.*

[1] And at a certain Meeting of the Council of State, called by the Dutcheſs about the end of the year, in order to conſider of the Grievances of the Subject; the Prince of *Orange* delivered his mind more roundly ſtill, ſaying, among other things (after it was reſolved to ſend the Count of *Egmont* to *Spain*, to repreſent the ſtate of affairs to the King; and when the Preſident *Viglius* was for drawing up his inſtructions in general terms) *That they ought freely to declare their minds, ſince things could be no longer diſſembled: That there being ſuch Commotions and Revolutions on account of Religion in all the neighbouring nations, it ſeemed abſolutely impoſſible to continue it here in theſe Provinces upon the ancient foot, by the means of Placards, Inquiſitions, and Biſhops, eſpecially in the general depravity of the Manners of the Eccleſiaſticks: That theſe things ought to be honeſtly and fairly laid before his Majeſty: That the King was miſtaken if he propoſed to maintain* the Decrees of the Council of *Trent in theſe Provinces that lie ſo near* Germany, *where all the Princes, as well* Catholicks *as* Proteſtants, *have ſo juſtly oppoſed and rejected them. For which reaſon it would be better that his Majeſty ſhould connive or wink at theſe things, as other Princes were obliged to do, and annul the puniſhments eſtabliſhed by the Placards, or at leaſt moderate them. And though he himſelf* (as he declared) *reſolved to adhere to the Catholick Religion, yet he could not approve, that Princes ſhould aim at any dominion over the Souls of Men, or deprive them of the freedom of their Faith and Religion.*

The Prince ſpake of theſe things with ſo much force of expreſſion, and ſuch a torrent of words, enlarging ſo far upon the Point, that his harangue laſted till ſeven in the evening; inſomuch, that the Dutcheſs, deſirous to go to dinner, adjourned the debate till the next day; but the Preſident *Viglius* returning home, extremely alarmed at what the Prince had ſaid, could take no reſt all that night, ruminating what reply to make to the things that had been advanced. Riſing at day-break, he fell into a fit of the Apoplexy whilſt his ſervants were dreſſing him, out of which though his body ſoon recovered, his underſtanding felt its effects much longer. To him therefore was ſubſtituted the Privy Counſellor [x] *Joachim Hopperus*, whom the Goverꝛeſs allowed to inſinuate ſomething about the aboliſhing of the *Inquiſition*, and qualifying the Placards. This, and the above-mentioned Speech of the Prince of *Orange*, is related in a certain *French* Book, ſuppoſed to be written by *Viglius* himſelf, under the title of, *The Source and Beginning of the Troubles excited in the* Low-Countries, *under the Government of the Dutcheſs of* Parma.

The Count of Egmont *ſets out for* Spain *with a Commiſſion to the King.*

The Count of *Egmont* ſet out for *Spain* in the the beginning of the year 1565, where he was received by the King and the whole Court with a wonderful ſhow of honour and favour, and loaden with Preſents, in hopes, as it is thought, of bringing him off from the reſt of the *Dutch* Nobility, whereby they would be hindered from ſtirring, or at leaſt much weakened in the execution of their deſigns. The King admitted him frequently to private audiences, and conſulted with him alone about the Articles of his Commiſſion; but would by no means hearken to the Propoſitions concerning Religion. However, that theſe alſo might be conſidered with greater care and caution, he called ſome of the moſt eminent *Spaniſh* Divines to his aſſiſtance, aſking them, what they thought of that *Liberty of Conſcience* which ſome of the *Dutch* Towns ſo earneſtly deſired of him? But when moſt of them maintained, that conſidering the preſent ſituation of affairs in the *Low-Countries*, and for the obviating greater evils which would otherwiſe certainly happen by the falling away of ſeveral Cities from their obedience to the King's authority, and from their duty to the Orthodox Church, his Majeſty might grant ſome freedom in matters of Religion, without ſinning againſt God: the King told them, that he had not ſent for them to know whether he *might*, but whether he *muſt* do ſo in point of Conſcience. And when they aſſured him that they did not think he lay under any neceſſity, he fell down before a Crucifix in their preſence ([2] it is *Strada* that ſays it, and pretends he had it from one that was by) and ſpake as follows: *I beſeech thee, O God and*

The opinion of the Spaniſh *Divines concerning Liberty of Conſcience, with K.* Philip's *reſolution upon it.*

[x] Burgund. Hiſt. Lib. II. *p.* 97, &c. Bentivogl. Lib. II. *p.* 68.

[2] Strada *p.* 183. 152-153

and Lord of all things, that I may ever continue in this mind, to wit, never to be King, nor called so of any Country where thou art not acknowledged for Lord. An° Dom. 1559.

After this, the Count of *Egmont* was dismissed with answers in writing to all those Articles which he was directed to lay before the King, without the least concessions in Religious matters. *The Count of* Egmont *returns without effecting any thing.*

During the said Count's journey and abode in *Spain*, the Placards against Heresy were executed with great rigour in *Flanders*. *Joost de Creul* was beheaded at *Ronsen* on the 10th of *February*, on account of his having embraced the *Reformed* Religion, which, having been taken up once before, he had abjured for fear of death. Some are of opinion, that the Sermons preached by *Peter Titelman*, Dean of *Ronsen*, gave the first occasion to him and others to hearken to the Doctrines of the *Reformation:* of which the said Dean was become one of the most violent Persecutors, and who, by vertue of the Office of *Inquisitor*, condemned persons to death for Principles and Tenets which he himself had infused into them. Upon the 21st of the same month, *John Disreneaux*, a man of seventy years, left his life in the fire, or rather in the smoke, with which, as some say, he was suffocated at *Lisle*, for the sake of his Religion. *John de Graef* of *Ekkerghem*, formerly a Miller at *Heynsdike*, in the jurisdiction of *Hulst*, was on the 27th of this month, strangled and burnt at *Hulst*, with the *New Testament* about his neck. The Clergy had used all arts, temptations and violences to bring him off from the opinions he had sucked out of that Book, and back again to *Popery*. [1] They tormented him likewise in the prison with hunger and thirst, with-holding his necessary food; nor would they allow him any fewel, though it was an excessively cold season; so that he went halting to death by reason of his toes being almost mortified with the frost; but he went on however with courage and tranquility, admonishing and exhorting the standers by, that if they had attained to the knowledge of the Truth, they should adhere to it, and despise the world, which was not in any sort to be compared with their future happiness: then he called upon God, and prayed for his Persecutors in the midst of his sufferings. It is likewise related, that they met with great difficulty in procuring Wood or Straw to burn him, the Burghers refusing to sell it for that purpose. *The Persecution continues.*

At *Tournay* there lived two youths, *Hugo Destailleur*, and *John Pick*, who from their childhood had maintained a strict friendship together, by reason of the conformity of judgments, tempers, inclinations and views, even in the matters of Religion; having both of them frequented the private Conventicles. These two, whilst they were contemplating certain Texts of Scripture, and weighing the meaning of them, somewhere without the Town, were discovered and put in prison; where being still more firmly united by the same fortune, they bore their bands with equal patience, till at last, to wit, on the 22d of *March* of this year, after having made an unanimous confession of their Faith, they were entirely united by the same sufferings, and the same death, being strangled and burnt both together.

At *Bruges* the Parish Priest of St. *Wouberg*, one *Adrian Smout*, promoted the service of the *Inquisition*, by keeping an exact register of all that went to Confession and the Sacrament in the time of *Lent*. This he thought a very good way to find out the *Hereticks*. Whereupon one of the inhabitants was so terrified, that against his own conscience he went first to Confession, and then to Sacrament; but after receiving the Wafer, he conveyed it out of his mouth again, and putting it into a cloth, hung it privately on the knocker of the Church-door on *Easter-day*, with a little note of the following tenour; *Take notice*, Adrian Smout, *that I here restore you what you had given me; for I will not thus receive the Sacrament under one kind only: it was against my conscience that I took it, and therefore I immediately spit it out of my mouth into a handkerchief: do with it now what you please. You have caused me a great deal of fear and sorrow by your trick of registring; but mark the consequences of terrifying people in such a manner: leave my conscience in quiet another time. However, I will not any longer value your threats, whatever befals me. If I could have thought that my outward eating would have thus disturbed my inward peace, I would much rather have fallen into the hands of men, than incurred the displeasure of God. But I trust that God will have mercy on me.* About this time also there were two Anabaptists put to death; one at *Gant*, the other at *Oudenard*.

The

[1] Bor. Lib. I. *p.* 21. Velij Chron. *p.* 159.

An° Dom. 1565.

The Count of *Egmont* being returned to *Bruſſels* in the end of *April*, gave a verbal account of his negotiations to the Council, and cauſed the King's anſwer, which was in *Spaniſh*, and as it related to Religion, had been approved by the *Spaniſh* Divines, to be read; the ſubſtance of which was as follows: *That nothing gave his Majeſty greater anxiety and concern than the buſineſs of Religion, and that he would rather die a hundred thouſand deaths than conſent to the leaſt change in it. He would have them conſider whether it might not be proper (provided the deſign were concealed) to call to the Council of State two or three of the beſt qualified Biſhops, together with ſome Divines and Lawyers of a diſtinguiſhed zeal for Religion, under the pretext of adviſing about the* Council *of* Trent, *in order to prepare a ſcheme of Doctrine for the inſtruction and guidance of the common people, to prevent farther ſeductions, which were now ſo rife, to bring back wanderers, by the means of good examples, into the way of Truth; and laſtly, to put the Schools upon ſuch a foot, as might enable them to ſtop the growing contagion of Hereſy.* He added: *That his Majeſty did by no means deſign to ſuſpend the Proſecutions of Hereticks, which his duty to God and the Commonwealth rendered ſo neceſſary; but it might be deliberated in this Aſſembly whether any new and more adequate puniſhment could be ſubſtituted to the old and uſual one, ſo as more effectually to curb their inſolence, and to pluck up the tares even by the roots; to which end it would be very uſeful to undeceive thoſe wretches, with reſpect to the honour which they fancied they ſhould acquire, by obſtinately perſevering in their wickedneſs.*

The Subſtance of the King's Anſwer to the Count's Remonſtrances.

In purſuance of theſe Orders from the King, there were ſummoned againſt the 25th of *May*, to *Bruſſels*, ſix Divines, together with the Preſidents of *Flanders* and *Utrecht*, and three Gentlemen of the long Robe from the Courts of Juſtice at *Mechelen*. And tho' [1] the Governeſs herſelf, together with the Prince of *Orange* and the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*, were inclinable towards Moderation, yet the Clergy were of another mind, maintaining, *That the King's anſwer did not leave them the leaſt room for any ſuch thing. And that beſides, it was a very great miſtake to imagine that the* Hereticks *were to be won by lenity, or by any alteration or ſoftning of their puniſhments, the ſtrongeſt medicines being the moſt proper for their diſtemper.*

An Aſſembly of Divines ſummoned to meet at Bruſſels.

[2] And the ſaid Divines that had been called to the Council of State, drew up their Opinion in writing, and ſigned it on the 7th of *July*, touching the Reformation of the Clergy, the inſtruction of the People, the teaching Children, and altering the puniſhment of Hereticks; the purport of which was: *That as for the inſtruction of the people, the Council of* Trent *had taken ſufficient care of that matter. As for the reformation of Churchmen, the Canons of the ſaid Council had well provided for that alſo, where they treated of the ſimplicity of the ſpiritual Offices, of the liberty of Non-reſidence, and the like, ſo that nothing was wanting but to put thoſe* Canons *in execution. The Schools, and teaching of Children were likewiſe ſo well regulated by that* Council, *that no more was neceſſary but a bare compliance therewith. Concerning the alteration of the puniſhments of Hereticks, the* Placards *that had been made for the preſervation of the Faith, and the extirpation of Hereſie, and which had been twice renewed above thirty five years ſince, and regularly put in execution, could not admit of any qualifications. Nevertheleſs for the preventing offences and tumults, and for the exciting and encouraging thoſe Magiſtrates that were moſt backward in putting ſuch* Placards *in practice, there might be private directions given to the Councils of the reſpective Provinces, that when they puniſhed the obſtinate Hereticks with death, they ſhould make a diſtinction as well between Sects as Perſons, and have ſome regard to the condition, age, and other circumſtances of people, ſo as after declaration of the ſentence, to treat one more ſeverely, another more gently; and ſometimes inſtead of putting them to death, to condemn them to the Gallys, or to baniſh them out of the land for ever, or laſtly to confiſcate their eſtates. As for thoſe that ſhould recant and abjure their errors, they might be favoured either with a perpetual or temporal baniſhment, according to the nature of the caſe, and demerit of the offenders; excepting always the* Teachers, Apoſtates, *and* Movers of Tumults, *who were by no means to be excuſed from the pains and penalties inflicted upon the* Contumacious. *Beſides, that ſuch who, without any ſuſpicion of Hereſie, ſhould*

Their Opinion with reference to the differences in point of Religion.

[1] Strada, Lib. IV. *p.* 183. Hooft. Lib. II. *p.* 51.

[2] Hooft. *p.* 53.

happen to violate the Placards either out of fondneſs for novelty, or through negligence, or otherwiſe, ought to be puniſhed by whipping, pecuniary mulcts, baniſhment, or the like. Laſtly, *That it was neceſſary above all things, to implore the aſſiſtance of God by Proceſſions and publick Prayers, and particularly by aſking of him a conſtant reſolution never to recede in the leaſt point, from the True and Holy Faith, whatever dangers they might be threatened with either in general or particular.* An° Dom. 1565.

In the mean while the King ſent over orders for the execution of certain Anabaptiſts, and others on account of their Religion. [1] *Egmont*, who expected other matters, and had given out ſo, being much offended at this, did not ſcruple to ſay, that it was contrary to the promiſes and aſſurances he had received from his Majeſty's own lips; and publickly declared his diſcontent. Of this the Dutcheſs gave the King an account when ſhe communicated to him the Opinions of the Divines. *Count* Egmont *is diſcontented.*

There came likewiſe Orders, ſome time before from *Spain*, to print, promulgate, and put in practice the Canons of the Council of *Trent*, with the Royal approbation annexed. This being rumoured abroad, was the occaſion of very different conjectures and commotions in the minds of the people; ſome believing that the time was come that Hereſie would be put out of countenance, all Abuſes reformed, and the Schiſm thereby healed. Others preſaged on the contrary, that the ſaid Council, which had been holden in a place where neither the *Lutherans* nor *Reformed* could come with ſafety, and which had condemned them without hearing, would be looked upon as partial, and conſequently that they would be more averſe to the Church. And when the Dutcheſs conſulted the Biſhops, Stadtholders, and Lawyers, together with the Univerſities of the *Low-Countries*, about the publication of the *Council*, moſt of them were of the following opinion: [2] *That the admiſſion of the Articles of the ſaid* Council, *with reſpect to its Doctrines in general, ought not once to be ſcrupled. That thoſe alſo which related to the reforming abuſes ſhould be received as readily, ſo far as they were conſiſtent with the Rights and Privileges of Patronage, Preſentation, Juriſdiction, Union, Proviſion for the Poor, Regulation of Manners, Viſitation, and the like, belonging to the King, or any of his Subjects, whether Spiritual or Temporal.* *King* Philip's *Order for promulgating and practiſing the Canons of the Council of* Trent.

This having been laid before the King, he returned for anſwer to his Siſter, the Governeſs, That ſhe ſhould proceed with the publication of the *Council*. The Stadtholders likewiſe, and all the temporal Magiſtrates, were directed to aſſiſt the Prelates in all theſe matters, and to be conformable to the Canons of the *Council* in every thing, ſave only where they might ſeem to derogate from his Majeſty's Prerogatives, or from the Rights of any of his Vaſſals, which they were carefully to preſerve in their preſent ſtate, according to the tenour of his Majeſty's directions.

It was remarkable that the King ordered the Canons, which had been enacted in the ſaid Council of *Trent*, to be publiſhed in his own name, and not in the *Pope*'s.

Among thoſe Canons or Rules, the following was one: *No Temporal power ſhall preſume to forbid the Spiritual Judge to excommunicate any body, nor order the Excommunication, already pronounced, to be revoked; foraſmuch as the cognizance thereof belongs not to the Civil, but Eccleſiaſtical Government.* [3] This was cenſured by the Court of *Holland*, after the following manner: *Foraſmuch as the Court of* Holland, *purſuant to the* Concordates *and* Bull *of* Leo X. *and to ancient cuſtom, is wont to enact penal Orders, and grant Prohibitions, in caſes of hardſhips or injuſtice, even againſt Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures; there muſt be ſpecial care taken with reſpect to this Canon, that nothing be eſtabliſhed thereby, incompatible with the aforeſaid* Concordates, Bull, *and conſtant and uninterrupted Cuſtoms.*

By the Rules of this *Council*, the cognizance of all matters of Faith, or the buſineſs of Hereſie, was ſubjected to the Spiritual Tribunal.

About this time the Archbiſhop of *Cambray* called the Clergy of his Province together, and after much oppoſition from ſuch of them as did not care for any reformation of abuſes, got the Canons of the ſaid *Council* to be received. But at *Mechelen*, the Archbiſhop was on the ſide of his Clergy, and none among them were for accepting. He of *Utrecht* had diſputes with his Church, and neither party had much reliſh for the *Council*, which gave occaſion to ſay, that thoſe Gentlemen ſeemed to be better pleaſed at their utter ruin which was haſtening upon

[1] Hooft, *p.* 52. Strada, Lib. IV. *p.* 113.
[2] Hooft, *p.* 55. Strada, *p.* 177.
[3] Grot. Piet. Ord. Hol *p.* 116. Strada, *p.* 174. Hooft, Lib. II. *p.* 56.

upon them, by the growth of Hereſie, than with the ſlight attempt of reforming their Manners by the Church of *Rome*.

An° Dom. 1565.

New Fears of the Spaniſh *Inquiſition.*

In the mean while the dread of the *Inquiſition* began to revive: The Citizens, Gentry, Magiſtracy, and the States themſelves, came to Court with complaint upon complaint, againſt the perſecutions and intolerable oppreſſions of the *Inquiſitors* and their Officers, who by teazing, vexing, and proſecuting them in their Spiritual Courts, had rendered their Honour, Eſtates, Alliances, and Friendſhips, unſafe and dangerous; they breathed nothing but fire and flame in all parts. Some ſaid, *there could be no viler ſlavery, than to lead a trembling life in the midſt of Spies and Informers, who regiſtered every word, action, look, and even every thought which they pretended to read from thence, and upon which they put the very worſt conſtruction.* They added, *that theſe were that kind of vermin from whom the late Emperor himſelf was not ſecure, nor could eſcape their ſlander and reproaches, of having handled the* Lutherans *in* Germany *with too great tenderneſs.* At the ſame time it was artfully reported, and eaſily believed, that the King having been touched at the miſeries and calamities which befel the Hereticks, was obliged to expiate his compaſſion, by letting out and burning that *Criminal Blood.* Others ſaid, that this happened for his having ſpoken too harſhly to one of the *Inquiſitors*, and that ſuch a fault could be attoned by no leſs a ſacrifice.

Great Murmurings among the People.

With reſpect to the Placards, they did not ſtick to declare openly, *That the penalties inflicted by vertue of the ſame, could not be juſtified before God, nor was it practicable to determine the ſenſe of the word* Hereſie; *and conſequently that meer trifles, or matters of ſmall importance, might be called* Hereſie, *at the pleaſure of the Judges. And that the putting to death of* penitent *or* recanting Hereticks, *far exceeded all other ſorts of cruelty.*

[1] One of the chief Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, whoſe Poſterity even to this day are of the *Romiſh* Perſwaſion, meeting a certain zealous Sheriff, ſaid to him: *That when he appeared before the Tribunal of God, he ſhould do well to have the Emperor's Placards in his hand, and to obſerve how far they would bear him out in his Proſecutions.*

Papers were likewiſe frequently ſcattered about, and paſted up on the Gates of the Palace, and the houſes of the Prince of *Orange* and Count of *Egmont* at *Bruſſels*, whereby the Cauſe of the perſecuted perſons was vindicated, and thoſe Lords ſummoned to their help, to the end that every one might obtain the freedom of his Religion, and live and die according to the dictates of his own conſcience.

On the other hand, the Inquiſitors-General of *Louvain*, complaining of the ſmall reſpect and favour ſhown them, wrote to the Dutcheſs to be diſcharged from their employment, as being of no longer uſe to the Church.

A further Account of the King's Reſolution.

Whilſt matters were in this condition, the King's Anſwer was brought to the Reſolutions of the Council, and to the Remonſtrances of the Count of *Egmont*, againſt murdering the Anabaptiſts; to which laſt point his Majeſty replied thus: [2] *That the Inquiſition having been practiſed ever ſince his Father's time, could not be accounted a Novelty. That indeed he had recommended it to the conſideration of the Count of* Egmont, *whether ſome private kind of puniſhment ought not to be preferred to the publick (though the latter was eſtabliſhed for example ſake,) ſince the condemned perſons gloried in their dying for Religion. But that in the mean while he had agreed to no ceſſation of the Inquiſition, nor would ever conſent to it.* As for the advice given him by the Gentlemen who had been called to Council for that purpoſe, the King highly extolled it in the main; and having altered ſomething in it of little moment, he approved entirely of the reſt, and particularly of the ſeverities to be uſed in the perſecutions. *For*, ſaid he, *as often as there has been any relaxation or abatement in the puniſhment of the Hereticks, they have preſently grown inſolent; and all wiſe men have ever thought it abſurd, to leſſen the penalties when the crimes increaſed.*

Which occaſions yet greater diſturbances.

This Anſwer much diſguſted the principal Lords of his Council of State. *Viglius* was of opinion, that this Letter, which he foreſaw might occaſion freſh diſorders, ſhould not be divulged; and offered even to bear all the blame of ſuch a reſolution, if the King ſhould be diſpleaſed at it. The Dutcheſs on the other hand, and ſome Lords of the Council underſtood and agreed, that the King muſt be punctually

[1] Hooft, *p.* 95.

[2] Hooft, *p.* 66. Strada, Lib. IV. *p.* 198. Weſenb. *p.* 39. Bor. Lib. I. *p.* 22.

ally obeyed. Accordingly Letters, together with an Extract of the King's Anſwer, containing his commands to put in execution the Placards, to maintain the *Iniquiſition*, and to promulgate the Council of *Trent*, were diſpatched to the Biſhops, Stadtholders, and other Magiſtrates, requiring them to notify the ſame to the Governours of particular Diſtricts, and to all the good Cities of the *Netherlands*; and ordering that there ſhould be choſen out of the Government of every place, from ſix months to ſix months, a certain perſon whom they ſhould empower to introduce the *Canons* of the *Council*, in the reſpective juriſdictions, and to take cognizance of all that happened, in order to communicate the ſame to his Principals, and by them to the Governeſs, or to the Privy Council. An° Dom. 1565.

The diſpatch of theſe Letters occaſioned even greater diſturbances than had been expected; and the ſeverities therein directed, gave offence both to great and ſmall. [1] The Prince of *Orange*, to whom this burning, beheading and drowning on account of Religion had always been very diſagreeable, returned the following anſwer to the Dutcheſs from *Breda*, dated the 24th of *January*, 1566, upon her ſending the ſaid Letters to him, and the Council of *Holland*: *That theſe ſeverities, in his opinion, threatened the State with utter ruin; and if they were reſolved to go on with them, and not wait for the arrival of the King, who, perhaps, would view men and things with another eye, he had much rather ſome other perſons were gratified with his Employments, than that he ſhould be reproached with the misfortunes and evils which would fall upon the Country and People committed to his care.* Some other Stadtholders gave the like anſwers, declaring, That they had neither the power nor inclination to put in execution ſuch odious Placards, nor to become Life-guards to the *Inquiſition*, and aſſiſt at the burning of fifty or ſixty thouſand perſons. *The Prince of* Orange*'s opinion of the ſtate of affairs.*

The four principal Towns of *Brabant*, *viz. Louvain*, *Bruſſels*, *Antwerp* and *Bois le Duc*, ſent their Deputies to the Chancellor and Council of *Brabant*, firſt with a verbal Complaint, and next with a Repreſentation in writing: [2] *That the command of the King, for introducing the* Council *of* Trent, *and the appointing ſuch perſons as the Dutcheſs had impowered to ſee it executed, without the conſent of the States, were not only violations of the Privileges of the Nobility, and the Rights of the Country, but tended to reduce that populous and flouriſhing Province to a meer wilderneſs.* They likewiſe aſſerted and maintained, that *Brabant* was never before plagued with an *Inquiſition*, nor ought to be ſubject to any. But they could get no other anſwer, but that the King intended them no harm. Upon which they addreſſed themſelves to the Governeſs, who was pleaſed to enquire further into the matter, and directed the *Inquiſitors* of *Louvain* to give her their opinion touching theſe pretended *Rights*. Having likewiſe preſt the Council of *Brabant* to deliver their ſentiments concerning the opinion of the ſaid *Inquiſitors*, they ſpoke out plainly at laſt, and ſaid, that the people of their Province were not obliged to receive the *Inquiſition:* the ſame reply was likewiſe made by the chief Lords of the Council of State. *He is ſeconded by the principal Cities of* Brabant.

At *Bois le Duc* the people were ripe for an Inſurrection, upon the attempt of the *Scout*, and other Officers, to publiſh the above-mentioned Orders, in ſpite of the majority of the Magiſtrates, and of almoſt the whole Town; but by the prudence of ſome of them, matters were accommodated, and the publication dropped.

And, indeed, in ſeveral other places the Magiſtrates had enough to do to hinder ſeditions and tumults, by giving the common people good words, and hopes that the Deputies of the four chief Towns might prevail ſo far with the Government, as to move them to retract the promulgation of the King's Orders. In ſome Towns the people were ſo impatient, that they had the boldneſs to break open the Priſons and releaſe ſuch as were in cuſtody for the ſake of Religion. [3] Thus, for inſtance, at *Antwerp*, on the 26th of *January*, two young Gentlewomen, Siſters, and a Clock-maker, were by force brought out of the Priſon called the *Steen*. And every where great endeavours were uſed to deliver the impriſoned, as ſoon as it was known how they were privately made away in the Priſons: for the *Inquiſitors* not daring any longer to carry them to a publick execution, this new method of diſpatching them, which the King himſelf had ordered, was now put in practice, and it was commonly performed thus: They bound the condemned perſon neck and heels, then threw him into a tub of water, where he lay till he was quite ſuffocated. *The execution of the King's Orders oppoſed.*

[1] Apol. Pr. Or. *p.* 52. Hooft. *p.* 68. Bor. ib. Strada Lib. V. *p.* 200.

[2] Hooft. *p* 68. Bor. Lib. I. *p.* 25. Weſenb. *p.* 47, &c.

[3] Thuan. Lib. XXXIX. *p* 488. Meteren. Lib. I. *p.* 33.

An° Dom. 1565.

Complaints against the new method of Inquisition.

The four Members of *Flanders* had already, in the year 1564, brought several complaints against *Peter Titelman*, the Dean of *Ronsen*, who, as they said, *assumed the name of* Inquisitor of the Faith, *without ever having shewn them his Commission*; *and to the prejudice of the Country, and breach of the ancient Privileges and Customs, had presumed, without cognizance of cause, to apprehend such persons as he thought fit*; *and even to search houses, and take people out of them unknown to the Magistrates, with the assistance of Bailiffs and Scouts only, they not daring to refuse him, for fear of his accusing them as favourers of Heresy.* —— *That these matters appeared to them to be of so great consequence, that if they should suffer them to pass unobserved, and without representing them to his Majesty, and he, the* Inquisitor, *should go on with these unreasonable and intolerable Innovations, they were afraid it might give an occasion of mutiny and uproar to the common people, and endanger even the loss of the Country. Wherefore they humbly besought his Majesty, considering all that had been represented by them, and particularly the great and faithful services always performed with chearfulness by the Province of* Flanders, *that he would vouchsafe to let them enjoy their said ancient Rights and Privileges, and support the same, as he had publickly and privately sworn to do, when he took upon him the Government of these Provinces*; *and as his noble Progenitors had inviolably observed and done*; *and that he would forbid the* Inquisitor, *and other Ecclesiastick persons, to practise these innovations and unlawful methods with regard to Religion.*

The Governess answered them, that they should have been a little more particular in their Petition; letting them know at the same time, that she had charged the *Inquisitor-General* to behave in his Office with the greatest prudence and caution; and that she hoped, that in case they would countenance and assist him as they ought, and take care that the Placards were put in execution in such manner as they knew most agreeable to his Majesty's intentions, and to their own ease and welfare, all would go well. But the *Inquisitor* enlarging his authority and jurisdiction from time to time, and incroaching upon the Privileges of the Country, the old complaints were renewed.

Add to this, that the new Bishop of *Bruges*, who had rendered himself very odious to the inhabitants of that place, did in the month of *March*, 1566, communicate to the Magistrates certain Articles (which he said he had received a little before out of *Spain* from the King,) and which they were to see executed for the future, to wit: *That all the Parish Priests within their Districts should keep an account in writing of the names of all such as dwelt in their respective Parishes, including both Lodgers and Servants, and should require from Strangers a Certificate of the Priest in whose Parish they inhabited last. As to married people, they were to demand Certificates from the Priest that joined them, that their Marriage had been celebrated according to the Rites of the Church of* Rome. —— *The names and dwelling-places of those that came to Confession were likewise to be register'd, as also those of the persons whom they should join in Matrimony for the future, and the Children whom they should baptize, together with the names of the Parents and Sponsors.* —— *As for Schools, that the Bishop should call before him the several Masters and Mistresses within his Diocese, and either license or suppress their Schools, according to the circumstances of things.* —— *That the respective Pastors should enquire diligently, whether all those who lived upon Alms were good* y *Catholicks, and went frequently* y *to Confession and to the Sacrament*; *and if any were found to neglect it, notice should be given to their Governours, that they were no longer to be relieved, and the said Governours were to follow the directions of the Pastors.*

New Orders from the King.

[1] But when they found difficulties in executing these Orders, and could not prevail with the Temporal Magistrates to subject themselves to the Bishop, the *Inquisitor* applied himself again to the Council of *Flanders*, both in his own and the Bishop's name, complaining loudly against the Magistrates of *Bruges*, and accusing them of several matters, urging, that the following burdens should be laid upon them: *First, That the* Scout, *the Governour of the respective Companies of the Citizens, and all other Officers, should be obliged immediately, and without delay, if thereto required, to assist in the apprehending persons, and even to apprehend them themselves*; *that they should do it likewise though none of the* Inquisitors *Officers were present, and*

Demands of the Inquisitor.

[1] Wesemb. *p.* 93. Bor. *p.* 29.

and only upon his demand ſignified in writing: That they ſhould take people out of their houſes as well as in the ſtreets and elſewhere, without any previous Charge or Information to be produced againſt them, foraſmuch as the cognizance of Hereſy did not belong to the Civil but Eccleſiaſtick powers, or the Inquiſition *alone: As alſo, that ſuch as were ſuſpected of Hereſy ſhould be committed to priſon, without accuſing them before the Temporal Magiſtrates, or waiting for their being disfranchiſed, whereby the opportunities of ſeizing them were often loſt: That as ſoon as any perſon was apprehended he ſhould be delivered up to the Keeper of the Eccleſiaſtical Priſon, or be carried where the* Inquiſitor *ſhould direct: General Orders were to be given to all Officers to aſſiſt the* Inquiſitors, *without being obliged to repair to the Burgomaſters, and others of the Magiſtracy, for particular permiſſion, on which account many endeavours had been baffled, and Offenders releaſed: That the* Inquiſitor, *and his Officers ſhould have free acceſs to the perſons impriſoned, by order of the Magiſtrates, to examine them touching their Faith, their Accomplices, and what elſe they thought proper: That they ſhould be at liberty to reduce ſuch Examinations into written Articles, as well in private as publick, and in the preſence of the Civil Officers; and that they ſhould not be hindered from proſecuting thoſe who being accuſed of Hereſy, were, according to the Placards, to be puniſhed with more gentle penalties than death: That Hereticks impriſoned by the Magiſtrates, but not to be puniſhed with death, ſhould not be diſcharged before they had been examined by their* Lawful Judge, *the Biſhop, or the* Inquiſitor; *nor ſhould they even then, be freed from Spiritual Excommunication, until they had abjured and forſaken their Hereſy.* With theſe and ſuch like Articles were the Lay-Magiſtrates to be loaded. An° Dom. 1565.

This provoked the chief Cities of *Flanders* to declare yet more openly againſt the *Inquiſition*, and to petition the Governeſs a ſecond and third time, that foraſmuch as it appeared to be diametrically oppoſite to their Privileges, Liberties and ancient Cuſtoms, it might be entirely aboliſhed and annulled, ſo far as related to the Laity; repreſenting, among other things, *That the ſaid* Inquiſition *had never been received by the States of* Flanders *in general, nor by the four Members*; and that it ought not to turn to their prejudice, if the ſaid Mr. *Peter Titelman, had introduced it, by the connivance of any other Cities or Places.* *Repeated Remonſtrances of the chief Cities of* Flanders *againſt the* Inquiſition.

To all theſe Petitions little anſwer was returned; and what was returned, promiſed little remedy and performed leſs. Whereupon the four Members of *Flanders* renewed their complaints in a fourth petition, ſetting forth: "That the *Inquiſitor* "had obtained four Serjeants formerly, and now two more of the Dutcheſs, for the "Attorney-General of *Flanders*, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf, and to proceed "more effectually in his buſineſs, without applying to the uſual Magiſtrates and "Officers of the place; whereby in time he would uſurp all their juriſdiction, as "he had partly done, not long before, in the caſe of a certain perſon within the "Diſtrict of *Caſand*, whoſe houſe he had entered by force; where having found him, "he made his Serjeants ſeize, and drag him along the ſtreets, notwithſtanding that "he had ſatisfied the ſentence of the Civil Magiſtrate; which manner of proceeding, *they ſaid*, might well be accounted the utmoſt ſeverity. Theſe, and ſuch "like methods uſed by the *Inquiſitor*, gave them juſt cauſe to apprehend, that none "of their Fellow-Citizens, though never ſo *Catholick* and *Orthodox*, could be ſecured againſt the vexations of the *Inquiſition*, if they happened to be obnoxious "to a ſecret enemy, and at the ſame time found themſelves out of the protection "of common Juſtice." They added, "That the longer and the more patiently "they bore theſe hardſhips, the more they were laid upon them; and that among "other innovations, it was ordered, that one Commiſſary only ſhould be impowered "to act with the *Inquiſitors*, whereby their yoke was doubled, the whole body of "Juſtice being thus brought under their ſole cognizance, and conſequently, that their "Eſtates, Lives and Honours would depend on their breath alone. Once more "therefore, they begged and intreated, that the *Inquiſition* might be ſuſpended and "ſtopped; and hoped that this their requeſt would not be otherwiſe underſtood than "as intended, for the maintaining the common peace and tranquility, and for the ſervice "of his Majeſty; without any views of altering *the Eſtabliſhed Religion, and the* "*Catholick Faith*, in which they were reſolved to perſevere till death. *New Complaints againſt the* Inquiſition;

But this Petition was likewiſe in vain. The Governeſs expected that the *Flemings* ſhould have been ſatisfied with her paſt anſwers; however, thoſe of *Bruges* prevailed *But without ſucceſs.*

An° Dom. 1566. vailed ſo far by their importunity, that the hands of the Council of *Flanders* were tied, and the *Inquiſitor* forbidden to proſecute the affairs of Religion any farther, till the Court had had the cognizance of them.

Farther progreſs of the Perſecution.

But before things were brought thus far, the poor *Proteſtants* had been terribly oppreſſed. After that one *Iſbrant* an Organ-maker, who had lent his houſe for a Meeting-place, had been clapped up, which was in *November* 1564, and the Elders and Deacons were fled for it, no body durſt harbour nor entertain *Peter Gabriel*, the then Miniſter of the perſecuted Congregation. Wherefore he retired from *Bruges* to *Antwerp*, from whence, that he might not ſeem to have wholly forſaken his little Flock, he went over once a fortnight, and exerciſed his function among ſome of his truſty friends, till *Baldwin Dontiſſent*, together with nineteen others, were ſeized on the 11th of *March*, 1565. Then the ſaid Congregation was quite diſperſed, and *Peter Gabriel* went no more to *Bruges*. *William Hoſe*, who with *Dontiſſent* was put to death on the 16th of *April*, 1566, at the inſtigation of the *Inquiſitor*, was caſt into priſon the *January* before, for an Anabaptiſt, becauſe he had not made uſe of a *Romiſh* Prieſt to baptize his child; but afterwards he was accuſed of being a *Lutheran*, becauſe he had ſent for a Preacher from *Hontſchoten* to perform the ſaid Office. We have likewiſe an account of two and thirty other perſons, who a little before were taken up on account of Religion, twelve of whom were burnt, and twenty abjured their Faith; but as ſoon as they were releaſed, and out of danger, returned to their former Confeſſion.

One *Liewen de Bleker*, a Painter near *Oudenard*, having embraced the *Reformed* Religion, and at the ſame time a ſober and good life inſtead of a diſorderly one, which he had formerly led, was betrayed by his own Wife and Mother-in-law; and being convicted of Hereſy by the Dean of *Ronſen*, and delivered over to the Temporal Arm, was reſcued by the common people; but refuſing to eſcape, and throwing himſelf down on the ground, he cried out: *Let the Magiſtrates do what they will with me.* Whereupon he was again ſeized, ſtrangled and burnt; but not without great murmurings of the people; for as he was carrying to execution in the Market-place, the men and women cried aloud from their doors and windows, Liewen, *perſevere in your Faith*; *fight manfully, for the truth is on your ſide.*

Theſe were the fruits of *Inquiſitor Titelman*'s zeal, which produced ſo many complaints.

[1] No leſs were the complaints againſt another *Inquiſitor*, *William Lindanus*, from the States of *Freeſland*. They petitioned, that another might be conſtituted *Inquiſitor* in his place, but in vain: Upon which he grew more bold and preſumptuous; and he once ſo far forgot himſelf, that being admoniſhed of his miſbehaviour, he durſt anſwer in full Council: *He knew his Inſtructions, and what he had to do*; but refuſed to produce them, ſaying, *That the Court was too kind to Hereticks, and too remiſs in putting the Laws in execution againſt them.*

Books printed againſt the Inquiſition.

[2] About this time there came abroad a great number of ſatyrical Tracts and Pamphlets againſt the Church of *Rome* and the *Inquiſition*, to encreaſe the peoples averſion to both, and to excite them againſt their perſecuting methods, and in defence of the Proteſtant Religion, which were diſperſed throughout the Nation. Among others, the Confeſſion of Faith publiſhed by the *Reformed* in the year 1563, and reviſed by order of a Synod that met at *Antwerp* in the beginning of *May* this year, was reprinted, together with a Letter addreſſed to the King of *Spain*, containing:

The Reformed Confeſſion of Faith reprinted and addreſſed to the King.

" A Proteſtation before God and his Angels, that they had not the leaſt intention to " raiſe Tumults or Riots, nor deſired any thing elſe than to live in ſubjection to the " Government, and to enjoy the liberty of a pure Conſcience in ſerving God, and " reforming themſelves according to his Word and Holy Commandments: That " none among them ever ſcrupled to pay the Taxes or Duties impoſed upon them: " That they were never found in arms or plotting againſt their Sovereign: That " the Excommunications, Impriſonments, Baniſhments, Racks and Tortures, and " other numberleſs Oppreſſions which they had undergone, plainly demonſtrated, " that their deſires and opinions were not carnal, foraſmuch as many of them might " have been much more eaſy according to the fleſh, if they had not embraced and " defended theſe Doctrines; but that having the fear of God before their eyes, and " being terrified with the threatning of Chriſt, who had declared in the Goſpel that he

[1] Bor. Lib. I. *p.* 30. [2] Hooft Lib. II. *p.* 70. Bor. Lib. I. *p.* 30. Weſenb. *p.* 54.

" he would deny them before God the Father, in caſe they denied him before men, " they therefore offered their backs to ſtripes, their tongues to knives, their mouths " to gags, and their whole bodies to the fire; knowing that ſuch as will follow " Chriſt, muſt take up their Croſs and deny themſelves. That it could never en- " ter into the thoughts of a reaſonable perſon, that thoſe who forſook their native " Country, their Relations and Friends, to live in peace and tranquility, were capable " of committing riots and ſeditious practices; or that they would ever attempt to de- " prive the King of his Crown, or deſign any fraudulent thing againſt him who died " for the Goſpel, in which it is written: *Render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's,* " *and to God the things that are God's.*—Then making an offer to the King of their " bodies and goods, they moſt humbly beſought him to allow them to give to God " what he required of them. They aſſured him further, that it was not by reaſon " of their weakneſs, or the ſmallneſs of their numbers, that they did not reſiſt, " there being above one hundred thouſand ſouls in theſe Provinces who profeſſed " the ſame Religion, of which they preſented him the Confeſſion; but that they " were ſo far from any ſuch deſign, that nothing tending towards it either in their " words or actions, was ever heard or ſeen. That what they had mentioned touch- " ing the numbers of their Brethren, was not in the leaſt to terrify his Officers and " Servants, but both to confute the ſlanders that had been raiſed againſt them, and " to move him to compaſſion; for alas! *ſaid they*, if you ſhould ſtretch out your " arm, to bathe and imbrue it in the blood of ſo many poor wretches, good God! what " deſolation would it cauſe among your Subjects? They likewiſe intreated him that he " would judge them according to the Confeſſion of Faith which they had laid before " him. By means of which they hoped he would be convinced how unjuſtly they " had been called Hereticks and Schiſmaticks; ſince they did not only profeſs the prin- " cipal Articles of the Chriſtian Religion, contained in the *Symbolum*, or common " Creed, but the whole Doctrine revealed by *Jeſus Chriſt* for our Juſtification and Sal- " vation, preached by the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, ſealed with the blood of ſo many " Martyrs, and preſerved pure and entire by the primitive Churches, till at length it " became corrupted by the Ignorance, Ambition, and Covetouſneſs of the Clergy, and " by human Additions and Inventions. *Laſtly*, they ſhowed, that he who has the " word of Truth in his mouth, will not become ſeditious, becauſe he finds it op- " poſed by men. That on the contrary, Tumults and Scandals are to be imputed " to him who is the implacable enemy of God and Man, the Devil; who that he " may preſerve his own Kingdom, which conſiſts in Idolatry, Superſtition, For- " nication, and innumerable other vices that the pure Goſpel has done away, be- " ſtirs himſelf to hinder the progreſs of it; together with the unthankfulneſs of " the world, which is the cauſe that people, inſtead of receiving the word of their " Maſters, Paſtors, and of God himſelf, do ſet themſelves againſt it, without al- " ledging any other excuſe than the length of the time, wherein they have con- " tinued in their errors, as if there were any preſcription of time againſt him who " made the World and Ages, and to whom all things are preſent."——They con- z cluded in the following words: z " It belongs to you, moſt Gracious Sovereign, " it belongs to you to take cognizance of theſe matters, and to oppoſe Error, " though never ſo deeply rooted by length of time, and to defend the Innocency " of thoſe, who hitherto have been rather oppreſſed than heard in your Courts " of Juſtice.

An° Dom. 1565.

At the end of the *Confeſſion* was added a Repreſentation to the Magiſtrates and higher Powers throughout the *Low-Countries*, in which, among other things, it is ſaid: " That they had petitioned the King to judge of their Caſe, not according " to the Accuſations of their Adverſaries, but according to the *Confeſſion of Faith* " which they had laid before him; they likewiſe deſired the ſame favour from them " their Stadtholders, and other Magiſtrates, beſeeching them a little to ſuſpend " their cruel and unreaſonable zeal. O wiſe and honourable Lords! *ſay they*, can " you liſten with patience to thoſe who call Darkneſs, Light, and Light, Darkneſs? " How long will you perſecute the innocent without hearing him, and not oppoſe " the violence of his enemies, who at the ſame time are his Accuſers and Judges, " and who leave you only the ignominy of being the Miniſters and Executioners " of the cenſures and opinions of Monks, Prieſts, Schoolmen, and Doctors, who " are the chief parties in the cauſe, and upon whoſe account theſe differences are

An° Dom. 1565. " arisen? Will you for ever allow them to call and esteem you nothing but worldly " and unhallowed, or prophane persons, insomuch that it is not lawful for you to " speak of the Scripture, nor to judge of Doctrines and Matters of Religion? Most " of the ancient Doctors have taught, that our Consciences ought not to be mole- " sted, much less constrained or forced to believe, by any powers on earth, to " whom the Sword is only intrusted for the punishment of Robbers, Murderers, and " the like disturbers of Civil Government: But that in Religious affairs, or the things " that relate only to our souls, nothing but the Spiritual Sword, or the Word of God, " may, and ought to be employed, which will distinguish between true zeal for Reli- " gion, and sedition and uproars against the Government. But we are not for going so " far, even as those good old Fathers; we acknowledge that the Magistrate may take " cognizance of *Heresies*, (which we grant to be disturbances among the Common " people) provided, that under this pretence, Innocence be not oppressed by the ca- " lumnies of its enemies, without a hearing: But we likewise desire that the Govern- " ment should remember what the wise Man says: *He that justifieth the wicked,* " *and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord.* Add " to this, that the Judge should be well assured and satisfied in his own mind of the " Impiety and Heresie, from the word of God, before he stretch forth his hand to " punish the accused person." They concluded with these expressions: " We bless " God that even our enemies themselves are forced to bear witness to the integrity " of our lives and manners; insomuch that it is a common saying with them, *He* " *does not swear, he is a* Lutheran: *He neither whores nor drinks, he is of the* " *new Sect.* And yet notwithstanding so honourable a testimony, no kind of tor- " ments are forgotten in the punishing of us. Begin then, Honourable Lords, be- " gin to take our cause in hand, and to inquire into our innocence, which has been " overwhelmed and oppressed by the falshood, calumnies, and violence of our ad- " versaries, to the end that the Lord of Lords, in whose sight the lives of his ser- " vants are dear and precious, may not overwhelm you with his anger. And do " not despise the sighs and tears of so many innocent persons, if you desire that " God should hear your Prayers, bless you in your Estates and Offices, and prosper " all your doings.

The famous Cassander's *Death and Epitaph.*

[1] In this year 1566, died at *Cologne*, the learned *Cassander*, who being little and weak of body, had wrestled many years with grievous distempers. His friend *Cornelius Gualterus*, or *Wouters*, raised him a Monument near the Altar in the *Franciscan* Church of the said City, with the following Epitaph, prefaced with his own Motto: *Quando tandem?*

When shall we be at unity?

Let this be sacred to the All-good and Almighty God.
Here lies GEORGE CASSANDER, a Dutch Divine.
A diligent Searcher into the Holy Scriptures.
Well versed in the Writings of the Antient Fathers.
Famed for these things, and for Piety, and Moderation.
He was consulted by the invincible Emperors
FERDINAND the First, and MAXIMILIAN the Second,
And invited to both their Courts,
to settle the unhappy Differences in Religion.
But hindered by the Sickness, of which he died.
At the Request and Command of the aforesaid Emperors,
He writ a Discourse in praise of Unity,
useful to the Churches that love Peace.
For these Reasons CORNELIUS GUALTERUS of Gant,
the faithful Companion of his Study and Travels,
Has raised this Monument in honour of his Countryman.
He lived LII Years, V Months, X Days, and V Hours,
and died February 3. in the Year MDLXVI.
Death is the End of all our Labours.
Let us glory in nothing but the Cross of Christ.

This

[1] Cassand. op. post Elench. Ib. op. *p.* 1094.



The Reverend and Learned
M.r GEORGE CASSANDER

J. Cole sculp.

1 Thus *Cornelius Gualterus* did honour to the memory of *Caſſander*, whoſe chiefeſt Writings, both in his life-time, and often ſince, were, by the management of the moſt zealous *Papiſts*, and Caſtrators of Books, both prohibited and mutilated. An° Dom. 1565.

2 But about fifty years after, the learned Canon, *Johannes Valeſius* (a perſon of great prudence and temper, and a particular friend of *Grotius* and *Voſſius*) collected all printed his Treatiſes, and together with ſome others in manuſcript, publiſhed them at *Paris* in one Volume. In the ſaid Impreſſion we find likewiſe his familiar Epiſtles to his Friends, in which he opens his heart to them, enriched with many learned Thoughts, and ſolid Leſſons of Peace.

[1] Ibid. Epiſt. Sel. *p.* 265.
[2] Grot. Annal. ad conſult. Caſſand. ejuſd. Epiſt. ad Gall. & Belg. A. Rivet. Animad. in Conſult. Caſſand.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK VI.

An° Dom. 1566. *A Confederacy formed againſt the introducing of the* Inquiſition.

ABOUT the ſame time, that is to ſay in the year 1566, it began to be rumoured, that ſome hundreds of the principal *Netherlanders*, [1] among whom were [a] alſo ſeveral Gentlemen of the Church of *Rome* itſelf, after many private Aſſemblies, had entered into a Confederacy, and had mutually agreed unanimouſly to oppoſe the introducing an *Inquiſition*, under what pretence ſoever it ſhould be attempted. a

[2] It is thought by ſome, that this Confederacy, which was then known among the common people by the name of the *Compromiſe*, was firſt projected at *Breda* by *Philip van Marnix*, Lord of *Aldegonde*; [3] but *Franciſcus Junius* relates it otherwiſe, and tells us, that the ſame day when the marriage between the Duke of *Parma* and the Princeſs *Mary* of *Portugal* was celebrated, he was ſent for from *Antwerp* to *Bruſſels*, where, in the houſe of *Kulenburgh* in the Horſe-market, he preached and prayed before a little Meeting of the diſcontented Gentlemen, not exceeding the number of twenty at the moſt; and that after Divine Service was over, they conſulted among themſelves in his preſence, and conſpired to oppoſe the *Inquiſition* both within and without the Land, which he ſtiles an oppreſſive and barbarous tyranny.

Junius elſewhere, *viz.* in a certain Manuſcript Journal of his own hand-writing, in *Latin*, informs us, "That *Parma* being married on the 3d of *November*, 1565, he "preached the day before in *Kulenburgh*'s houſe, and that they then began to conſult "about oppoſing the Placard of the *Inquiſition*; and reſolved, firſt to invite the Pro- "teſtant Princes of *Germany* into ſome union with them: That on the 4th of the ſaid "month it was again agreed to join with the *German* Princes, but to admit no others "into the Confederacy; and on the 6th, to ſet on foot an inland League among the "people of the *Low-Countries*; and to recommend to one or two perſons in each Pro- "vince, to invite other Gentlemen into the ſame League. It was likewiſe, *continues* "*he*, privately agreed about the end of *November*, to ſeize upon the City of *Antwerp*, "againſt the 3d of *December*; but having adviſed with Count *Lewis* of *Naſſaw* about "it, the Prince of *Orange* was told of it, who diſſwaded them from it, promiſing his "aſſiſtance to bring matters to bear without force.

The aforeſaid *Junius*, born of an honourable family at *Bourges* in *France*, was at that time Miniſter of a private *French* Conventicle at *Antwerp*, to which City he had been

[1] Grot. An. Lib. I. *p.* 19. Hooft's Hiſt. Lib. III. *p.* 68. Bentiv. Lib. II. *p.* 75. Nic. Burgund. Lib. I. *p.* 156.

[2] Weſenb. *p.* 58. Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 38. Strada, Lib. V. *p.* 205.

[3] Vita Fr. Jun. *p.* 15. *v. Melch. Adam. vit. Jun. p. 197–&196–*

been ſent not long before when he was hardly twenty years old, but of uncommon learning, and extraordinary gifts of the mind, from *Geneva*, upon a Repreſentation made by the *Reformed* of the ſaid City to the Church of *Geneva*, of the want there was of Paſtors for the inſtruction of the *Walloon* Congregations. His good talents procured him a great deal of buſineſs in this ſtation, and brought him likewiſe into great dangers; for many Letters relating to the affairs of the Church of *Antwerp* were daily brought to him, which he did not only anſwer, but extracted from them ſuch things as he judged moſt material or uſeful. Among the things he thus noted, there were many political Admonitions, ſupported with Reaſons and Examples from Hiſtory, which he and his faithful friend, *John de Blois* of *Treſlong*, conveyed ſecretly to Court, in order to ſuggeſt to the great Lords of the Council of State proper methods for procuring peace and tranquility to the Subjects, who had been long harraſſed by ſearching into their Opinions and Conſciences. This way of application was highly commended by them all, and the Count of *Egmont* himſelf reliſhed it, till he came to know that *Junius* was the Author, and a *Frenchman*, an odious name at that time; for the *French* were ſo much hated on account of the late War between them and the *Low-Countries*, that though he came thither on purpoſe to preach the Goſpel to them, he was at firſt looked upon by many to be no better than a Spy. But the Magiſtrates were frequently in queſt of him on account of theſe Papers, inſomuch, that it had been declared ſeveral times from the Stadthouſe, in his own hearing, that whoever could diſcover the Author of a ſhort Letter (all written with his own hand) ſo as to convict him, ſhould receive, as a reward from the Government, the Sum of three or four hundred Guilders.

An° Dom. 1566.

Franciſcus Junius, *a noted Divine, is very ſerviceable on that occaſion.*

At laſt, it having been diſcovered by certain Informers, that Count *Lewis* of *Naſſaw* had held a ſecret conference with the Proteſtants of *Antwerp* about a Letter written by *Franciſcus Junius* to the King, in favour of Liberty of Conſcience, and for abrogating the *Inquiſitorial Placards*, a certain Painter was ſent to *Antwerp* for the better diſcovering him the ſaid *Junius*. This man putting on the cloak of Religion, joined himſelf to the perſecuted Conventicles; and played his part ſo well, that he not only obſerved him at ſeveral Meetings, but traced him to his Lodgings; and having drawn his Picture, handed it to the Governeſs and the Council at *Bruſſels*, by whom it was ſent to the Marquis of *Antwerp*, with directions to ſecure the Original.

The execution of theſe Orders was committed by the Marquis to the *Scout*; who, that he might not miſs his blow, ſent for the Maid of the houſe where *Junius* dwelt (for ſhe had formerly been his ſervant too) and uſed both promiſes and threats to induce her to betray him: but when he could get nothing from her, he obtained leave of the Burgomaſter to ſearch the houſe, but the Bird was flown; *Junius* was luckily gone about half an hour before, to viſit the Brethren at *Breda*; and his Landlord having alſo been timely warned by a friend, had removed all that belonged to that Preacher before the *Scout* ſearched his Lodgings. Theſe were the beginnings of his troubles during the Perſecution, under which he behaved with ſo much courage, that one time he and his fellow-labourer, *Carolus Niellius*, (whoſe Son was uſed to relate this ſtory) preached at the very ſame hour that they were putting to death ſome perſons in the Market-place, on account of their Religion, and ſtood in a houſe from whence they could ſee the flames of the fire that conſumed their brethren in Chriſt.

His Courage and Reſolution.

In the mean while, the Ducheſs took a reſolution to adviſe with the Knights of the Golden Fleece, and Stadholders of the reſpective Provinces, what was to be done in this ſituation of affairs, with regard to the daily accounts ſhe received of the deſigns of the *Confederate Nobility*. To that end, ſhe ſummoned them all to Court, ſending particularly ſeveral kind Letters of invitation to the Prince of *Orange* and the Count of *Horn*, who after that all hopes of moderating and ſoftning the Placards about Religion were vaniſhed, had withdrawn themſelves from the Council. [1] She was under great uneaſineſſes, by reaſon of the reports that had been ſpread abroad, to wit, that the *Confederates* had privately got together a body of fifteen thouſand men, part horſe, part foot; and that they were ready to pillage and rob the Country (which was more in the view of many than the buſineſs of Religion) unleſs the Government would grant them Liberty of Conſcience. To procure which they had reſolved to depute about 1500 armed men to attend her Highneſs within ten or twelve days time.

[1] Hooft. *p.* 71 & 72.

An° Dom. 1566.

The Governeſs holds a Council upon the Report of a Confederacy.

The Knights, Stadtholders, and other Counſellors, who had been ſummoned on this occaſion, being met together, this affair was laid before them, and every one of them was exhorted by the Ducheſs to ſuggeſt with all plainneſs and freedom ſuch methods as appeared to him the moſt wholſome and proper for curing the reigning diſtempers, (meaning the diſputes concerning the *Inquiſition* and the Placards) in ſuch manner as might beſt promote the honour of God, the ſervice of the King, and the good of the Country. It was here obſerved, [1] "That the *Inquiſition* was of two kinds; the

Two ſorts of Inquiſition.

"*Ordinary* proceeded from the Biſhop, the *Extraordinary* was carried on in the name "of the Pope: that the latter might be aboliſhed, or at leaſt qualified, now that the "Country was provided with Biſhops, whoſe duty it was to take care of the Church "and Religion. And though it might not ſeem altogether fit, nor conſiſtent with "what was owing to God, the King, or the Country, entirely to abrogate the Pla"cards; yet the late Emperor, in his great wiſdom and foreſight, had yielded ſo "much to times and ſeaſons, that in the year 1550, he had molified the Placards "relating to Religion, at the deſire of his Siſter, the Queen of *Hungary*. Wherefore, "it might not be improper for the preſent Government to accommodate itſelf "likewiſe to this juncture of affairs, and to ſlacken a little the rigour of the ſaid "Placards.

A remarkable Speech of the Prince of Orange *in Council.*

[2] After every man had delivered his opinion, the Prince of *Orange* ſpake in the following manner: "Would to God we had been ſo happy as to have been believed "at firſt! The laſt methods would not then have been firſt tried, nor thoſe that "were in Error made deſperate by the extreameſt threatnings. Does not every body "think that Phyſician out of his wits, who inſtead of uſing mild and gentle medicines "in the beginning, is for immediately burning or cutting off the infected part? "But, as ſome body juſt now obſerved, the *Inquiſition* is properly divided into two "kinds: That of the Pope againſt *Luther*, and that other which was of old practiſed "by the Biſhops: Cuſtom has rendered the latter tolerable, and it may now very "well be reputed ſufficient, ſeeing, that the Land is abundantly furniſhed with "Biſhops, who being more wakeful than formerly, have an eye to the ſervice of God, "as it naturally belongs to them, and reſults even from the name of their Office: "but the other is the ſtumbling-block, and ought to be removed out of the way, as "ſoon as poſſible. As for the Placards, do not hearken to me, but to experience; "and what ſays that? Perſecution increaſes Error, and the ſeverity of the puniſh"ment is a temptation to the ſin. Late years have been, as it were, a ſchool that "has furniſhed us with leſſons enough to convince us, that many have been driven "away from the Church by only contemplating the perſeverance of thoſe who have "received the ſentence of death as an invitation to a wedding, and ran with joy to "the fiery trial. For to ſacrifice their bodies and lives, which nature hath made ſo dear "to all men, and to undergo ſo chearfully the moſt cruel of pains, without know"ing why, may well ſeem to be abſolutely impoſſible. Now theſe are the bitter pills "that have been adminiſtered to the Patients in *England* and *France*, and here too at "laſt, but with what ſucceſs? nothing but that of increaſing the number of Apo"ſtates. Well might it therefore be ſaid by the primitive Chriſtians, that *the "Blood of the Martyrs was the Seed of the Church*. The Emperor *Julian* under"ſtood this matter well; he proceeded by gentler methods againſt thoſe whom he "called *Galileans*, and got more ground upon them; teaſing, harraſſing and perſe"cuting them, ſerved only to awaken their zeal, which liberty, eaſe and idleneſs "ſoon laid aſleep. Force can make no impreſſion on the Conſcience. Of this thoſe "mighty Princes were convinced, who with all their torments could not ſhake the "conſtancy of the *Jews*. The *Græcian* Empire was greatly infeſted with Hereſies, "and yet there was hardly any Heretick in it that ſuffered more than baniſhment. "*Arius*, in the Reign of *Conſtantine*; *Ætius*, in that of *Conſtance*; and *Neſtorius*, "under *Theodoſius*, were puniſhed no farther. Indeed, the Placards or Edicts of "this laſt were bloody, but they were only *in terrorem*, the Sword having never been "drawn in matters merely religious. In the mean while [b] the *Arians* are now [b]
"hardly to be found in the world, which at that time they almoſt filled; for they "dwindled away through want of oppoſition. This is the nature of Hereſie, if it "reſts, it ruſts; but he that rubs it, whets it: Let it alone and its novelty will ſoon

2 "ceaſe,

[1] Strada Lib. V. *p.* 216, &c.

[2] Nic. Burgund. Hiſt. Belg. Lib. II. *p.* 874. Hooft. Hiſt. Lib. II. *p.* 75, &c.

" ceaſe, and with the novelty its, beauty and reliſh. Her Highneſs cannot do better Anº Dom.
" than to tread in the ſteps of ſuch glorious Monarchs. It was not only the late 1566.
" Emperor *Charles*, of immortal memory, who was for moderating the Placards in
" the year 1550, we have ſeen his preſent Majeſty inclinable to do the like. But
" his gracious inclinations have been diverted by the Counſel of the Biſhops: Let
" them anſwer it; for my part, I cannot conceive how ſuch powerful Evils as theſe
" can be rooted out at once, nor muſt any one imagine that the Church will be ever
" wholly pure; for the Apoſtle has told us, that Diſſentions and Hereſies will always
" be brooding among us. Wherefore, though the Placards were to be reputed the beſt
" method of cleanſing us, yet the number of the defiled is much too great for them.
" I can ſee no good like to come of it, but much rather that deſpair will hurry them
" on to madneſs. Thus it happened in *France* before the War broke out; and it
" is reported that our Malecontents correſpond with the *French:* therefore we muſt
" pacify them, or hazard the Peace of our Nation. Theſe ſeem to me the beſt
" means, and may God proſper thoſe that ſhall be followed."

We ought not to wonder that there appears ſo great a knowledge of things and hiſtory, in this Speech of the Prince. He had acquired it, as [1] *Nicolas Burgundius* acquaints us, by converſing with *Baldwinus*. However, before the Council of State had taken any reſolution upon theſe deliberations and debates, the confederated Noblemen came to *Bruſſels*. [2] The aforeſaid *Burgundius*, who compoſed his Hiſtory chiefly from the Papers and Memoirs of the Preſident *Viglius*, teſtifies, that the Council embraced the middle opinion, and agreed to mollify the rigour of the Placards. [3] But *Strada* ſays, they reſolved to give good words, and to leave the authority of the King entire, without obliging him to any conceſſions.

The Count of Egmont *refuſes to ſerve as General againſt the Confederates.*

The Ducheſs was of opinion, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, they ought either to yield a little to thoſe Gentlemen, or elſe to drive them away by force of Arms; but the latter was not to be attempted for want of a proper Commander. She durſt not truſt the Prince of *Orange*; and the Count of *Egmont* having been invited to take upon him the Command, replied, *that he would not fight againſt any man living in defence of the Placards and of the Inquiſition.*

The Confederates enter Bruſſels.

Hereupon the Lord *Brederode*, the Chief of the confederated Noblemen, made his entry into *Bruſſels*, on the 3d of *April*, attended with two hundred Horſe. And at the ſame time appeared Count *Lewis*, Brother to the Prince of *Orange*, with a great number of Gentlemen, being ſoon followed by the Counts of *Berg* and *Kuilenberg*. [4] Here, as it is ſaid, *Brederode*, having ſummoned them all together, repreſented to them, in the moſt pathetic manner, the terror of the *Inquiſition*, and its pernicious conſequences, with regard to their dear Country; exhorting them at the ſame time, faithfully to abide by that Union and League which neceſſity had compelled them to engage in: Whereupon they all cried out with one voice, *Let him be accounted a Traytor that forſakes it.* The Petition or Requeſt which *Brederode* preſented to the Governeſs, at the head of about three hundred perſons, was to the following effect:

Madam,

Their Petition to the Governeſs.

" THE *Netherlanders* have been famous throughout all *Chriſtendom* on ac-
" count of their great Loyalty to their Sovereigns, eſpecially thoſe of the
" Nobility, who are diſpoſed at this preſent time, as much as ever, to tread in
" the footſteps of their Anceſtors. But among all the tokens of their dutiful-
" neſs, this ought to be eſteemed the moſt remarkable, and the moſt ſeaſonable, con-
" ſidering the preſent State of affairs, and the danger they run of drawing the
" diſpleaſure of the Government upon them; *viz.* That they have taken the
" liberty, though with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion and humility, to repreſent to your
" Highneſs that the *Inquiſition* and *Placards* relating to it, though doubt-
" leſs intended for the good of Religion, yet being now entirely altered,
" both as to their nature aud effects, by reaſon of the change of Seaſons, can
" for the future produce nothing but averſion, uneaſineſs, tumults, with all
" kinds of miſeries, tending to the deſtruction of our Country. For from the many
" inconveniences that we have experienced of late years, when proceedings were
" much milder, may eaſily be computed what will happen, in caſe you ſhould purſue
" the

[1] Hiſt. Belg. Lib. II. [2] Hooft, *p.* 74. [3] Strada, Lib. V. *p.* 217. [4] Bentivogl. Lib. II. *p.* 82,—91.

An° Dom. 1566. " the laſt Orders of his Majeſty, not only by putting in execution the *ſevere Placards*, but alſo by ſetting on foot the *Inquiſition* it ſelf. We find our ſelves therefore obliged by that *ſupreme Law, the Welfare of the People*, to put your Highneſs in mind of the ſtorms that have riſen, and of one now hanging over our heads. Beſides, *Neceſſity*, which juſtifies all things, forbids us to be longer ſilent; for our Caſtles, Houſes, and Eſtates lying in the open Country, will be expoſed to the firſt inſults of the raging Mob. And who does not ſee, that if the *Inquiſition* and *Placards* be eſtabliſhed among us, our own, and all other Subjects Goods, Lives, and Honour, are at the mercy and in the hands of the firſt envious Informer, unleſs the Magiſtrates, out of favour or pity, ſhall ſtop their ears: For all theſe reaſons we moſt humbly beſeech your Highneſs, that you would, as ſoon as poſſible, diſpatch ſome fit perſon to carry this our ſubmiſſive Petition to the King, to the end that every body may be freed from the terror he lies under, as not only the abſolute neceſſity of affairs, but likewiſe Juſtice and Equity require of you. We do not preſume to preſcribe Laws to his Majeſty; but if he would be pleaſed to call together the States of theſe Provinces, he might ſettle the buſineſs of Religion, with their advice and aſſiſtance, by more proper, ſafe and ſeaſonable methods, than ſuch as are now propoſed to be made uſe of. We alſo moſt humbly beſeech your Highneſs, that whilſt his Majeſty has this our Petition under his conſideration, you would be pleaſed, in order to prevent the above-mentioned dangers, to put a general ſtop to the *Inquiſition*, and all the Placards relating to Religion. And we openly declare, that by this Remonſtrance, we have done our duty, ſo far as concerns ourſelves, and diſcharged our Conſciences to God and the World; ſo that from henceforwards, if, through neglect or contempt of what we have here offered, any Riots, Inſurrections, Bloodſhed, or other evil conſequences ſhould enſue, they muſt not be imputed to us. To this we call to witneſs, God, the King, your Highneſs, and the Lords of the Council, together with our own Conſciences, that we have behaved as becomes good and faithful Servants and Subjects, without having in the leaſt exceeded the bounds of our duty."

To this famous Petition of the Nobility, the following Anſwer was returned:

Her Anſwer. " [1] That her Highneſs was well diſpoſed towards a Deputation to the King, not queſtioning but his Majeſty would give juſt and proper directions in all theſe matters, and particularly as to the moderating the rigour of the Placards; for which purpoſe it was deliberated in the Council, before they had made any application to her, how to moderate the ſaid Placards. But that it was not in her power to put a ſtop, in the mean while, to the proceedings of the *Inquiſition*: However, ſhe would give directions to the *Inquiſitors*, and to the Civil Magiſtrates, that they ſhould act with diſcretion and temper, during the Deputation to the King, ſo as that there might be no cauſe of complaint. *To which ſhe likewiſe added*, That ſhe would the more freely employ her good offices with his Majeſty, as ſhe had formerly done, becauſe ſhe depended on them, that they did not deſign to make any innovations in the matter of Religion, but that they would ſupport and maintain it to the utmoſt of their power."

The Confederates being little ſatisfied with ſuch an Anſwer, inſiſted upon a more full and poſitive one. Wherefore, the Government fearing to ſend them away diſpleaſed, ſignified to them by ſome of the Lords of the Council, either by the order, or at leaſt by the connivance of the Ducheſs, that there ſhould for the future be no proſecution againſt any perſons on account of Religion (always excepting acts of Rebellion or Sedition) till the King, by and with the advice of the States-General, ſhould otherwiſe direct. The Count of *Hoogſtraten*, with *Berty* the Secretary of the Council, likewiſe communicated to them, by order of the Governeſs, the Reſolutions that were to be ſent to all the Provinces; to wit, *That all Magiſtrates, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, ſhould henceforwards proceed againſt offenders in Religious matters with much temper and diſcretion, unleſs open Scandal were given, or Tumults and Riots excited; in which laſt caſe alſo nothing ſhould be done till the Court were apprized of it.*

The

[1] Hooft, *p.* 76. Weſenb. *p.* 81. Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 42. Bentivog. Lib. II. *p.* 93.

The Nobility being content, were preparing to depart, but agreed firſt to chooſe four Directors for the chief management of their affairs, whom every body elſe ſhould obey; as alſo a Committee of three or four perſons in each Province, who were to keep a correſpondence with the ſaid four Directors, and to take care that no Tumults were raiſed on the one hand, nor that the Promiſes of the Ducheſs ſhould be violated on the other. They likewiſe ſolemnly engaged themſelves to thoſe Directors, *that they would not attempt to introduce any novelties into the Church or State, but patiently wait for ſuch reſolutions as the King and the States ſhould take.* An° Dom. 1566.

[1] However, before they went, they had the name of *Gueux* beſtowed on them. It is a *French* word, and ſeems to be derived from the *Dutch Guits*, which ſignifies as much as Rogues, Vagabonds, or ſturdy Beggars; and it is ſaid, that this appellation was given them by the Count of *Barlemont*, who, when he ſaw them coming in ſuch numbers into Court, that the Governeſs was frightned by them, cried, [2] *Madam, why are you afraid of theſe* Gueuſes? Or, [3] as others relate it, *See what a brave company of* Gueuſes *are there!* Be that as it will, the Confederates afterwards gloried in the name, and it became a common ſignal for all thoſe who at that time declared for the Liberty of their Country and Conſciences; who uſually accoſted one another at Feſtival and Solemn times with the cry of *Vive le Gueux*; or, *Long live the* Gueuſes. *The Confederates obtain the Name of* Gueuſes.

They wore Medals about their Necks, which were made at firſt of Wax and of Wood, but afterwards of Gold and Silver; on the one ſide was ſtamped the King's effigies, on the other, a Beggar's Scrip, or Bag, held between two right hands joined together, with the following Motto: *Fidelles au Roi juſques à la Beſace*, that is, *Faithful to the King, even to beggary.* Upon ſome Medals that were ſtruck about this time, there was the King's picture on the one ſide, and on the Reverſe, two Men dreſſed like Vagabonds, with Beggars Scrips hanging on their ſides, holding one another by the hand, as if they were making a bargain. Some faſtened to their breaſts, or hung upon their hats, a little Beggar's wooden Diſh or Bowl, on which was wrought in Silver, *Vive le Gueux*, and wore grey cloth by way of Livery. *The original of conſecrated Medals.*

It is alſo related, that at a certain Entertainment made by the Lord of *Brederode*, at *Bruſſels*, they drank the King's health, and happineſs to the *Gueuſes* in ſuch wooden Bowls, which, as the Wine went round, were hung about every man's neck, together with a Beggar's Scrip, at the ſame time vowing mutual fidelity for the good of their Country; and as often as they drank to each other, repeating the following Diſtich:

Par ce pain, par ce ſel, & par cette Beſace,
Jamais les Gueux *ne changeront pour choſe que l'on faſſe.*

[4] In oppoſition to theſe Gentlemen, the Duke of *Arſchot* ſoon after making a proceſſion to the image of the Virgin *Mary* at *Hall* in *Hainalt*, cauſed little Medals to be ſtruck with the pictures of the ſaid Image, which he and his ſervants wore on their hats in token of their devotedneſs to the *Romiſh* Church, and of their hatred to the *Gueuſes*. When they appeard with them at *Bruſſels*, they ſoon procured to themſelves many Followers.

This was ſo acceptable to the Governeſs, in the preſent juncture of affairs, (for ſhe wanted ſome method to ballance the power of the Confederates) that ſhe notified it to Pope *Pius Quintus*, and he, to adminiſter fewel to their zeal, bleſſed the ſaid Medals, after the way of the *Popiſh* Religion, granting ſeveral Indulgences to ſuch as ſhould wear the ſame. From hence the uſe of conſecrated Medals took its riſe among the *Papiſts*, or at leaſt was ſpread throughout all *Popiſh* Countries.

Now in order to communicate to the King the Petition of the Noblemen, and a Project for ſoftning the Placards, which the Ducheſs had cauſed to be drawn up, and to give him a diſtinct account of all that had happened; it was reſolved in Council to depute the Marquis of *Mons* and the Baron of *Montigny*, to go to *Spain* for that purpoſe: An unfortunate meſſage to them, for neither returned home. *The Marquis of* Mons, *and the Baron of* Montigny *are ſent to* Spain.

The above-mentioned project about the Placards was likewiſe ſent to the States and Courts of Juſtice of the reſpective Provinces, in order to have their advice and opinions of it. The Government choſe this method to elude a meeting of the States General, *A Project for qualifyng the Placards, communicated to the States of the Provinces.*

[1] Hooft, *p.* 77. Strada, Lib. V. *p.* 223. Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 43. [2] Bentivogl. Lib. II. *p.* 54. [3] Weſenb. *p.* 85. Strad. Lib. V. k27. [4] N. Burgund. Lib. III. *p.* 327. Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 106.

An° Dom. 1566. General, which the King would by no means hear of. Some of them approved of the qualifications therein propoſed, with ſome amendments; others wholly rejected them, alledging, that the old ways were the beſt.

[1] But in collecting their Votes and Reſolutions, the following ſtratagem was uſed: The Provinces that had the leaſt power and influence, and were moſt accuſtomed to the yoke of Perſecution, were firſt conſulted, the better to draw in the chiefeſt, and ſuch as had more ſtrenuouſly oppoſed theſe Grievances. And ſome of thoſe who were wont to appear in ſuch kind of Aſſemblies, were omitted to be called, or ſhut out, or even thruſt out, and their places filled with others who were known to comply with the King's pleaſure. The Deputies of the Towns were likewiſe forbidden to conſult with their Principals, as the manner was, and obliged to conceal their tranſactions. As for the States of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Gelderland*, *Overyſſel*, *Limbourg* and others, their opinion was never aſked.

The Contents of the Project. The project of Moderation conſiſted of three and fifty Articles; the ſubſtance of which was as follows: *That the Teachers, Preachers, Deacons and other Officers of the Proteſtant Aſſemblies, Writers of Books, Ballads, Lampoons and Satyrs againſt the ancient Religion received by the Church, and tending to introduce new Religions or Sects, or to excite Riots and Tumults; and all ſuch as provided or furniſhed places for forbidden Meetings, or harboured the Heads and Leaders of the aforeſaid new Sects, or in any other manner gave publick and grievous ſcandal, ſhould be condemned to the Gallows, and their eſtates confiſcated in all thoſe places where it was conſiſtent with the privileges of the inhabitants. But they that abjured their Religion ſhould have the favour of dying by the ſword, and their Heirs ſhould be capable of enjoying their eſtates. The common ſort of Hereticks who were penitent, ſhould be received to mercy; the obſtinate be baniſhed, but allowed to poſſeſs their eſtates, which however they could not give away from their right Heirs; and if they attempted to ſeduce any of the King's ſubjects, their ſaid eſtates were likewiſe to be forfeited. As for the* Anabaptiſts, *if they continued obſtinate, they ſhould forfeit their eſtates, where the privileges of the place did not intervene, and where they did, the ſaid eſtates ſhould fall immediately to their Heirs.* Hereticks relapſed *were to be excuſed by baniſhment, provided they gave new and ſufficient proofs of their repentance; but if they were* Anabaptiſts *they ſhould die without mercy.*

The famous Hiſtorian *Hooft* wonders at this diſtinguiſhed cruelty to that Sect, and enquires into the cauſe. [2] "'Tis ſtrange, *ſays he*, that theſe mortified and inoffen- "ſive people, ſhould be thus perſecuted with more than common hatred, unleſs it "were, becauſe they were confounded with the Plunderers of *Amſterdam*, and the "Stormers of *Munſter*, as holding the ſame opinions with reſpect to *Baptiſm* (tho' "one of the Articles of their Faith forbids them to bear arms;) or elſe becauſe being "eſteemed Hypocrites on account of an external appearance of humility and mo- "deſty in their countenances and apparel, they thereby tacitly reproaching others "of vanity and idleneſs, had drawn upon themſelves the hatred of all other ſorts of "people.

[3] But this ſoftning of the Placards, which the Court called *Moderation*, was nicknamed by others *Murderation*; and the diſcontent and averſion which appeared in Great and Small againſt Perſecution, was but little regarded, for no ſtop was put to the effuſion of blood on account of Religion.

Farther progreſs of the Perſecution. A little before the preſenting the Petition of the Confederates, when the report was ſpread in all parts, that the Nobility were poſting to *Bruſſels* to oppoſe the *Inquiſition* and the Placards, the following perſons were burnt at *Liſle* for their Faith: *Martin Bayert*, *Claudius du Flot*, *John Dautricourt* and *Noel Tournemine*. Whilſt they were leading to the place of execution, *Noel*'s Father forcing his way through the crowd, fell upon his Son's neck, and kiſſing and embracing him, cried, *My dear Child are you going to die thus?* To which *Noel* replied; *It is a ſmall matter, my Father, for now I am haſting to live for ever.* But the groans and ſighs of the Father ſo moved the Son, that melting into tears, he turned to the Clergy that attended him, and ſaid: *O ye Prieſts and Fryers! if we could have been prevailed upon to go to your Maſs, we had not been here now. But* Chriſt Jeſus *has not inſtituted any ſuch ſacrifice.* Being at the ſtake, they all four ſung as with one mouth, the firſt verſe of

2

[1] Hooft. *p.* 81. Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 44. Weſenb. *p.* 102. [2] Hooft. *p.* 81. [3] Ibid.

of the 27th Pſalm, and concluded their ſinging and life together with the Hymn of *Simeon.* An° Dom. 1566.

Francis Soote, who had been before baniſhed on account of the *Reformed* Religion, with ſentence of death if he returned, coming back was diſcovered; and after having lain almoſt a year in priſon, was beheaded on the firſt of *May* at *Hulſt*, or as others ſay at *Aloſt*; and all the other baniſhed perſons were required by a Placard, that bore date the 27th of *April*, to be gone, on pain of death.

On the 8th of *June*, *John Tiſkan*, a Tapiſtry-Weaver of *Oudenard*, a young man of twenty two years, had his hand firſt cut off, and then his body burnt in the ſaid Town. His crime was, that upon *Aſcenſion-day*, being the 30th of *May*, he went into the Church at *Pamele*, and ſnatched the Wafer or Maſs-bread out of the hands of the Prieſt, and crumbled it in the preſence of the people, to ſhew them that it was really Bread, and not a God.

After this action, which he confeſſed he had long projected, he readily yielded himſelf Priſoner, without endeavouring to eſcape, as he might have done in the firſt ſurprize and confuſion. With the ſame reſolution and patience he likewiſe underwent the torments they inflicted on him, and death itſelf.

[1] But *John Cornelius Winter*, formerly Paſtor of the Great Church at *Horn*, who attempted to introduce the *Reformation* by gentler methods, met alſo, about the ſame time, with an eaſier death, and ſhorter ſufferings. As long as he was permitted the exerciſe of his function (which was till the year 1535) he inſtructed with great zeal and diligence the people committed to his charge, in Piety and Morality, doing his utmoſt to reform the abuſes which reigned in the Church at that time. Beſides the Lord's Prayer, he tranſlated the Apoſtles Creed, and ſeveral paſſages and ſentences of Scripture, into the *Dutch* tongue, and put them into the hands of the School Children, and other ignorant perſons, to learn without-book.

Upon theſe accounts he was ſummoned before the Judges at the *Hague*; but being armed with very good Certificates from the Magiſtrates of his Town, he was diſcharged at that time; but afterwards being alſo ſummoned into the Biſhop's Court at *Utrecht*, he remained a long time in cuſtody, till at laſt, this year 1566, beheld him ſteadfaſtly and chearfully ſubmitting his neck to the ſword of the Executioner. It was obſervable, that ſinging the *Te Deum* upon the ſcaffold, when he came to that expreſſion: *Laudant te omnes Martyres*, his head was ſeparated from his body.

The progreſs of the Reformation.

[2] Not long after, the Doctrine of the *Reformation* got much ground at *Utrecht*, by the Writings of one Maſter *Richard* of *Abkoude*, Vicar of the Church of St. *Peter* in the ſaid City: He was long priſoner in the Spiritual Court there, nor could get free but by an involuntary Recantation, conforming himſelf to that vile evaſion, *Lingua juravi, mentem injuratam gero.* However, he avoided, as much as poſſible, going to Maſs, under pretext of bodily infirmities. His Writings, which were very ingenious, and every Section of which was prefaced with his Motto, *Sis ſine felle pius*, were tranſcribed and read in private by his followers. Other Proteſtant pieces were likewiſe ſecretly handed about in thoſe times, *viz. Sermons by a devout Fryer*, ſuppoſed to be written by a *Lutheran* or *Reformed* Miniſter: *A Dialogue between* Paſquin *and* Marforio, tranſlated from the *Latin*: as alſo *the Bee-hive of the Romiſh Church*, by the Baron of *Aldegonde*, under the feigned name of *Iſaac Rabbotena*; but this laſt Book came out later.

There lived at this time a Prieſt, called *Theodorus Æmilius*, at *Oudwater* in *Holland*, a learned and godly man, who having had ſome taſte of the Doctrine of the *Reformation*, reſolved within himſelf not to ſay Maſs any longer: on which account he frequently ſhifted his habitation, abiding ſometimes at *Paris*, other whiles at *Louvain*, now at *Cologn*, then at *Utrecht*. [3] It was he whom *Jacob Hermans*, ſince known by the name of *Arminius*, obſerving in him ſigns and tokens of an uncommon Genius, kept at ſchool in his fatherleſs childhood, and cauſed to be inſtructed in the principles of Religion, and the learned Languages, frequently exhorting him, *To deſpiſe and diveſt himſelf of all worldly views, and to cleave to God and a good Conſcience:* adding, *that men had but a little time to live upon this earth; and that after this life there would follow another State, which was not to be valued according to*

[1] Velii Chron. Horn. *p.* 137. [2] *Preface of* Uitenbog's *Life.* [3] P. Bart. Orat. in ob. J. Armin.

An° Dom. 1566. *Liberty or Bonds, Proſperity or Adverſity, but according to the eternity of Happineſs or Miſery.*

The firſt publick Meetings of the Proteſtants in Flanders.

[1] In the mean while the Proteſtants of *Flanders* began to hold their Meetings more freely and openly: This furniſhed a freſh opportunity of making an attempt upon *Franciſcus Junius*, in order to draw him thither from *Antwerp*, and ſo to cauſe him to fall into the ambuſhes of the Perſecutors.

A certain Gentleman, named *Caubeke*, that uſed to converſe frequently at *Liſle* (being incited by the Governour of the Town, the Lord of *Raſſinghem*, a Creature of the Count of *Egmont*) pretended to be mightily inclined to embrace the *Reformed Religion*; but deſired firſt a conference between one of the Miniſters and his own Maſs-Prieſt, that he might be able to judge fairly on which ſide Truth lay; alledging, that in caſe of conviction, no authority or influence, that of the King himſelf not excepted, ſhould hinder him from declaring for it. Upon this, notice was immediately given to thoſe of *Antwerp* (that Congregation being better provided with Miniſters than any other;) where the matter being duly weighed, it was agreed, that *Junius* ſhould be the man, though *Junius* himſelf was of opinion, that it would be without ſucceſs, as indeed it fell out.

In the mean while, *Raſſinghem* prepared to receive him, inviting the Biſhop of *Tournay* thither, under pretence of baptizing his Child, to procure the greater honour to the diſputation. *Junius* being arrived at *Bruſſels*, was carried to a Publick houſe, in order, as they gave out, to reſt a little after his journey; but before he could refreſh himſelf, the Landlord came running in, and acquainted him that there were ſix Officers of the *Inquiſition* making up to the houſe, adviſing him to get away by the back door and ſave himſelf as well as he could. Thus the good man was forced to ſhift for himſelf with the utmoſt diligence and ſecreſy, from one friends houſe to another's, in order to eſcape the baſe treachery and unjuſt violence of his enemies. This happened about the feſtival of *Whitſuntide*, which was celebrated that year, the 9th of *June*.

Soon after, preaching became very frequent through the whole Country, the *Reformed* aſſembling themſelves without any fear, and thus making a diſcovery of their numbers. Whether it was out of pure zeal which flamed out more and more in many; or whether it was that the people, who are wont to draw in their bodies where they can thruſt in their fingers, where emboldened by the favour which the Nobility ſhewed them; [2] or laſtly, that the Nobility finding themſelves in diſgrace with the Government, by reaſon of their late unaccepted Petition, had out of deſpair, animated the Mob, to make the Ducheſs believe that they could diſtreſs her, and reduce things to the utmoſt extremity, unleſs ſhe ſtrengthened herſelf with their aſſiſtance, and ſecured them by her protection: Poſſibly too, a great quantity of warlike Stores, together with ſome Ships of War that lay in the *Flemiſh* Ports, and which were afterwards ſent to *Spain*, as well as the putting to death ſome that had lain in priſon for their Religion, might contribute to increaſe the fire; but the chiefeſt and moſt natural cauſe ſeems to have been, [3] *That they were reſolved to bring the King to grant a Toleration and Liberty of Conſcience, before the new Placards of Moderation, as they were called (whereby they foreſaw the door would be ſhut for ever) ſhould take effect.*

That the *Proteſtants* encouraged theſe publick Meetings and Preaching among the people, to prevent thoſe moderating Projects, may be likewiſe inferred from what *Franciſcus Junius*, who was preſent at the moſt ſecret Councils of the *Proteſtant* Divines, relates of the matter: "About *Whitſuntide*, [4] *ſays he*, there was ſcarce "any preaching through all *Brabant*, but in private, to the great ſcandal and offence "of many, who reproached the Miniſters with ſloth, ſelf-love, luke-warmneſs, "vain fears and diſtruſts, unbecoming Chriſtians. But now, when chiefly through "the contrivance and craft of the Preſident *Viglius*, thoſe new Laws were forged, "which were diſguiſed with the plauſible name of *the Moderation of the Placards*, and "yet fell nothing ſhort of former cruelties but only in appearance, and conſequently "the danger of Perſecution was as great as ever; it was reſolved at ſeveral Meetings "at *Antwerp* (at which the Lord of *Aldegonde* was twice preſent) that to obviate "any

[1] F. Jun. vita *p.* 26. Et Mr. Adams p. 197.
[2] Bentivog. Lib. II. *p.* 98. Strada Lib. V. *p.* 230.
[3] Hooft. *p.* 79.
[4] Fr. Jun. in vita ſua, *p.* 16.

" any farther inconveniences and difficulties, the Churches ſhould be opened, and " Divine Service performed publickly at *Antwerp*, as it was already in *Flanders*. An° Dom. 1566.

Thus were the pretended Schemes of Moderation defeated by the intervention of publick preaching, and the meetings began to increaſe and flouriſh wonderfully. But though all the other Miniſters ſeemed to be ſkreened from the violence of their enemies by this torrent of zeal, yet *Junius* was as much expoſed as ever; the reaſon of which was, that the Governeſs believed, without cauſe, that all the Tumults and Uproars were excited by the *French* Church at *Antwerp*, and that the ſaid *Junius* was at the bottom of all: For even when by a new ſtratagem ſhe ſought to hinder the open exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion, endeavouring, by threats and promiſes, to perſwade the people to ſuſpend their meetings for the ſpace of ſix weeks, till ſhe could procure a kind anſwer from *Spain*, ſhe ſignified to the *Walloon* Congregations at *Antwerp*, that ſhe knew all the reſt would follow their example. [1] It is likewiſe ſaid, that the Prince of *Orange* and other Lords were very deſirous of ſuch a Suſpenſion, till the general Aſſembly of the States; but there was no ſtaying for them. *Junius* ſpeaks of theſe things in his Manuſcript Journal with more particulars and circumſtances: " In the " month of *June*, *ſays he*, the *Regent* ſent three ſeveral Deputations to the Miniſters " of the *French* Congregations, in hopes that if ſhe could have brought them over, " the reſt would readily have followed their example. *Francis de Hames*, a man " much reſpected for his great Authority, Experience and Integrity, was the per- " ſon ſhe made uſe of on this occaſion. The firſt meſſage was ſent in the ſame week " that *Stephen Mermier*, a *Burgundian*, had preached for the firſt time in the Village " of *Berchem* near *Antwerp*. He required in her name, that the Teachers ſhould ſuſ- " pend the publick Sermons. They made anſwer: *That in this matter they were* " *the ſervants of the Congregation, and were ready to ſhew their dutifulneſs* " *and obedience to her Highneſs in all other things.* The ſecond meſſage happened " when there was preaching in the Village of *Borgerhout*: And then they were " threatened, that if the Miniſters did not comply, the Prince of *Orange* and the " Count of *Egmont* ſhould fall upon their Aſſembly, without reſpect of perſons. " The third time, when the Regent perceived they would not deſiſt from preaching, " ſhe deſired the Miniſters and Elders only to forbear for a few weeks. But after " ſome debates, it was at laſt reſolved to proceed in that work for the edification of " the people; ſince if they forbore, greater dangers ſeemed to hang over their heads. " To this Reſolution the advice of a certain Member of the Aſſembly paved the way; " for when this perſon, who was no ſtranger to the temper of the ſaid Monſieur *de* " *Hames*, adviſed the Aſſembly to beg his Counſel on this occaſion, he replied, " with a certain honeſt confuſion, *He was not come to anſwer them according to his* " *own private ſentiments, and the dictates of his Conſcience, but to deliver the* " *Meſſage with which he was charged.* And thus the minds of the whole " Aſſembly being ſatisfied and confirmed, they broke up, and went on with the " Work." The liberty of preaching, which firſt ſpread it ſelf through all *Weſt Flanders*, paſſed from thence into *Brabant*, and ſo into other Provinces. It began at firſt in the Woods and Foreſts; then it proceeded to the Plains and open places; thence to Villages, little Towns, and the Suburbs of Cities, with a great concourſe of people. The firſt meetings were held without arms; but being threatened and diſturbed, they carried Sticks and Staves with them, and at laſt defended themſelves with Swords, Piſtols, and Muſkets. The *Popiſh* Writers tell us, that the firſt publick aſſembly of the *Reformed* was held on the 14th of *June*, at a certain place in *Weſt Flanders*, by means of *John van Wingen*, who being ſet on by the Confederates Nobility, had brought together a very great number of people from *Oudenard* and *Rotnaken*, in the way to *Gant*, and not far from the Town; and that he was accompanied by *Herman Striker*, alias *Modet*, of *Zwol*, formerly a Monk, but then a Preacher among the *Reformed* at *Oudenard*. [2] This man, ſay they, was the firſt that ventured to preach in publick, and there were ſeven thouſand perſons at his firſt Sermon.

Cornelius Kroeſen, the Scout of *Gentbrug*, was ſo bold as to attempt diſturbing them at this great meeting: To which end, riding up to them with a drawn Sword

[1] P. Scriver. *of the* Low-Country *Wars, in* Dutch.

[2] N. Burgund. Hiſt. Belg. Lib. III. *p.* 213.

An° Dom. 1566. in one hand, and a Piſtol in the other, he endeavoured to ſeize the Miniſter; but he foreſeeing the deſign, fled upon the firſt alarm, and concealed himſelf in a neighbouring Wood. The people were in a manner diſarmed, but their Zeal ſoon furniſhed them both with weapons and reſolution, ſo that a ſtorm of ſtones fell upon the *Scout* from all parts; who being wounded in ſeveral places of his body, loſt all his courage, threw down his arms, begged for quarter, and narrowly eſcaped death.

The *Proteſtants* encouraged with this ſucceſs, returned the 23d of *July* in great numbers, and rendezvouſed in a large Meadow not far from *Gant:* Here they formed a ſort of Camp, fortifying themſelves with their Waggons, and ſetting Centinels, or Watchmen, at all the avenues. Some of them brought Pikes, ſome Hatchets, and others Guns. In the front of them were Pedlers with prohibited Books, which they ſold to ſuch as came. Along the Road they planted ſeveral perſons, whoſe buſineſs it was to invite the people to come to their preaching, and to ſhew them the way. They made a kind of Pulpit of Planks in haſte, and ſet it upon a Waggon, which *Striker* aſcended and preached in. When Sermon was done, all the Congregation ſung ſeveral Pſalms: They likewiſe drew ſome Water out of a Well or Brook near them, and baptized a Child. Two days were ſpent here after the ſame manner; then they adjourned to *Deinſen*, afterwards to *Ekelo*, in the Diſtrict of *Bruges*, and ſo through all *Weſt Flanders*. At that time *Peter Dathenus* preached at *Poperingen* in the ſame Province: He had been a Monk there, and after quitting his Cloyſter, ſtaid a while among the *Reformed* in the *Palatinate*; but upon this new turn of affairs came back to his own Country, after having tranſlated the Pſalms of *Clement Marot* and *Theodore Beza* into *Low-Dutch* Metre, adapted them to the *French* Tunes and Meaſure, and publiſhed them with a Dedication to all the *Netherlandiſh* Congregations and their Paſtors groaning under the Croſs. Theſe Pſalms were in a little time uſed where ever the publick preaching prevailed. This Work, by reaſon of his want of experience in the *Hebrew* tongue (for he had made uſe of no other but the *French* Verſion) was attended with ſeveral faults, being, as he himſelf owned afterwards, like an untimely birth, too haſtily brought forth: Yet in that age, when the *Dutch* Poetry ran very low, it was greatly extolled by many, and procured him much favour: Beſides, having the faculty of preaching well and eloquently, which he had acquired by a long practice, he was much more followed than other Teachers, and in a little time, as it is ſaid, he had above fifteen thouſand Auditors at his Sermons; but theſe, as the Popiſh Writers affirm, were more diſorderly and mutinous than thoſe of *Oudenard*.

There happened to be at *Armentiers* two *Anabaptiſts* in priſon, where they were kept till a convenient ſeaſon of putting them to death; but the Partiſans of *Dathenus* gave the Magiſtrates to underſtand, that if they would not quietly releaſe them, it ſhould be ſhortly done by force. No ſooner ſaid than done. No body durſt oppoſe them; the boldneſs of the multitude ſtruck a terror into the Townſmen, ſo that they ſuffered the doors of the Priſon to be broken, and the Priſoners were led away.

On the 24th of *June* there was publick preaching in the *Walloon* or *French* language in a Wood belonging to the Baron of *Berchem*, not far from *Antwerp*, and guard kept in the mean time at all the paſſages by armed men, ſome of whom were on foot, ſome on horſeback: Thither, it being St. *John's-tide* and an idle day, abundance of people were led by their curioſity; ſo that their numbers were computed at four or five thouſand perſons. And it being rumoured that the Militia was coming againſt them, they all cried, *Let them come, we are ready to receive them.* However they preached without any interruption; and when Sermon was done, the Miniſter declared that there would be another Meeting the following *Saturday*, without ſaying where, and that the Sermon would be in *Low-Dutch*. The Magiſtrates of *Antwerp* gave notice of it to the Regent, who ordered them to draw out their Trained-Bands, and prevent their aſſembling, as had formerly been done; but upon their excuſing themſelves by reaſon of the numbers and ſtrength of thoſe that met, ſhe replied; *That the Petition of the Nobles had rendered the Mob thus bold: That theſe* Sectaries *aimed only at the Lives and Eſtates of their Fellow Subjects, and that their Proceedings would end in introducing Atheiſm.* [1] And in order to drive away the *French*

[1] Weſenb. *p.* 114.

French Proteſtants who crept in among the *Dutch* Preachers, ſhe publiſhed a Placard, bearing date the 26th of *June*, whereby all Foreigners that came not thither to trade, or on ſuch like account, were required forthwith to quit the Country. She alſo wrote to all the Officers of Juſtice, that they ſhould diligently execute the Laws againſt Heretical Conventicles, upon pain of being deemed and treated as Accomplices or Favourers of them. To this, thoſe of *Antwerp* returned for anſwer, that they wanted the power of doing it. [1] Beſides, the *Proteſtants* were ſo little terrified with theſe threats, that in the very month in which the ſaid Placard was publiſhed, they forcibly poſſeſſed themſelves of a Common or large Field, called the *Laer*, within a mile of *Antwerp*; where having ſecured the avenues with Waggons and a Guard, they ventured to preach in three ſeveral places of it at once. An° Dom. 1566.

The Placard of the 26th of *June* was promulgated at *Antwerp* on the 2d of *July*, and at the ſame time the Magiſtrates of that City cauſed the following notice to be given to all people: *Warning is hereby given by order of the Lords and Governours of this City, to all Burghers and Inhabitants, and all other perſons of what ſtate and condition ſoever, that they avoid being preſent, whether through curioſity, novelty, or otherwiſe, within or without the Town, at any of thoſe kinds of preachings, which have been prohibited by Placards, as well from his Majeſty, as from the particular Government of this place. Whereof every body is to take notice at his peril.* *The publick preaching forbidden by the Magiſtrates of* Antwerp.

The next day the Bailiffs of ſome of the Villages belonging to *Antwerp*, attending the Magiſtrates in their Aſſembly, acquainted them, that they had received incloſed in a Letter, a Petition ſigned in the name of the Citizens and other Inhabitants, Profeſſors of the *true Chriſtian Faith*, which they were deſired to deliver; and that ſince they were bound by their Oaths not to conceal any thing they ſaw or heard relating to the Publick, they thought it their duty to lay it before them. The ſaid Petition was inſcribed to the Burgomaſters and *Schepens*, or Aldermen, and this was the ſubſtance of it: [2] "That they acknowledged and owned with the utmoſt "ſubmiſſion the power of the ſupreme Magiſtrate in all Civil matters; but that for "ſome years paſt, through the plain convictions of their Conſcience, founded on the "Word of God as it is contained in the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, they had been "forced to ſeparate themſelves from the impious ſuperſtitions, and other abuſes of "the *Roman* Church, introduced by humane innovations, in oppoſition to the pure "Doctrine of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, and to exerciſe their Religion privately "within the City of *Antwerp* (as had likewiſe been done in all the *Low-Countries*) "to that very time; which it was impoſſible for them to do any longer, by reaſon "of the great increaſe of *Believers*, both *Walloons* and *Flemings*; and yet they "durſt not forbear the ſolemn exerciſe of their Religion, being obliged to it by the "command of God. They therefore humbly prayed, that ſome place might be "allowed them within the City, on which they might build a Church at their own "charges. This they hoped would tend to unite the Burghers, and to improve the "Trade of the City, ſince not only many ancient examples, but alſo the circum-"ſtances of *Germany*, *France* and other Countries, at that time proved that the "exerciſe of two Religions rather occaſioned union than diſcord among the people; "declaring, That they adhered to the Articles of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, which "maintained the Neceſſity of publick preaching, and the Uſe of the Sacraments. "And foraſmuch as the Magiſtrates were at liberty, by virtue of thoſe Privileges "granted them by Duke *John* of *Brabant*, and renewed by the (ſo called) *Joyful* "*Entry*, to favour them therein, they expected a gracious Anſwer to this their godly "Requeſt." *The firſt Petition of the* Reformed *to the Magiſtrates of* Antwerp.

[3] The Magiſtrates being yet more embarraſſed by this Petition, found it proper to double the Watch; to place Officers at the Gates, to take the names of the Strangers that came in; to make a general ſearch of houſes; to diſmiſs all Soldiers; to ſend away the *French*; to adminiſter an oath to the Officers of the Militia; to appoint the like Officers in the Villages of their juriſdiction, and ſtrictly to enquire what kind of people was lurking about, within a league round their City.

But the Ducheſs obſerving how they proceeded gradually in *Spain*, whilſt they ran themſelves out of breath in this Country, publiſhed a new Placard, which bearing *A ſevere Placard concerning Religion.*

[1] Bor. *p.* 49. Hooft. *p.* 84.
[2] Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 50. Hooft. *p.* 85. Weſenb. *p.* 116, &c.
[3] Hooft. *p.* 85. Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 50. Weſenb. *p.* 117.

An° Dom. 1566. ing date the 3d of *July*, and agreeing chiefly with the projected, but not yet approved Articles of *Moderation*, required, **That the Magiſtrates ſhould diſturb all the Meetings, and hang up all the new Preachers.**

This excited new animoſities, both becauſe it was contrary to what the Government had promiſed the Nobility, and becauſe it eſtabliſhed the aforeſaid Articles of *Moderation*, before the King himſelf had ratified and the States of the Land ſubmitted to them, and even before thoſe of the Province of *Brabant* had come to any Reſolution about them, or other Members of the States-General ſo much as ſeen them. Wherefore the promulgation of the Placard was put off in ſeveral Cities, and among others, by thoſe of *Utrecht* and *Middelburg*, as alſo by the Government of *Antwerp* itſelf, of whom it was very ill taken, and they were often reproached with it afterwards.

The great Council at Antwerp *refuſe to diſturb the Meetings without the Town.*

In the mean while the people of this City were in great apprehenſions of being viſited by ſome of the King's Troops. The great Council conſiſting of the chief of the Commonalty, being aſſembled, refuſed flatly to moleſt the *Proteſtant Meetings* without the Town, ſince the Burghers would by no means hearken to any ſuch Propoſition; but they promiſed there ſhould be no *preaching* within the walls of the City. They would receive no Soldiers, nay they diſcharged ſome whom the Regent had liſted among the Townſpeople, offering to keep a better guard themſelves, as they actually began to do. But a rumour being ſoon after ſpread among the Burghers, that the Count of *Meghen* was raiſing Forces in the *Kempen*, with order to ſecure the Town in concert with the Magiſtrates, then the fright began to operate in good earneſt, and nothing was ſeen but Merchants packing up their Goods, and ſending them away with their Wives and Children; and the Conſternation increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the Townſmen ran to arms every night, with a reſolution to keep out the Garriſon which was pretended to be at the Gates of the City, in order to ſubdue the Inhabitants, and to renew the Perſecutions on account of Religion.

A ſecond Petition of the Proteſtants to the Magiſtrates of Antwerp.

[1] About the ſame time the *Proteſtants* preſented another Petition to the Magiſtrates of *Antwerp*, in which they repreſented: "That they had already waited "ſeveral days for a favourable Anſwer to their former Petition for a place where they "might preach and exerciſe the true *Evangelical Doctrine*, conformable to the *Con-* "*feſſion* of *Auſburg*; but that on the contrary, they, the Magiſtrates, had declared "their *Meetings* (though holden without the City) to be *Heretical, Seditious and* "*Deſtructive to the Government:* And that they likewiſe ſeemed diſpoſed to diſturb "the ſame by force, becauſe ſome of the people came thither armed; which yet "was not done with any rebellious intention, but only to defend themſelves, their "Wives and Children, not againſt the lawful Powers, but againſt the unjuſt and "unreaſonable Plots and Contrivances of their Enemies for their deſtruction. They "declared, that if any of their followers ſhould be found guilty of uproar, they "would be glad to ſee them puniſhed: That their numbers, and the reproaches "caſt upon them, as if they ſhunned the light, obliged them thus to preach in pub-"lick; but that if the Government would vouchſafe only to grant them any place "where, being protected, they might with freedom enjoy the exerciſe of their Re-"ligion, which they conceived to be grounded on the Doctrine of the Prophets and "Apoſtles, all troubles would be at an end, Commerce would flouriſh more than "ever, and they would readily lay down their Arms. Wherefore they once again "beſought them to conſider this their Petition with equity and impartiality, and for "the good of the City, and not refuſe them ſuch a place as had been deſired."

This Petition was made in the name of the Burghers and other Inhabitants of the *Dutch* and *Walloon* languages, and ſigned by great numbers of them, who offered to appear before the Magiſtrates in ſuch manner as they ſhould direct. But inſtead of conſenting to this, a Project was formed to divide them, in order to weaken them, and ſo to prevent their great concourſe.

A ſtratagem of the Magiſtrates to divide and weaken the Proteſtants.

Very near *Antwerp*, at a place called the *Kiel*, there had dwelt two Pariſh Prieſts, from whoſe manner of life and behaviour it was ſuſpected that they were inclinable to *Lutheraniſm*, though they had not yet forſaken the *Romiſh* Communion: whereupon one of them was impriſoned, and the other baniſhed: The Magiſtrates judging that the better ſort of people might be perſwaded to forbear haunting the forbidden

[1] Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 53. Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 87. Weſenb. *p.* 126, &c.

forbidden Conventicles, in caſe they were allowed to hear any one who could inſtruct them in all that was neceſſary to ſalvation, recalled him whom they had baniſhed, committing to him again the care of his Church, and charging him ſtrictly to behave himſelf with temper. An° Dom. 1566.

1 This ſtratagem had its effect, for the people were thereby divided, the great concourſe of them was leſſened, and the breach between the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* ſeems to have been conſiderably widened.

2 The *Lutherans*, as *Strada* affirms, excelled the *Calviniſts* or *Reformed*, and the *Anabaptiſts*, with reſpect to the quality of their adherents and followers, who conſiſted of the principal inhabitants; the number of the *Anabaptiſts* was greater than that of the *Lutherans*, but the *Calviniſts* were much the ſtrongeſt of all, for their Meetings, which were kept without *Antwerp*, amounted ſometimes to fourteen or fifteen thouſand ſouls, and thoſe that were leaſt, to four thouſand, and they well armed too. Now to ſecure the Town againſt thoſe tumults which the Magiſtrates feared might reſult from ſuch Club-preaching, they ſtrengthened themſelves in ſome meaſure, by encouraging or conniving at the *Lutheran* Meetings at the *Kiel*, whither the people went unarm'd and peaceably, as to a tolerated Meeting. However, matters growing every day worſe and worſe, through the mutual diſtruſts and jealouſy of the Magiſtrates and Burghers, the Prince of *Orange* was ſent thither at the deſire of the *Antwerpians* themſelves, to compoſe their Differences.

Being come thither for this purpoſe on the 13th of *July*, and received by the people with ſhouts and acclamations of *Vive le Gueux*, each party began to accuſe the other. The Magiſtrates complained of *the Inſolence of the* Reformed, *who without regarding them, or the Placards, the Regent, or even the Majeſty of the King himſelf, went armed to the forbidden Meetings*; *which*, they ſaid, *could end in nothing but diſtractions and confuſions, as tending to render them* (the Magiſtrates) *deſpicable in the eyes of the reſt of the people.* *The Prince of* Orange *arrives at* Antwerp.

On the other hand, the inhabitants ſuſpected all that the Court or Magiſtrates propoſed, and particularly inveighed againſt the deſign of bringing Soldiers into the City. And again, the *Lutherans* were jealous of the *Calviniſts*, or *Reformed*; and the latter, who were armed, and had moſt of the common people on their ſide, were jealous of all the other parties. And conſidering the weakneſs and negligence of the Watch, there was cauſe to fear that ſuch numbers of them returning into the City from their Sermons with Arms in their hands, might make themſelves Maſters of all.

This was the ſtate of affairs when the Prince came to *Antwerp*; of which he writ an account to the Regent, informing her, that in his opinion it would be moſt expedient by prudent methods to endeavour the allaying the mutual diſtruſts and animoſities, in order to prevail with the *Calviniſts* to lay down their arms, and deliver them into the hands of the Government. For which purpoſe he repreſented to the followers of *Calvin*, and particularly to their Teachers (who could make them do what they pleaſed) that it was very unbecoming the Religion and Principles which they profeſſed, to frequent the Worſhip of God, as if they were going to battle; wherefore they ought to give place to decency, and lay down their arms. They confeſt that his arguments were good, and his inferences juſt; but inſiſted that he ſhould paſs his word, and procure them Aſſurances from the Magiſtrates and the Court, that they ſhould be protected from the inſults of their enemies.

Hereupon there were ſummoned to Council, not only the Burgomaſters, Aldermen, Sheriffs, the Bailiffs of the Precincts, the Deans of the Guilds, or Maſters and Wardens of the Companies, but alſo the principal Merchants, Lawyers, and Officers of the Militia, to the great ſatisfaction of the people. *A Council called.*

In this Aſſembly were two points debated; one was, a Propoſal for raiſing and forming into Companies 1200 of the Burghers, who were to receive Pay, and take a Military Oath; the other was, a Propoſal for ſuſpending the New Preaching. On which occaſion the Prince declared, that he and the Magiſtrates were very deſirous to ſee matters brought to this iſſue, till the pleaſure of the King and of the States General could be known, and an end put to all theſe differences, either by an Act of Indemnity for all ſuch as had abandoned the *Romiſh* Communion, or by any other healing methods.

'Twas

[1] Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 87. Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 53. Weſenb. *p.* 127. Meteren. Lib. II. *p.* 43.

[2] Meteren. Lib. V. *p.* 237, &c. 198—

An° Dom. 1566.

Their opinion with reference to the composing of the differences.

[1] 'Twas afterwards desired, that the several Orders might once more assemble to consult upon these Proposals; which being allowed, they accordingly met, and delivered their unanimous opinion to the following purpose: *That it was by no means proper in such an* Emporium *as* Antwerp, *to incorporate the Burghers into standing Military Companies, since such a disposition might rather tend towards promoting Discord and Tumults. For though the said Companies were proposed to be raised from among the Burghers themselves, yet they would consist of the Dregs of the People, and such as could be least confided in; whereas they themselves were ready to perform all such services as the Government thought fit to exact of Soldiers. As for the business of Preaching, they were of opinion, that great temper and caution was to be used, and no other more violent methods than Admonitions and Dehortations; that indeed a free Pardon might reclaim a great many, but that the calling together of the States General would produce the best effects.*

The Prince is made Governour of Antwerp.

The offer of taking upon themselves the defence and security of the Town, was accepted; but their sentiments about *Preaching*, &c. were taken by the Regent *ad referendum:* The Prince was made Governour of the Town, and certain Orders were made and published relating to the Watch, and to the bearing unaccustomed Arms in the streets. [2] But all was in a manner overturned by the unseasonable zeal of one *Peter Rithoven*, a Doctor of Divinity, and Pastor of St. *Peter*'s Church at *Louvain*, who, disguised as a Layman, took upon him openly to censure and contradict the Pastor of the *Kiel* as he was preaching; and though the latter offered to discourse with him in a less publick place about the matters in debate, he would not desist from inveighing against him in that publick manner. They met one day, and entered into a dispute; on which occasion the standers-by observing how the Pastor of the *Kiel* silenced the Doctor with arguments drawn from the Scriptures, set up a great shout against him; and some of them were so incensed, that if certain of the Burghers had not dragged him away at the peril of their own lives, and hid him in a Cellar, he would have been torn in pieces. So that the Prince was forced to interpose by sending the *Scout* to seize and commit him to Prison; from whence, after a severe reprimand for his indiscretion, he was privately conveyed out of the Town.

Notwithstanding this, the Prince of *Orange*, by his prudent conduct, had almost prevailed on the *Reformed* to lay down their arms, and the disturbances seemed to be just composed, when a rumour was spread, that the *Droſſart* (or Chief Officer of Justice) of *Brabant* had augmented the number of his Servants and Horses: This and his riding by the Town to his own house, occasioned a fresh alarm among the people; so that they frequented their meetings better armed than before. However, the Regent, at the request of the Prince and the Magistrates, who feared they might take this opportunity of bringing their Conventicles into the City, having forbidden the use of any violent means against them, they were a little pacified.

But they were as soon moved as quieted by new rumours and accidents: By Letters from unknown hands out of *Brussels*, the Bailiffs of the Precincts were acquainted, that there was a Project forming between the Court and the Deputies of *Antwerp* to disperse the meetings by force. Of four Waggons laden with Arms by the *Droſſart*, one was stopt by the People, and the Magistrates interposing, increas'd the suspicion of some evil design. There were likewise advices, that Men and Horses were concealed in some Monasteries round about the Town; and even that they were privately raising Soldiers within, and that upon a signal to be given by the great Bell, they were jointly to attack the Meeting. This occasioned a new rising one day among the *Reformed*, which, tho' with much difficulty, was composed, yet produced a resolution among them the next day, that they would from that time forwards hold their Meetings in the City. The Prince being informed of it, immediately sent the Pensioner *Wesenbeek* to the Ministers, and two of his Gentlemen to the Chief of the *Reformed*, exhorting them to recede from that design, and to wait for the resolution that would soon be taken by the Governess and the Confederates; adding, that if they would not do it by fair means, he should be obliged to oppose their Preaching within the City to the utmost of his power.

The Reformed *take a Resolution to preach within the City.*

But whatever arguments he used, the *Reformed* were not to be moved; the resolution was taken, and could not be altered. They also deputed some Merchants to him

2 very

[1] Hooft. 88, &c. Bor. *p.* 54. Wesenb. *p.* 135. [2] Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 89. Bor. *p.* 57. Wesenb. *p.* 138, &c.

very late the ſame night, with a Paper containing the Reaſons of their ſaid Reſolution; *viz.* That it was to prevent greater Evils; and offering to lay down their Arms, as had been deſired of them, and which could not be done whilſt they were forced to meet in the fields, they beſought him therefore to take care that they might not be inſulted whilſt they were worſhipping God in the City; and as for all other matters, they would obey his commands. But they added, that if the Prince continued to take this ill of them, they ſhould rather chuſe, though unwillingly, to undergo his diſpleaſure than hear the complaints of the people, and be in continual apprehenſions of being fallen upon at unawares, which might eaſily have happened by the concurrence of the Magiſtrates, and without his knowledge. An° Dom. 1566.

However, as the Prince would not conſent to their propoſal, nor they depart from their reſolutions (tho' they promiſed notwithſtanding to uſe their beſt endeavours to keep the meetings for ſome time out of the Town) he ſent at that inſtant (which was about midnight) to the Magiſtrates, and ordered them to draw out the Train'd Bands againſt five o'clock the next morning; to the end that they might prevent all riotous and diſorderly meetings of the people. This ſucceeding as he deſired, and matters being accommodated on both ſides by his wiſe management, he would have immediately returned to *Bruſſels*, but was prevailed upon by the Magiſtrates to ſtay till the ſolemn proceſſion of the image of the Virgin *Mary*, on the 18th of *Auguſt*, was paſt. This Feſtival they celebrated after the ancient manner, with Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick, and the Clergy attending, without any other interruption but by words, ſome crying, *Ho! Gentlemen, this is your laſt Show; this is your laſt Holiday.* It is likewiſe ſaid, that ſome few threw ſtones at the image: All which plainly proved, how much the minds of the people were changed, and emboldened. *The Execution of their deſign is for ſome time deferred.*

About the month of *July* of this year 1566, one *Cornelius van Dieſt* ventured to preach in a Wood near *Bois le Duc*; after which there were meetings held regularly in the ſame place every *Sunday* and Holiday. Thither repaired many Burghers of the ſaid Town, as likewiſe of *Gorkum*, *Heuſden*, *Bommel*, and other neighbouring Towns. *The firſt publick meeting of the* Reformed *without the Gates of* Bois le Duc.

In order to diſturb this meeting, and to ſeize the Preacher, the *Scout* of *Bois le Duc* deſired he might be furniſhed with a competent number of the Militia of that place, to be uſed againſt the Meeters, in caſe of reſiſtance: but he was anſwered by ſome of the Magiſtrates, that *this was not their buſineſs; but that he*, the *Scout*, *and the Biſhop* Sonnius, *together with the Clergy, and thoſe that had been for ſetting a Biſhop over them, might do it if they would.* It was then propoſed that every Burgher who ſhould be preſent at this unlawful meeting, ſhould be fined ſix Guilders for every ſuch offence, but this was alſo rejected. Thereupon the people went out to hear the Sermons without any moleſtation, carrying their children with them to be baptized. But upon St. *Lawrence*'s day, the Miniſter had the boldneſs to preach at *Deuteren*, cloſe by the Town, and after Sermon being attended by his hearers, many of whom were armed, he was introduced into the Town, and entertained there by one of the inhabitants. The *Sunday* following there were two Sermons at the ſame place, by two ſeveral Miniſters, and the Miniſters were afterwards conducted to the ſame man's houſe, and in the very ſame manner.

[1] Whilſt things were thus carried on in *Brabant*, the *Reformed* met openly at *Tournay*, to the number of about 8000 at a time, and at *Liſle* they were yet ſtronger. At *Valenciennes*, and other Towns, children were baptized by the new Preachers in the open fields, and ſeveral perſons married. [2] In *Holland* alſo, about this time, the publick exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion was introduced; the occaſions of which, together with the moſt remarkable events, we ſhall here ſet before the Reader, as we found them in the Memoirs of *Lawrence Jacobſon Real*, one of the chiefeſt and moſt zealous Aſſertors of Religious Liberty, and who was ſeveral times after one of the *Schepens*, or Aldermen, of *Amſterdam*; and paſſing through ſeveral honourable Offices of that City, was laſtly one of the Commiſſioners or Directors of the Admiralty of *Zeland*. *Publick meetings of the* Reformed *at* Tournay, Liſle, *and* Valenciennes.

Floris van Pallandt, Count of *Kulenburgh*, one of the Heads of the confederated Nobility, did himſelf purge the Church of his own Town, of Images and other

[1] Strada, Lib. V. *p.* 238. [2] Hooft, Lib. XXVI. *p.* 291.

An° Dom. 1566. Popiſh Trinkets and Fopperies, at the time that preaching began to prevail ſo much in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and cauſed a certain Teacher, named *Gerard*, to perform Divine Service there publickly after the new way. To hear this man there came many from the adjacent parts, and even from *Holland* it ſelf, where there were abundance who ſecretly wiſhed for *Reformation*, though the number of ſuch as dared to profeſs it was at that time but very ſmall. But thoſe few excited by the zeal of their neighbours, in the adjacent countries, conſulted with each other, and with the Preachers whom they knew, whether this was not a proper ſeaſon to begin their publick meetings in *Holland*, at leaſt in the country Towns and Villages. But in all the ſaid Province there were only two Miniſters at that time; one of whom was *Peter Gabriel* the *Fleming*, who had formerly preached at *Bruges*, and thereabouts, and one *John Arentſon* of *Alkmaer*, a Baſket-maker by trade. *Peter Gabriel* dwelt then with his Wife *Elizabeth*, who was childleſs, in a certain little ſtreet at *Amſterdam*, where he every *Sunday* expounded the *Heidelberg* Catechiſm, and thoſe who were of his Congregation came to hear him by few at a time, not without great fear and danger of their lives, becauſe of the cruelty of the Magiſtrates of that City, which upon account of burning and ſlaughtering people for their Religion, was uſually called *Murderdam* inſtead of *Amſterdam*. *John Arentſon* lived with his Wife and Children at *Kampen*, where alſo he was uſed to preach very privately, and before but a few at once; from whence he now and then took a journey into *Holland* to viſit and encourage the Congregations there. He was driven from *Holland* by the fiery zeal of Maſter *Elbert Huik* an *Amſterdamer*, who had hired or farmed the Benefice of the ſaid Church from the Canons of *Utrecht*, for the ſum of five hundred Guilders *per Annum*; but obſerving how greatly his income was abated, ſince the riſe of *Luther*, and having in vain deſired to be releaſed from his bargain at *Utrecht*, he took a journey to *Rome* on purpoſe to be relieved by the Pope. But being returned (with what ſucceſs we know not) he began to rage and thunder againſt the *Lutherans* and other *Hereticks*, after ſo furious a manner, that *John Arentſon* was forced to flee from *Alkmaer*, and ſettle at *Kampen*. *Albert Gerritſon*, who was likewiſe a Baſket-maker, and *Peter Corneliſon*, who had learned the ſame trade of *Albert*, fled to other places, and kept up the Congregations in the country by their zealous preaching. The Congregation of the *Reformed* at *Leyden*, was likewiſe obliged to break up, and diſperſe upon the complaint of the ſame *Elbert*. But this Perſecutor was viſited not long after with a kind of madneſs and deſpair of God's mercy, ſo that they were obliged to ſhut him up at *Amſterdam*, where he continued without recovering his ſenſes for the ſpace of 23 years, and died in that condition in the year 1594.

Publick meetings propoſed to be held in Holland.

In order to ſet up publick preaching at *Amſterdam*, ſome few of the Burghers invited *John Arentſon* thither from *Kampen*. But the ruling Burgomaſters obſerving what had happened in other parts, and it being whiſpered that ſomething of the like nature would be attempted in *Holland*, they aſſembled the *Old Council*, that is, all the twelve Burgomaſters, and informing them that there was a rumour as if on the next *Sunday* there would be preaching out of the Town, deſired their advice what ſhould be done in that matter. In this meeting it was thought proper to call the *Council of* XXXVI, and to hear their opinion. Theſe being met, adviſed them to wait a few days, to the end that the people might not be alarmed, and in the mean time diligently to inquire what foundation there was for ſuch a report.

But upon the 18th of *July*, ſix of the principal Burghers had a conference with *John Arentſon* without the Town near St. *Anthony*'s Gate, for he durſt not venture within the City: the names of the ſix were, *Reinier Kant*, *Frank de Wael*, *Cornelius Janſon Koſter*, *Albert Heyes*, *William Floriſon*, and *Laurence Jacobſon*. In this little Congregation *John Arentſon* made a very grave and zealous Prayer, beſeeching God to ſend down his holy Spirit among them, to the end they might form ſuch reſolutions as ſhould tend moſt to the honour of his Divine Majeſty. After which, having weighed all the difficulties that ſtood in their way, they unanimouſly reſolved, that laying aſide all fear and danger of their lives, they would ſet up publick preaching in the Province of *Holland*, as had been already done in ſeveral Diſtricts of the *Netherlands*. It was then further agreed, that they ſhould meet again in the afternoon, to conſider of proper methods for putting this deſign in execution. But whilſt they were returning one after another privately into the Town, they heard the great Bell

of

of the Stadthouſe ring out, upon which two of them repaired to the *Dam*, and found the Magiſtrates promulgating the laſt Placard that had been tranſmitted to them from Court; the ſubſtance of which was: A freſh Prohibition of all Conventicles and unlawful Aſſemblies both publick and private, on pain of hanging to the Preachers and Teachers, and the forfeiture of their Eſtates to the behoof and advantage of thoſe that ſhould apprehend them; and in caſe they had no Eſtates, then the Perſons who cauſed them to be taken, ſhould receive from his Majeſty's Treaſurer, a reward of ſix hundred Pounds Flemiſh Money, reckoning forty Flemiſh Groats to the Pound. In the ſame manner were to be treated all ſuch as furniſhed or provided places for the ſame kind of preaching and teaching. They who harboured or concealed theſe Preachers, were to be puniſhed with death; and thoſe who were found at any ſuch Meetings, ſhould be puniſhed according to the diſcretion of the Judges, with regard however to their different Ranks and Qualities, as likewiſe whether they went thither out of meer curioſity, or whether armed to defend the Preachers, for in the latter caſe they were to be baniſhed. Anº Dom. 1566. *A new Placard for prohibiting the Meetings.*

This Declaration ſomewhat alarmed the ſix Burghers abovementioned; but the ſcorn wherewith the common people received the Placard, encouraged them again; for ſome of them cried, *The Prieſts are afraid of the Gallows, and it looks as if they were coming to it.* Others ſaid, *It will not be eaſie for them to kick againſt the pricks.* Others again, *That the ſaid Placard would occaſion publick preaching in* Holland *too, where it had not yet prevailed.*

They returned then, as they had reſolved, to the appointed place, and at the appointed time, and after calling upon God in Prayer, it was agreed, and meaſures were concerted, to preach openly to the people in all parts of *Holland*, except about *Amſterdam*, [1] where it ſhould be a little delayed for fear of the Burgomaſters, who having provoked the inhabitants upon ſeveral accounts, made uſe of the Church's Arm, and the pretence of Hereſie, to keep them in ſubjection. And accordingly, on the 13th of this month, the Burgomaſters adviſed with the Common Council about the means they ſhould uſe in caſe of any attempts made to preach within the juriſdiction of the City. Whereupon it was reſolved to be paſſive as yet, to give no handle to Tumults among the people; but if any thing of that nature happened, timely notice was to be given to the ſaid Council, and the Trained-Bands were to be held in readineſs.

[2] The next day, to wit the 14th of *July*, happened the firſt publick meeting and preaching of the *Reformed*, in a field near *Horn*, in *North-Holland*. *John Arentſon*, the Preacher, cauſed the people, who flocked thither from the neighbouring Villages in great numbers, firſt to ſing a Pſalm, after which he prayed, and then preached. But it happened that juſt about the ſame time the *Scout* with his Deputy and two young *South-Holland* Gentlemen were at dinner with the Monks of a certain Cloyſter very near the ſame place; theſe hearing the noiſe of the people, ran out, and went as near as they could get to the Preacher, with a deſign perhaps to frighten him; but he purſuing his diſcourſe without any concern, one of the Monks leaped over a ditch that parted him from the people, making a hideous roaring, in hopes of diſperſing the Congregation; but that ſucceeded no better. So the Under-*Scout*, and the Gentlemen ſtaid the Sermon out; and when they returned to the reſt of the company, had the courage to tell the Monks, that they were not diſpleaſed with what they had hear'd. *The firſt publick Meeting in* Holland.

About the ſame time the Heer *van Brederode* came to *Horn*, and paſt through ſeveral other Towns of *Holland*, to make an intereſt privately for the Confederates, and to induce the chief inhabitants to come into their Aſſociation. At *Amſterdam* he invited a great number of them to his Inn, which was at the Sign of the *Prince*, where they all entered into a mutual agreement for the defence of their Liberty, excepting only *Floris van Rodenburg*, who ſcrupled ſetting his hand to the Paper, though he remained true to them to the end, and afterwards proved as zealous an aſſertor of Liberty as any others.

In the mean while the rumour of this preaching at *Horn* had ſpread it ſelf over all *Holland*; and it was given out, that Miniſters were coming to ſeveral other places. Many of the inhabitants of *Amſterdam*, both Citizens and Strangers, longed

[1] Hooft. Lib. II. *p.* 63. & Lib. III. *p.* 89.

[2] Velij Chron. *p.* 162.

An° Dom. 1566. to hear the Word in that City. Whereupon, they that had there the management of affairs among the *Reformed*, began to ſpeak a little more freely, inſinuating, that if they could be ſure of a conſiderable number of hearers, they would ſoon find a Preacher, but that he was unwilling to expoſe himſelf and his flock, if they were but weak, to extream danger, knowing that the Magiſtrates would do whatever was in their power to diſturb them.

But there appeared ſo much zeal and warmth for ſuch a Meeting, that it was thought proper to aſſemble one upon the 21ſt of *July*, being *Sunday*, at a place called *Overveen*, near *Harlem*, belonging to the Heer *van Brederode*. To make this the better known, care was taken to proclaim it the day before in the *Warmoes-ſtreet* (where the Merchants uſed to meet in thoſe times) in the following manner: *To morrow, at ten o'clock, there will be a Sermon at* Overveen *near* Harlem, *and another at* Alkmaer *at the ſame time.*

The Burgomaſter being informed of this, in order to amuſe the people, and to keep them from *Harlem*, bribed ſome fellows to give out a falſe report, that *Reiner Kant* (one of the ſix Burghers aforementioned) was to preach at the *Overtoom*, on the *Holy-way*, ſo called, the ſame day and hour. But *Kant* penetrating into their deſign, went immediately with *Laurence Jacobſon Real* (from whoſe Memoirs we have this relation) and waiting on the Burgomaſters, deſired to know whether they had cauſed ſuch a report to be ſpread of him? To which it being anſwered in the affirmative, and that they had been told it by perſons worthy of credit; he then deſired to know his accuſers, adding, that he perceived there was a deſign to take away his life by ſuch falſe witneſſes. But they refuſing to ſatisfy him in that matter, he told them plainly; *That they themſelves were the perſons who had ſpread this news of him, and that they acted very wickedly*; adding, *That though they endeavoured by theſe contrivances to prevent the preaching at* Harlem (theſe were his very words) *yet it would be impoſſible to do it, for the work of the Lord muſt have its courſe, nor ſhould all the devils in hell overcome it, nor in any wiſe obſtruct it by their lying inſtruments. There will be preaching at* Overveen (ſaid he) *in ſpite of you, and hereabouts too, in a few days we hope; for the people are full of zeal, having detected the cheat of the Pope, and the Doctrine of* Antichriſt; *and at this minute all the Boats and Waggons of the Town are full, in order to ſet out for* Harlem, *to hear the word of the Lord to morrow, and we our ſelves are likewiſe going thither preſently.*

It had been agreed among them before, that the Preacher, *Peter Gabriel*, ſhould go to *Sparendam* that morning, with *Cornelius Johnſon Koſter*, and ſtay there all night with the *Scout*, who very much favoured the *Proteſtant* Religion; by which means they could have gone directly to *Overveen* the next morning, without running the riſque of being ſhut up in *Harlem*; but *Koſter*'s unſeaſonable zeal carried them both into the Town. In the mean time the Magiſtrates of *Harlem* were acquainted by thoſe of *Amſterdam*, that there was a deſign formed to preach at *Overveen*, and exhorted to do what they could to hinder it. Hereupon the Council was called together at nine in the evening, to conſider what they ſhould do in this matter. The ringing of the Stadthouſe Bell ſo late, put *Gabriel* and *Koſter*, who lay at the houſe of one *Iſbrand Staeſon*, a Ship-Carpenter, in great pain. They gueſſed it was done on account of the Preacher, for which reaſon they concealed him all night under a heap of Chips. In the morning all the Gates were kept ſhut. The people of *Amſterdam*, with whom all the Inns of the Town had been filled, did all they could to get out; ſome got over the City walls, and ſwam acroſs the Moats or Ditches; ſome were conveyed away by Boats; others were ſuffered to ſlip out by the Watch when they opened the Gates for the Milk-women. About nine o'clock there was publick notice given, that a certain Vagabond, named *Jacob Knuit*, had threatened to fire the Town, and that whoever could diſcover him ſhould receive a reward of one hundred Guilders. But at eleven the gates were opened, and then great numbers repaired to *Overveen*, where the greateſt part of the people aſſembled, had lain in the fields all night for want of Inns. At laſt came the Preacher himſelf. Then the people drove two Stakes perpendicularly into the earth, and laid a Bar acroſs, upon which he might lean and ſupport himſelf inſtead of a Pulpit. After ſinging Pſalms and Praying, he took his Text out of the ſecond Chapter to the *Epheſians*, and the 8th, 9th and 10th Verſes; and though he was a weak and infirm man, he preached near four hours together

gether, the weather alſo being very hot. He concluded with an ardent Prayer for all degrees of men, eſpecially for the Government, in ſuch a manner, that there was hardly a dry eye to be ſeen. Some ſay, that there were not above three hundred perſons at this meeting, that moſt of them were women, and that there were about fifty men with arms to defend them; but *Lawrence Jacobſon Real*, who was preſent at it, together with *Reiner Kant*, *Cornelius Williamſon Hooft*, and many others from *Amſterdam*, declares, that as near as he could gueſs, there were about five thouſand of both ſcxes; but he makes no mention of their being armed: The Heer *Binkhorſt*, who dwelt at the Caſtle of *Aſſen*, of which he was then Governour, was likewiſe at this Meeting, with all his Relations. An° Dom. 1566.

Before the Congregation broke up, notice was given, that another perſon would preach at the ſame place the next day at nine in the morning. After this, *Peter Gabriel* took his leave of them, being to preach at *Alkmaer* the next day: But *Lawrence Real* was diſpatched away to *Amſterdam* to learn how matters ſtood there, and what Reſolution the Magiſtrates had taken upon this publick preaching. Arriving there pretty late, he found the City Gate well guarded, and was informed by *Egbert Rolofſon*, who was alſo a friend to the *Reformed*, that the Council had ſate not only on *Saturday*, but on *Sunday* too. He learned further from *Antony van Houf* (one of the Council of XXVI. (who ſecretly favoured the buſineſs of *Reformation*, but was full of fears and diſtruſts) that the Burgomaſters had not yet come to any reſolution, but that in caſe the *Reformed* ſhould proceed to hold their Meetings near the Town, they would then do what ſhould be thought convenient. With this news *Real* returned to his Brethren the following day at *Overveen*, who were thereupon encouraged to go on in their deſign; for they found that the Magiſtrates, who were wont to act with vigour and ſeverity againſt them, acted now more ſlowly and remiſly: indeed they had good reaſon ſo to do, for they were under great ſtreights, being informed from all parts that preaching was introduced every where at the ſame time, and not knowing how it would end, becauſe the Confederacy of the Nobles for their Liberty grew ſtronger. They went on therefore with their Meetings. *John Arentſon* (who the day before had preached in a Corn-field near the Town of *Alkmaer*, to vaſt numbers of people who ran thither from all the Villages round about) preached likewiſe this day at *Overveen*, upon a Text taken out of the 118th Pſalm, and his auditors were no leſs than all that would come, for the Gates of *Harlem* were left open. Among thoſe that heard him were ſeveral of the Clergy, who ſeemed to be extreamly ſurprized, that this Baſket-maker, a meer Layman, ſhould expound the Holy Scriptures ſo pertinently, and uſe ſuch method and order in a Sermon that laſted about four hours. After all was over, and he was brought into a houſe, divers of them were very earneſt to diſpute with him about the differences of his and their Doctrine, to which he as readily conſented. When the *Amſterdamers* returned home, and were aſked by their neighbours what they had ſeen and heard? ſome of them made this plain anſwer; *We have heard the Word of God preached to men clearly and purely, which Word has been obſcured by the Prieſts with humane inventions, and continues ſtill thus corrupted.* Expreſſions that a little before would have coſt them their Lives.

Others ventured to ſpeak out yet more plainly againſt *Popery*, recounting and cenſuring all its Traffick and Tromperies, ſuch as the abuſe of the Sacraments, the worſhipping the Bread, Images, and Saints departed. But the Magiſtrates who had their Informers in all corners of the City, took particular notice of the Chief of theſe Zealots, with intention of ſeverely puniſhing ſuch boldneſs and freedom of ſpeech in due time and place.

A few days after this, the Council was again aſſembled by the Burgomaſters, and it was then reſolved, that for the future the City Militia ſhould have the guard of the Gates and the Booms that ſecured the paſſages into the Town by water. In the mean while ſome leading men of the *Reformed* met at *Buikſloot*, acroſs the River *Y*, together with the Miniſters whom they durſt not leave in any walled Town, by reaſon of their being now ſo much known, but concealed them in ſeveral of their friends houſes in *Waterland*. At this Meeting it was agreed, that there ſhould be a Sermon on the laſt of *July*, and the place was appointed near the City. Accordingly when the day came, the word was given throughout the Town, that there would be preaching at nine o'clock, in a field without the *Harlem* Gate; but about

Anno Dom. 1566. *The Address of the Reformed to the Magistrates of* Amsterdam.

about eight o' clock, whilst the people went out in great numbers, a certain Address or Representation (a duplicate of which was delivered to the Magistrates of *Harlem*, upon the second day's preaching at *Overveen*) was sent by *John Arentson*, in the name of the *Faithful, assembled out of the Town*, to the Burgomaster *John Clason van Hoppen*; but he refused to take it, and ordered the Bearer, who was a Schipper, to deliver it to the rest of the Burgomasters, met at the little Tower. He did accordingly, and they asked him from whom he had received it? He replied, he did not know the man, (it was *John Peterson Real*) but that he was well satisfied it came from the people who were now serving God without the *Harlem* Gate, and that he intended presently to return to them. Hereupon, after interrogating him of several matters relating to the preaching, and his answering what he knew or thought fit to discover of it, they permitted him to return, and immediately assembled the Council, to whom this Representation was likewise addressed: They caused it to be read, and the substance of it was as follows: "That possibly the Government might think "they did well in disturbing their Meetings, upon the informations of divers wicked "and malicious persons, who had misrepresented their holy and religious Exercises, "which they were employed in without the City, giving out, that this preaching "was set up by them out of levity and self-conceitedness, and with a design to "draw the people, naturally addicted to novelty, after them, in order to attempt some "great matters; insinuating yet further, that their Doctrines tended to bring the "King's Placards and Edicts into contempt, to expose the Magistracy, and to excite "Disobedience, and even Tumults and Rebellion. For these reasons, and to obviate "early these prejudices, which the Government might entertain against them, and "all the ill consequences which might ensue, they had thought fit to represent their "innocence by such an imperfect Paper as they now laid before them; calling God, "the searcher of hearts, to witness, that they, who by what they were now doing, "had as it were laid down their necks upon the block, expecting every moment to "be massacred, were not excited thereto by levity or inconstancy, but rather through "a sorrowful and broken spirit, which disease, they hoped, through God's promises "and the support of the Holy Ghost, to overcome. People of sense might easily "be convinced, that they did not seek to gather followers, as *Theudas* of old, or as "in our own days, *John Bokelson*, *David George*, and others. Their only design "was, after the example of the Apostle *Paul*, *to bring men as chaste Brides to Christ*: "They desired to be accounted servants of God and Christ, whose honour only they "aimed at: They gloried not in the flesh, but would make their boast in the "Cross of Christ, as long as any breath remained in their bodies. And wo to them "if they should do otherwise! If their Teachers were simple and illiterate persons, "God had his reasons for raising them up, the brightness of whose Glory was in-"creased, by confounding the Wise in their own Wisdom, and by establishing the "Simple upon the Cross of Christ, without the assistance of human prudence: "but that nevertheless they hoped more learned Teachers would shortly appear "among them. The promise of the Spirit of Truth was appropriated to God's "people (among whom alone the fruits of the Holy Ghost were to be found;) so "that if they could now demonstrate to the whole world that the Truth of God "was among them (of which, considering the Earnest they had received of it from "God, they had no room to doubt) it would then follow, that they had the Spirit "of Truth, and that their Doctrine did not tend to the destruction but to the sal-"vation of men. But what needed more words? Experience was the best Argu-"ment; their Accusers might (if they pleased) make a trial of them, who were "always ready, according to the measure of their Gifts, to render an account of "their Doctrine and Discipline. The reason why they separated themselves from "the Pope, and avoided the unscriptural by-paths of the Sectaries, was to escape "the plagues in which those would certainly be involved. As for the Reproaches "of being seditious persons, they must be content to bear it with St. *Paul*, without "departing from their duty on that account. On the contrary, no Religion carried "Peace and Submission to a higher pitch than theirs. The Magistrates might there-"fore rest assured, that both Preachers and Hearers had nothing else in view but "the promoting the honour of God and Christ, the ease of their own Consciences, "and the salvation of others, and the convincing the world that they were entirely "innocent of those vile things that had been laid to their charge. They further

" humbly beſought their Lordſhips, either to hear their Sermons themſelves, or Anº Dom.
" elſe to ſend out thoſe Shepherds that were to watch for the Souls of their Subjects, 1566.
" that they might be certified, whether any thing were taught or advanced againſt
" the Doctrines of Piety, or againſt Peace and Unity, to the end they might inſtruct
" and correct thoſe who went aſtray according to the true Word of God." In the concluſion, they added, " That if any man could convince them of Error, they were
" ready to make publick Confeſſion of their miſtakes, and to embrace what ſhould
" appear to be better; but if not, they begged they might be ſuffered to aſſert and
" maintain their own opinions in ſafety, and to contend after a Chriſtian manner
" and in charity, for victory.

Whilſt this Repreſentation was debated on by the Council, who thought fit to cauſe the Gates of the City to be immediately ſhut, the preaching continued, not far from the *Harlem* Gate out of the Liberties of the City. *John Arentſon*, who had been brought thither from *Waterland* in a Boat, was ſet up in a convenient place, and the people, who were almoſt numberleſs, were all ranged to the Leeward of him, that they might hear the better. When Sermon was done, and a Pſalm ſung, the Miniſter went to *Samerdam*.

Now it was the way of the Burgomaſters at that time, not only to call together thoſe who had formerly ſerved in that Office, on matters of any conſequence, and the Council of XXXVI, if the matter were of more than uſual moment (as is the cuſtom at preſent) but alſo in uncommon difficulties they convened the Militia, conſiſting of three Regiments, each Regiment of twelve Companies, as compoſing the Body of the Commonalty. The Council therefore finding this buſineſs too weighty and of too nice a nature for them to determine alone, deſired to know the opinion of the Militia; who being accordingly ſummoned, the inconveniences of theſe Field-Meetings were ſet before them, and they reſpectively aſked, whether they thought it proper to ſuppreſs them? The moſt voices, which the Captain of every Company gathered and laid before the Burgomaſters, imported; *That they ſhould be tolerated without the Town; but that they, the Trained-Bands, were ready to defend the Magiſtrates and City with their lives and fortunes againſt all Inſurrections, for which purpoſe, they conceived, that Arms were put into their hands.*

The Body of the Citizens are for tolerating the Meetings without the City.

On the 4th of *Auguſt* there was another Sermon appointed to be preached at the ſame place. But the *Scout*, *Peter Peterſon* being informed of it, got together all the Officers, and the Horſe Militia, which at that time amounted to the number of three hundred, with a deſign to ſurprize and fall upon them; but when he came to the *Harlem* Gate, the Foot who had the guard of that paſſage, met him at a Bridge which he was obliged to paſs, and aſked him what was his intention? He anſwered, that it was his duty, as *Scout*, to diſperſe ſuch a Meeting, made up of nothing but an idle Mob, and brought together for ſeditious purpoſes. Some of the Officers, *viz. Egbert Peterſon Vink*, and *Jeffery Corneliſon*, replied, that moſt of them were ſubſtantial Burghers, and divers of them their Neighbours, Friends, Relations, Brothers and Siſters, and that they would not ſuffer ſuch honeſt people to be diſturbed: they adviſed him therefore to keep the publick peace, and not to tranſgreſs the Reſolution ſo lately taken by the Civil and Military Government of the Town, unleſs he delighted in bloodſhed, and had a mind to have the Gate ſhut againſt him. Upon this he was forced to return full of rage and reſentment, and to adjourn his expedition to a better opportunity.

The Progreſs of the Reformation.

The *April* before this happened, the Office of *Scout*, which the City had again mortgaged, was taken away from *William Bardes*, and beſtowed upon this *Peter Peterſon*, to the great grief and trouble of the *Proteſtants*, who knew that he hated them more than death. But by good providence, the very day that the Confederates received an anſwer to their Petition, he came to *Bruſſels* to take the Oaths to the Government, which occaſion the Prince of *Orange* laid hold on, to admoniſh him to act with Prudence and Moderation, and to offer no violence to any perſons on account of their Religion: Thus were his hands ſufficiently tied for that time. But now that the *Reformed* had the confidence to ſerve God juſt in his ſight, as it were, he thought it high time to put himſelf in a poſture for ſuppreſſing theſe novelties by force.

The Burgomaſters were no leſs inclined to ſeverity; for the Ducheſs of *Parma*, directly contrary to the Privileges and Cuſtoms of the City, had aſſumed to her ſelf the choice of Burgomaſters for the current year, and had accordingly put in ſuch

as

An° Dom. 1566. as ſhe moſt affected; declaring however, that it ſhould be no Precedent for the future. Theſe Burgomaſters had called together the old Council, the day before the laſt Sermon, and adviſed with them what methods were to be taken to ſtop the progreſs of the *Reformation*. After reading a Letter ſent them on the ſame account from the Judges of the ſo called *Court of Holland*, it was then reſolved, that two of the Council ſhould be placed with the Militia that had the guard of each principal Gate (keeping the others always ſhut) to examine all that paſſed in and out, with a charge to let none go through without order. There was alſo laid before them by the ſaid Burgomaſters, a draught of a Prohibition, whereby the Inhabitants might be reſtrained from running out to Sermons. The ſaid Paper was to be laid before the ſix and thirty, the Officers of the Militia, and the Wardens of the Guilds, or Companies; to the end, that if it met with their approbation, it might paſs into a Law, and be promulgated. But when it was brought into the Council the next day, it was agreed to defer it a little, and to ſee firſt what her Highneſs the Regent, or the Prince of *Orange* their Stadtholder, would direct concerning it. In the mean while the Burghers were to be admoniſhed to forbear frequenting the forbidden Conventicles. The *Scout* however, whether puſhed on ſecretly by the Burgomaſters, or by his own violent humour, could not acquieſce in ſuch a reſolution, which appeared to him much too moderate. For being informed a day or two after, that the *Proteſtants* intended to meet again at the ſame place, he iſſued out his orders, that all his Officers together with the Night-watch and ſuch others as were ready to aſſiſt him, ſhould come armed about midnight to the Stadthouſe. The Under-*Scout*, *Richard van Bremen*, arriving there at the appointed hour, was met by ſome of the Militia, who patrolled at the Market-place, and queſtioned by their Commander *Leonhard Johnſon Graef*, what he did there at ſo unſeaſonable a time? the other replied, that the Conventiclers ſhould ſoon know it: whereupon *Leonhard* went immediately to the houſe of *Laurence Real*, and acquainted him with what had paſt. *Real* immediately gave notice of it to *Reinier Kant*, and ſeveral other friends of the common cauſe. This put a great many of the people upon providing themſelves with arms, which however they had as yet the modeſty to conceal under their Cloaks, ſuch as Piſtols and Daggers, and ſo they ſallied out in the morning, the Goverment not daring to hinder them. After the Miniſter had done preaching, he declared in the name of the Congregation: *That though ſome of them had come well armed to the Meeting, yet their deſign was not to aſſault or moleſt any man; much leſs to promote the preaching God's word by force: but that they were neceſſitated to act in that manner, to ſecure themſelves from thoſe violences wherewith they were threatened, and to defend themſelves and the reſt of the Auditory both men and women.* For this reaſon they placed ſeveral Centinels along the *Harlem* Dyke, to give them timely warning of the approach of the *Scout* and his Gang; but he was ſo wiſe as to let alone this fortified Congregation.

About the ſame time there was preaching likewiſe at *Slooterdijk*, a Village under the juriſdiction of *Amſterdam*. And *John Arentſon* and *Peter Gabriel* preached two days together at *Buikſloot*, acroſs the Y, in *Waterland*, whither many of the Inhabitants of *Amſterdam* repaired. *Allert Gerritſon* and *Peter Corneliſon* preached alſo near *Alkmaer*, and in other places of *North Holland*, before a numerous Auditory. [1] On St. *James*'s day, the ſaid *Corneliſon* preached the firſt publick Sermon before the Inhabitants of *Enkhuſen*, at a place called the *Green Wyſing*, whither abundance of people flocked from all quarters.

In the meantime ſeveral Burghers of *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Delft*, *Utrecht* and other places, applied themſelves to thoſe of *Amſterdam*, who were the chief and moſt zealous in ſetting up publick preaching, for their aſſiſtance in eſtabliſhing the ſame in their reſpective Towns. This was occaſioned by a rumour ſpread among them, that the Governeſs, in order to quiet the minds of the ſubjects, would tolerate the exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion in all ſuch places where it had been begun to be performed before the month of *Auguſt*. Upon this account *Peter Gabriel* was immediately ſent to *Delft*, attended by four of the Brethren of *Amſterdam*, to defend him in his journey, and he preached the firſt publick Sermon at the *Hornbrug*, near the City, where there was a great concourſe of people from *Delft*, the *Hague*, and the neighbouring

[1] *Hiſtory of* Enkhuſen, *in* Dutch.

bouring Villages. Soon after, at the desire of the people of *Delft*, it was agreed that there should be a Sermon in the *Hague*, whither at the appointed time many of the *Delfeners*, at least 20 Waggons full, well armed, came and alighted just before the house of the President, Master *Cornelius Suis*; here they made a ring with the Waggons, the men that were armed remaining in them; the Preacher was placed in the middle, and the rest of the people in great numbers round about him. Thus they sang, and thus they preached in the very hearing of the said President, who not long before had threatened them with the utmost severity, but was now obliged to suffer them under his nose, and being at home peeped at them through a window. Anno Dom. 1566.

Among the Hearers were some of the Burghers of *Utrecht*, who took *Peter Gabriel* back with them, and caused him to preach at *Oost-broek*, two or three miles distant from that City. In *July* several of the said Burghers went to hear another Sermon as far as *Kulenburg*, and though the *Scout*, by order of the Government, made inquiry after the persons that had been present, yet it had very little effect; for some denied it, and others said they went thither on account of merchandising, or to see their friends.

Another time *John Arentson* was fetched from *Amsterdam* to *Utrecht*, where he preached a little way out of the Town, and near the Castle, before a very great concourse of people, consisting of Gentlemen, Prebends or Canons, and other Burghers and Inhabitants of that City. During the Sermon a Musquet being fired from the Castle, wounded a young woman. When all was over, the Minister was invited to a Lady's house in the Town, but the harbouring him cost her afterwards both estate and life.

[1] *Peter Bor* acquaints us, that those of the *New Religion* (for so the *Protestants* were commonly stiled at that time) being well armed, rendezvoused in great numbers drawn from *Amsterdam*, *Utrecht*, *Schoonhoven*, *Kulenburg*, *Vianen*, and *Yselsteen*, upon the 15th of *August*, at a certain Village not far from *Utrecht*, called *Loevenhout*, to hear a Sermon, and that the Gates of the City were kept shut from the morning to the afternoon, and then the Wicket only opened for the use of the Burghers; and that about three days after, they were so bold as to meet again in great numbers, some armed, others unarmed, near the *Tollesteeg-port* on the way that leads to *Vianen*, to hear another Sermon. Some of the Magistrates were for shutting the Gates upon those that went out to the preaching, but the majority hindered it, fearing lest those of the *New Religion* should be provoked to plunder and burn the Monasteries of which there were six or seven out of the Town, or else to fall upon the Villages and open Country.

At *Harlem*, *Leyden*, and other Cities, there was also preaching without the walls, and all in a hurry, that they might alledge and plead such Meetings before the 21st of *August*. But at *Dort* they could not lay hold of the same privilege; for when the Minister, attended with five or six persons, came thither, and gave out there would be a Sermon near the *Vuile-port*, none came out to hear him. Upon this they went to *Gouda*, where they met with one of their Fraternity, by whom they gave notice, that there would be preaching at such a time and place; but no body met them, nay, some that belonged to the Minister made the best of their way out of the City, c hearing the inhabitants murmur and threaten to knock on the head these c Preachers, and their Followers, of the new *Lutheran* Sect that put the Country in an uproar.

About this time the poor Orphans, or Hospital Children, at *Amsterdam* were visited with so strange a Distemper, that the Heer *Peter Hooft*, who describes it, uses these expressions: [2] *Tho' it would be below the dignity of this History, to relate all the idle tales that are divulged by those who delight in publishing strange things, yet I cannot forbear mentioning what several credible Eye-witnesses, both* Papists *and* Protestants, *have reported, though it surpasses our understandings.* After having premised this, he goes on and says, that several of those poor Orphans brought up in the Hospital, were visited with such a dismal distemper, that the very thoughts of it were sufficient to strike terror. For great numbers of those Children (*Laurence Real* writes that they amounted to about seventy Boys and Girls) being possessed, as was supposed, with evil Spirits, were not only plagued and tormented in various manners (insomuch that after their recovery they felt the ill effects of it all their lives)

A strange Distemper among the Hospital Children at Amsterdam.

[1] Bor. Lib. II. p. 55. [2] Hooft, Lib. III. p. 91.

An° Dom. 1566. lives) but they ran like Cats up the walls, and on the tops of houſes, with looks ſo hideous and frightful, that the ſtouteſt hearts trembled at the ſight. They ſpake foreign languages, and uttered ſtrange things with liſping tongues, and would tell what was done or ſaid in other places, even in the Council it ſelf, and at the ſame moment it paſſed. It happened, ſays *Laurence Real*, that one of theſe Children broke out into the following expreſſions to *Katharine Gerrits*, Mother or Governeſs of the Hoſpital, as ſhe held him in a Fit: *Your Son*, John Nicolas, (he was one of the Council) *is now ordered to the* Hague; *but he ſhall do no good there.* Whereupon, as the Fit abated, ſhe went immediately with the Child to the Stadthouſe, where ſhe came juſt as her Son and others of the Council were coming down ſtairs, and aſked him whether he was going to the *Hague?* the man was frightened and confeſſed it: ſhe added, this Child told me ſo. This being made known to the Burgomaſters, they cauſed him to put off his journey. Some of theſe Children whilſt labouring under ſuch Fits, played abundance of ſtrange pranks before the doors of ſeveral women, who were reputed Witches on that account. *Real* adds, that though they were ſhut up in this condition, they broke open doors and locks, and would run ten or twelve of them together to the *Scout*'s houſe, and reproach him with ſtrange things, and even with his ſeverity and blood-thirſtineſs againſt the *Reformed*. They likewiſe diſcovered ſeveral ſecret projects that had been formed againſt the *Proteſtants*.

But that which chiefly embaraſſed the Government about this time, was their apprehenſion of a ſudden attempt to introduce the publick exerciſe of the *New Religion* into the City. To obviate this, certain regulations were made by the Burgomaſters and Council, on the 16th of *Auguſt*, for the better raiſing and aſſembling the Militia upon any ſudden emergency; the firſt Article of which is as follows: *It is agreed by the Lords the Burgomaſters, and the Council of* XXXVI, *that none of the Teachers of the* New Religion *ſhall be ſuffered to come within the walls of the Town; and in caſe they attempt it, they ſhall be ſeized and taken into cuſtody by the* Scout. This Order was communicated to all the Officers of the Militia, and it was thought they would not ſcruple to comply with it, ſince it came from, and was approved by the Senate or Council; but moſt of them anſwered, that they could not reſolve upon any thing in that matter, and that they would ſee what they had to do, as ſoon as any attempt ſhould be made to preach within the Town. The reſt of the Articles were moſtly things of courſe, inſomuch that there was no difficulty relating to them. But the *Reformed* reſolved, notwithſtanding this, that *John Arentſon* ſhould preach openly at a place called the *Laſtaedie*, on the Bank of the *Y*, and a kind of Suburbs to *Amſterdam*, upon the 21ſt of the ſame month. This being underſtood by the Burgomaſters, they called the Council together, acquainting them with what was upon the anvil, and what anſwer the Militia made. It was was there concluded, that the preaching might be connived at for this once, but that notice ſhould be given the Miniſter, that if he preſumed to preach within the City, they would oppoſe force againſt him; for which purpoſe they ſent their Secretary, Maſter *Peter Flotinus*, to the place where *Arentſon* was expected from *Waterland*, and where he was received by great numbers of people at his arrival. The Secretary however diſcharged his Commiſſion, acquainting him plainly out of a Paper which he read to him, that he might bring a great deal of trouble upon himſelf and others, if he proceeded to preach within the juriſdiction of *Amſterdam*, or at leaſt in the City it ſelf. The Miniſter replied, that he would ſubmit to the Magiſtrates in all that was in his power; but in this caſe, he muſt obey God rather than men. He likewiſe invited the Secretary to hear him, to the end that he might give a true account to his Maſters of all that paſſed. But the Secretary not thinking fit to accept the invitation, returned to the City, and *Arentſon* went to the *Laſtaedie*, where he preached upon the point of Baptiſm, confuting the errors of the *Papiſts* and *Anabaptiſts*, and handling all the Texts relating to that ſubject with ſo much ſkill and dexterity, that ſeveral of the *Papiſts* who came to hear him, gave out that he had learned his Sermon out of a printed book, and ſo repeated it afterwards by heart; for it ſeemed to them impoſſible that a Handicrafts-man ſhould preach ſo well, and that for four hours together.

After he had done, he intended to have paſt over to *Sanerdam*, but his Hearers would not ſuffer him, but carried him almoſt by force through the Crowd towards the Gate. Some of them ſaid to *Lucas Meinerts*, one of the Council, *William Martſon*

Martſon Kalf, and to ſeveral others, to whom the care of the Gate was committed for preventing all diſorders, that *they would bring their Preacher into the City*. He replied, he had no orders to ſuffer them; however, in the diſpute they forced their way and brought him into Town. *William du Guardiin* took him out of the throng, and went with him to the houſe of his brother *Philip*. This gave great offence to the Magiſtrates, who alſo charged *William Martſon Kalf*, and endeavoured to prove it upon him, that he had offered drink to the ſaid Preacher, and that he had even connived at his being brought into the Town; and this they pretended ſome body had ſeen from the Town wall. But ſome Gentlemen deputed by the Court to enquire into the matter, found that it was impoſſible for any one to ſee ſo far as the place where *Kalf* then ſtood, and conſequently that it was all a fiction; which report of theirs happened very ſeaſonably to him who was then in priſon. After that, they preached continually at the *Laſtaedie*, where the Congregation increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the place they met in could not contain them. An° Do M. 1566.

In the mean while, it was found impoſſible for four Preachers, namely, *John Arentſon*, *Peter Gabriel*, *Allert Gerritſon* and *Peter Corneliſon*, to ſerve all *Holland* and *Utrecht*, according to the neceſſity of affairs; ſo that *Real*, at the requeſt of the *Reformed* of *Amſterdam*, writ to *Cornelius Kooltuyn* of *Alkmaer*, at that time Paſtor of *Embden*, to ſend ſome Miniſters from thence to *Amſterdam*, and other parts of *Holland*, God having furniſhed them with a proper opportunity, and the Harveſt being ſo great, but the Labourers ſo few. *Kooltuyn*, upon the repeated requeſt of his friends in theſe parts, exerted himſelf ſo ſtrenuouſly upon that account, that the following Preachers were diſpatched to them at different times: *Hermes Bakkereel*, Paſtor of *Jemmingen* in *Embden* or *Reijderland*; *Jurian Eppeſon* and *John Davidſon*; *Kopping Jelles*, Paſtor of *Bingum*; *John Bilderbeek*, Paſtor of *Zuiderhuiſen*; *Appius Regneri*, Paſtor of *Manſlacht*; they likewiſe deputed *William Floris* and *Ruige Florentſon* of *Harlem* to the Lady of *Kniphuſen*, to intreat her to lend them her Miniſter *Baldewin*, for the uſe of the Church in and about *Amſterdam*, which ſhe readily and chearfully conſented to. *Cornelius Bakker*, Paſtor of *Bremen*, a *Hollander* by birth, hearing that his native Country was in want of Miniſters, repaired alſo to *Amſterdam*. Thoſe of *Alburg* got Dr. *Albert Hardenberg*. The reſt of the Miniſters that arrived in the above-named City, were ſent from thence to other parts, according as there was a demand for them; every Town, in time, procuring a Preacher to themſelves. The people of *Gorkum* got one *Henry*, formerly Guardian of the *Grey-Friers* of *Utrecht*. Thoſe of *Kulenburg* kept their own *Gerard*. *Delft* had *Appius* to its ſhare. *Harlem* was ſupplied with one from *Weſt-Freeſland*, named *Sixtus*. *Alkmaer* had *Peter Corneliſon*. At *Horn* one *Clement Martſon*, Paſtor of St. *Antony*'s Church, quitted the *Popiſh* Religion, and began openly to profeſs *Proteſtantiſm* in the month of *September*, and taught it near the ſaid Town; he likewiſe married a lawful Wife. To him they allotted an Aſſiſtant, whoſe name was *Everard Gerritſon Gorter*. They baptized and married people in the Field where they preached; they were much beloved by their Congregation, having a very great Auditory, among whom were ſome of the principal Inhabitants.

Proteſtant Miniſters ſettle in many of the Cities of Holland.

* Elburg

[1] At *Enkhuſen*, the Paſtor *Andrew van Kaſtricom* returned to his employment; this man did much miſchief to *Popery* by his edifying Behaviour and Doctrine, to which alſo the irregular and ſcandalous lives of the Clergy contributed not a little. For the Monks, who ought to have ſet a good example to others, were ſo deeply involved in drunkenneſs, that the common people made Songs and Ballads upon them. A certain Father ran away from this Town with one or two *Beguine* Nuns, whom he had debauched. Another had the confidence to aſſure the Wife of one *Gerbrant Zeewolf*, that her Huſband, who had been abſent from her a long time, was dead, and offered to pray his ſoul out of Purgatory, if ſhe would beſtow a golden Angel for that purpoſe: upon this aſſurance the Soul-maſſes, as they call them, were ſaid for the poor Man, and his Wife, upon the word of the Prieſt, ventured to marry again; but a few years after, the firſt Huſband returned, and the woman, deceived by her own credulity, was convinced how much the avarice and hypocriſy of the Prieſt had contributed to her ruin; however, the life of *Zeewolf* was the death and burial of Soul-maſſes and other *Romiſh* ſuperſtitions in the minds of many of the Inhabitants of this place.

[1] *Hiſt. of* Enkh. *p.* 97.

A N° DOM. 1566.

A Meeting of the Confederate Nobility at St. Truy *near* Liege.

1 Some time before this happened, the Confederate Nobility met together at *St. Truy* in the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, to the number of fifteen hundred or two thouſand horſe, in order to conſider the ſtate of their affairs. They had obſerved, on the one hand, how the liberty of preaching was oppoſed with violence; and on the other, how their Civil Rights were threatened by the rumour of great warlike preparations. At this Meeting, which happened about the middle of *July*, two points were chiefly debated; the firſt was, how they might ſecure themſelves againſt any attempt on behalf of the Government, in caſe the King ſhould declare them Rebels, and endeavour to puniſh them as ſuch; the ſecond, whether they ſhould make any farther Propoſals to his Majeſty, with reſpect to the *Inquiſition* and the *Placards*, beſides thoſe of *April* laſt. As to the firſt it was agreed by all, that the Ducheſs ſhould be intreated to give them ſome aſſurances both in her own name, and in that of the *Knights of the Golden Fleece*, that nothing ſhould be attempted either to the prejudice of them, or of ſuch as ſeemed to adhere to them on account of the Confederacy, or of the Petition which they had delivered. But as to the ſecond, they were not ſo unanimous: Some propoſed, that if they could obtain what they aimed at by their Aſſociation, they ſhould ſit down contented, and deſire no more; but others anſwered, that ſince they had met with ſo good ſucceſs in their firſt attempt, they ought to go a little further, and demand, over and above what they had already inſiſted on, *That the people ſhould not be obliged to profeſs one and the ſame Religion, but* [d] *every one be left to himſelf in that matter.* 2 The Jeſuit *Famianus Strada* relates, that upon their urging ſuch a demand, many of the Confederates, who were good Catholicks, were ſo offended, that they extricated themſelves by degrees out of the Confederacy. 3 Cardinal *Bentivoglio* ſays, That ſome of them were for an open reſiſtance againſt the King's pleaſure, and for procuring by force what ſhould not be granted by fair means: Others propoſed, That the States General ſhould meet by vertue of their own authority, and by the ſame ſhould aboliſh the *Inquiſition* and annul the Placards: Others again, that in order to ſupport their deſigns the better, they ſhould beg the advice and favour of their neighbours. 4 And *Hooft* tells us further, That it was moved by ſome to raiſe Troops and Money, and to enter into engagements with Foreigners. 5 But when the Proteſtants of *France* deputed ſome perſons to the Confederates in the name of the Prince of *Condê*, and Admiral of *Chatillon*, to diſſwade them from hearkening to any Propoſals of Accommodation, as amuſing and fraudulent, and to offer them a reinforcement of four thouſand Gentlemen on horſeback, whom they would ſend, and maintain at their own expence upon a month's notice, they (the Confederates) being unwilling to bring upon themſelves the odium of inviting Foreigners, and eſpecially the *French* into the Nation, returned them thanks for their kind offer, and civilly declined it.

Thoſe alſo of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion ſent Deputies to this aſſembly of the Nobles, requeſting their protection, and to be compriſed in the Liberty of Conſcience, which was to be obtained by the States General, for whoſe aſſembling they delivered in a Petition. *Franciſcus Junius* ſays, in the account of his own life, that he, and one *Peregrine de la Grange* of *Dauphiny*, an excellent perſon that came from *Geneva* along with him to *Antwerp*, where a Synod was holden about the end of *July*, were deputed by the ſaid Synod, but againſt their wills, to the Aſſembly at *St. Truy*, with [e] a ſhort Confeſſion of Faith drawn up in expreſs Scripture terms by *Junius* himſelf, and ordered to deliver it to the Confederates; that they went thither, and were Witneſſes of what paſt, but could bring nothing to bear, by reaſon of the unſeaſonable interpoſition of ſome, whom, ſays he, the Lord forgive.

The Governeſs endeavours to oblige them to ſeparate.

The Governeſs expecting no good from ſuch an Aſſembly of the Nobility, in order to break it up, commanded the Prince of *Orange* and the Count of *Egmont* to go and conſult with ſome perſons appointed and impowered by the ſaid Nobility for that purpoſe, firſt at *Arſchot*, and afterwards at *Duffel*, a Village about ten miles from *Antwerp*; there the ſaid Prince and Count repreſented to the Deputies of the Confederates, *How her Highneſs, the Governeſs, had ſent two proper perſons to* Spain; *and then, upon their petition, had ſuſpended the execution of the Placards. That they ought not to doubt, but that his Majeſty, who was ſo gracious a Prince, would forgive and forget all the paſt. But that on the other hand, they ſhould not forget*

[1] Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 56. Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 55. Strada Lib. V. *p.* 244. [2] Strada. *p.* 245. [3] Bentiv. Lib. II. *p.* 101. [4] Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 98. [5] Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 69.

forget the reſpect and duty which they had offered him, but demonſtrate it by reſtraining the unbounded diſorders of the Sectaries, *eſpecially ſince they tended to tumults and ſeditions, and that they might eaſily perceive, that Foreigners, and chiefly the* French, *who were the Hereditary Enemies of the Nation, were at the bottom of all this. That by ſo doing they would moſt effectually confute the reports of the* Hereticks *and* Enthuſiaſts, *who boaſted they encouraged them. Whereas otherwiſe, the reproach and blame would fall upon them, as if their Petition had opened the door to Conventicles and unlawful Meetings.* An° Dom. 1566.

To this the Deputies of the Nobility returned the following anſwer in writing: *That they gave her Highneſs their moſt humble thanks for her gracious interpoſition in theſe matters; but that her writing to the* Inquiſitors, *and other Officers of Juſtice, had produced but little effect hitherto, ſince many perſons in ſeveral Towns and Places had been nevertheleſs brought into trouble on account of Religion. That the deſperate humour of the people, who entertained but little hopes of any redreſs from* Spain, *or from a Meeting of the States-General, but on the contrary, were terrified with grievous threatnings, eſpecially from the Clergy, was that which drove them to the* Conventicles, *which they, the Nobility, had readily and heartily oppoſed, being ſo far from having encouraged them, that not a man of them but was ready to ſubmit his conduct in that reſpect to the ſevereſt ſcrutiny. That if ſome of their Vaſſals were inclined towards the new Religion, they could not therefore put them out of their protection. That it ſeemed hard in that juncture of affairs, to make uſe of violence againſt the King's Subjects. That on the contrary, they were always ready to oppoſe the* French; *and if theſe ſhould attempt any thing againſt the State, they would be the firſt on horſeback to defend it. That they were ſo far from diſtruſting the King, whom they knew to be a juſt and gracious Prince, that if he had been there, as they heartily wiſhed, and would have taken the matter into his ſerious conſideration, they did not queſtion but he would have done what was right and juſt. As for deſiring his Majeſty's Pardon and Amneſty, they knew no reaſon to do it, having never done him greater or more faithful ſervice, than by warning him of the evil conſequences they foreſaw. That obſerving by ſeveral ſymptoms what was deſigned againſt them, they would not deny but that they had ſought for friendſhip and ſupport in* Germany *and other parts, but by no means in* France; *neither had they made any ſuch ſtep as that, if they could have otherwiſe ſecured themſelves from the impending dangers; but that they ſhould be glad, if now they could be ſecured by more proper meaſures, which might be done, if her Highneſs, and the Knights of the Order would warrant them againſt all violence. But that to extinguiſh all ſuſpicion, and to prevent all miſunderſtanding, nothing could be more uſeful, than to permit them to continue their Conſultations in the preſence, and with the advice of the Prince of* Orange, *and the Counts of* Egmont *and* Horn, *and to empower thoſe Great men to take them into their protection, and make ſuch regulations for the publick welfare as they ſaw moſt convenient; which muſt needs turn to the common good, ſince the King, the Ducheſs, and they themſelves had ſo much reaſon to confide in thoſe Lords.* And laſtly they declared, *That the deſired protection ſhould be only for the term of three weeks after notice given of its being refuſed them by his Majeſty.* *Their Anſwer to her Repreſentation.*

Soon after the Nobles ſent Count *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, and ſome others of their Body, to lay before the Governeſs this Anſwer, and to ſollicit what they deſired; and at the ſame time to deliver a Petition which they had prepared, relating to matters of Religion. This, they ſaid, was delivered to them at *St. Truy*, by a great number of the common people, in whoſe names they further offered: *That they ſhould lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to whatever the States General ſhould agree upon, relating to matters of Religion; on condition the Regent would conſent, that the Confederates ſhould Guarentee their ſafety till the Reſolutions of the ſaid States were known; and that ſome of the Confederates ſhould be diſtributed in the Cities, and through the Country, to keep peace and good order among them; for which end they were ready to deliver up their Arms: Otherwiſe, it was repreſented that they who had been compelled to have recourſe to Arms out of neceſſity, and for fear of being fallen upon, ſhould be obliged to ſeek the protection of others.* Theſe laſt expreſſions, they ſaid, made them apprehenſive that thoſe people might have an eye to *French* aſſiſtance; of which they therefore thought it their duty to warn her Highneſs. To this the Ducheſs replied, that ſhe would adviſe about their Repreſentation with the Knights of the Golden Fleece, who were to meet on the 29th of *Auguſt* at *Bruſſels*.

The

An° Dom. 1566.

The King in the mean time being informed in *Spain* of the publick Preaching, and taking up of Arms, held Councils upon Councils, and endeavoured to extricate himſelf from theſe difficulties by all kinds of ways excepting thoſe of mildneſs and gentleneſs. To ſupport the *Romiſh* Religion only, and to ſuppreſs all other Perſwaſions, ſeemed to be his only and utmoſt concern. The opinion of his principal Miniſters was:

The Opinion of the Council of Spain, *and the King's reſolution with reference to the Confederates.*

" [1] That to aboliſh the *Inquiſition* at once, would be a diminution of the Regal Authority, of the Holineſs of that Inſtitution, and of the Church, which had introduced and eſtabliſhed it: Since it was not to be concealed, that every body would be at liberty to chuſe his own Religion, and exerciſe it at leaſt by himſelf and in his own family, if they ſhould aboliſh this only method, of which the Church can moſt effectually ſerve itſelf, in exerting its power and watchfulneſs over the Doctrines and Conſciences of men. As for the *Placards*, if they ſhould be put upon that foot of Moderation as had been projected in *Flanders*, all ſins of omiſſion, ſuch as, *Not going to Church*, *not receiving the Sacrament*, *not obſerving Faſts*, and other Eccleſiaſtical Rules and Orders, and eſpecially private and domeſtick neglects, would paſs unpuniſhed: And none would be obliged to do penance, but publick offenders, ſuch as by free and open Communication, Preaching, Reading forbidden Books, or the like ſcandal, ſhould offend the Faithful. Even the penalties that were to be inflicted, would by no means ballance the tranſgreſſions, nor prevail in favour of Religion; but, as weaker efforts, be applied to matters of breach of the Peace, and diſturbance of the publick Tranquility. In fine, ſaid they, if that method be taken, how can the ſervice of God, the duties of Conſcience, the reverence of the King, and the welfare of the Nation, be preſerved from being violated?

The King, after hearing every man's opinion, ordered ſolemn Prayers and Proceſſions to be made over all *Spain* and the *Netherlands*, to implore the favour and aſſiſtance of Heaven in the preſent exigency of affairs. He likewiſe declared, that it never was his intention, nor ever ſhould be, to treat his Subjects otherwiſe than with the greateſt clemency and tenderneſs: However, that which he afterwards publiſhed concerning the Inquiſition, Placards, and Indemnity for paſt faults, was not very acceptable to his Subjects, by reaſon of the conditions and reſtrictions with which it was loaded; beſides, the ſlowneſs of his Acts of Grace rendered them altogether uſeleſs and unprofitable; for he afterwards expreſſed himſelf in the following terms to his Siſter the Lady *Margaret*: *That he was content to put a ſtop to the* Inquiſition, *provided the Biſhops Courts were reſtored to their ancient power, as in juſtice they ought to be. That the Council of State might alſo frame a new Plan for qualifying the* Placards, *ſo that care was taken to ſecure the* Romiſh *Faith, and the Regal Authority; but it muſt be ſent firſt to* Spain, *to be there weighed and conſidered before it paſſed into a Law. And laſtly, that the Governeſs ſhould be impowered to grant pardons to the Confederates and other Offenders;* [2] *but then the Nobility ſhould previouſly declare themſelves contented with theſe conditions, and promiſe to uſe their utmoſt endeavours for ſecuring the peace of Church and State, and forbear immediately all Aſſociations, Meetings, Preachings, and the like ſcandals.*

But whilſt the King was thus walking in leaden ſhoes, and before he receded even thus little from his wonted auſterity, the whole Country was involved in Tumults and Inſurrections, on account of the pillaging the Churches, which broke out about this time.

[1] Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 92. N. Burgund. Hiſt. Belg. Lib. III. *p.* 279.

[2] Hooft. *p.* 95. Strada Lib. I. *p.* 247. Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 67.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK VII.

THE plundering of the Churches, that dreadful Tumult, not unlike the ſo frequent Rebellions of the *Jews*, and the Storm of the *Iconoclaſts*, or Image-breakers, that ſpread it ſelf over *Greece*, began in *Weſt Flanders* on the 14th of *Auguſt*, 1566, the day which preceded the great Feſtival of the *Papiſts*, the Aſcenſion of the Virgin *Mary*. An° Dom. 1566.

[1] Some few of the vileſt of the Mob, to whom ſeveral Thieves [2] and Whores had joined themſelves, were thoſe that began the Dance, being hallooed on [3] by no body knows whom. Their arms were, Staves, Hatchets, Hammers, Ladders, Ropes, and other tools more proper to demoliſh than to fight with; [4] ſome few were provided with Guns and Swords. At firſt (being emboldened by the abſence of the Count of *Egmont*, the Governour of that Province, [5] who had been called to Court by the Regent the Lady *Margaret*) they attacked the Croſſes and Images that had been erected in the great Roads in the Country; next, thoſe in Villages; and laſtly, thoſe in the Towns and Cities: All the Chappels, Churches, and Convents which they found ſhut, they forced open, breaking, tearing, and deſtroying all the Images, Pictures, Shrines, and other conſecrated things they met with: nay, [6] ſome did not ſcruple to lay their hands upon Libraries, Books, Writings, Monuments, and even the dead bodies in Churches and Churchyards. Swift as lightning the evil diffuſed it ſelf, inſomuch that in the ſpace of three days [7] above four hundred Churches were plundered. In ſome places the Magiſtrates themſelves pulled down the Images, to prevent the Mob from doing the ſame; whereupon, when they valued themſelves for their foreſight in this matter, [8] the Preſident *Viglius* told them, that, *inſaniebant cum ratione, they had been wiſely mad.* In other places this wild rage of the Mob was curbed by power and prudent order.

[9] *Burgundius* writes, that the firſt *Iconoclaſts* came out of the Diſtrict of *St. Omer*; and that the Nunnery of *Wolverghem*, not far from *Courtray*, was the firſt that was attack'd and plundered. That they marched from thence into the juriſdiction of *Kaſſel*, and committed the like outrages on the Convent of *Belle*, and other places.

A Deſcription of the Tumults raiſed by the Image-breakers, at St. Omers, Ypres, Antwerp, *&c.*

[10] *Strada* tells us, that the firſt ranſacking of Churches happened about *St. Omer's*, and that the Rioters, upon meeting with no oppoſition, grew bolder, and cried, to *Ypres!* to *Ypres!* That in their way thither, their number increaſed, like a Snow-ball

[1] Hooft, Lib. III. *p.* 98. Strada Lib. V. *p.* 249. 207—
[2] Grot. Annal. Lib. I. *p.* 22.— Meurs, Gul. Auriac. Lib. II. *p.* 13.
[3] Grot. ibid. [4] Strada, ibid. 208—
[5] Meurs, ibid. [6] Strada, ibid. 208—
[7] Hooft, Lib. III. *p.* 99. Strada, Lib. V. *p.* 260. 217—
[8] Grot. ibid. 22.— [9] Burg. Hiſt. Lib. III. *p.* 206.
[10] Strada, Lib. V. *p.* 249. 208—

An° Dom. 1566. ball rolling through the Snow from the top of a mountain into the valley. That having plundered ſome Churches without *Ypres*, they were let into the Town by the Inhabitants on St. *Mary*'s Aſcenſion, where, while others demoliſhed the Images, ſome of them fired the Biſhop's Library. The next day another flock of the like birds of prey aſſembled themſelves, incouraged by the ſucceſs of their Camrades, and marched into the Country. Theſe plundered the Churches of ſeveral little Towns on the River *Liſſe*, ſuch as *Menin*, *Comenes*, *Warwick*, and other places about *Courtray*. Paſſing the ſaid River, they made an inroad into the juriſdiction of *Liſle*, and forced the Monaſtery called *Markette*. From thence one part of this Rabble went towards *Douay*, and the other to *Seklyn*; but the Inhabitants of *Seklyn*, and of the neighbouring Villages getting together, and arming themſelves with the firſt weapons they could find, drew out againſt the Church-plunderers, defeated and diſperſed them.

[1] The Government of *Antwerp* miſtruſting that in the abſence of the Prince of *Orange*, who had been juſt then ſummoned to *Bruſſels* by the Regent, the ſtorm againſt Images might blow likewiſe that way, the rather becauſe of the Fair-time, and the number of ſtrangers that reſorted thither, [1] they cauſed the Image of the Virgin *Mary* (which otherwiſe uſed to be expoſed for a week together on that occaſion) to be removed from the body of the Church into the Choir, that it might give no offence. But their good intentions produced bad effects, and their care for the publick peace was perverted to publick tumults; for the Mob obſerving the fears of the Government, began to grow inſolent; and ſome of them, in a ſarcaſtical way, aſked the Image, whether her fright had driven her ſo far from her poſt? and whether ſhe would join in crying, *Vive les Gueux*, &c.? A parcel of young Lads playing about the Pulpit, one of them went into it, and began to mimick the preaching of the Monks and Prieſts; ſome were for hearing, others for pulling him down, but he defended himſelf with his feet againſt them, till at laſt a young Schipper went and threw him down headlong. The Men eſpouſed the Boy's quarrel, and one of them wounded the ſaid Schipper with a Dagger. After much ado, by the interpoſition of the *Scout*, and the Officers that belonged to the Church, the Mob was prevailed upon to clear the place, and the doors were immediately ſhut, and ſo remained that day.

The Magiſtrates, (whether it was that their courage and prudence forſook them at that juncture) tho' they had the whole night following to conſider what they ſhould do, could reſolve upon nothing to ſtifle the ſmoaking Embers of Mutiny. Nay, they even neglected to feel the pulſe of the Citizens and Militia, whether they were inclinable to ſtand by them againſt theſe inſolences, which threatened the quiet of the Government. However, they were not wanting to ſignifie the importance of this affair to the Prince of *Orange* their Governour, and to deſire his advice; they alſo informed him, how *Herman Modet*, and others of the Proteſtant Teachers, had upon the ſame day declaimed againſt Idols, ſaying, *That they ought to be removed from our ſight, as well as from our hearts.*

The next day the Mob gathering in and about the aforeſaid Church, the Contentions relating to our Lady began afreſh. An old woman ſitting before the Choir to ſell Wax-Tapers, and to receive Oblations, began to ſcold at the people, and throw aſhes and filth at the boys, provoked, it may be, at their telling her that thoſe wares began to be out of faſhion, and that it was high time to ſhut up ſhop. The Officers of the Church ſeeing that as the Mob increaſed the quarrels did ſo too, endeavoured to clear the Church of them, and to ſhut it up, but no body minded them. The *Scout*, and the Civil Magiſtrates, being informed of theſe diſorders, repaired to the ſaid Church, and admoniſh'd the people to leave it, as ſome did; but others pretended, that they had a mind to ſtay and hear the Hymn of *Salve Regina*; theſe were told, that there would be none that day; whereupon they replied, *They would then ſing it themſelves*; and accordingly one was heard to begin a Pſalm or Hymn in one corner of the Church, others in another, and the people ecchoed to them. Some of the young fellows had the confidence to play at ball, others to kick ſtones about the Church, and even to throw them at the Altars.

[2] Theſe were the preludes of greater evils. Some thought, that if the Magiſtrates left the Church, they might draw or carry away the Mob after them; therefore the

[1] Hooft. Weſenb. Bor. Strada & Meurs. [2] Hooft, *p.* 100.

Burgomaſters repaired to the Council Chamber; but finding they could do nothing by fair means, they reſolved to raiſe the Militia, and diſperſe the people by force. In the mean time they cauſed the Church doors to be ſhut, all but one wicket, to let out the remainder of the people; and the *Scout* having laboured to diſmiſs thoſe that ſtay'd without, went again into the Church, and endeavoured, together with ſome others of the Magiſtrates, to clear the place, but was oppoſed by ſome of the Ring-leaders with ſtern countenances and rebellious language. In the mean while, a great Mob ruſhed in at the little Gate, and the *Scout* was forced to quit the Church. The moment he was gone, they fell to ſinging Pſalms with open throats. The Treaſurer, and other Officers of the Church having ſecured the Holy Reliques and other Trinkets, fled after him. [1] Then all the reſt of the Rabble that were without, forced their way in, and broke open all the doors; wherefore the *Scout* and other Magiſtrates went thither again, but being terrified at the numberleſs concourſe of people, and the ſhouts and noiſe that ecchoed from the Church, they retired immediately to the Stadthouſe, thinking themſelves very happy if they could ſave that; which did not remain unthreatened. In the mean while the Rabble was every where up, the Burghers houſes and ſhops all ſhut, and as the Sun declined, the breaking, robbing and plundering increaſed. An° Dom. 1566.

The Virgin's image, that had been carried about in proceſſion but two days before, was the firſt ſacrifice to their fury. The Chappel in which it ſtood was entered by force, and the Idol thrown down and daſhed to pieces, all the people roaring, *Vive le Gueux*, and demoliſhing all the Croſſes and Images that were in their way. Hurried on by the ſame fury, and re-inforced by freſh numbers, they flew to other Churches, Chappels and Cloiſters, where they did not miſhandle ſtocks and ſtones only, but living creatures too, among whom the *Franciſcans* fared the worſt. They broke open Chambers and Cellars; ſtaved all the barrels, and ſet the beer and wine a running. [f] There was a *Carmelite*, or bare-footed Monk, that had reaſon thankfully to remember their pranks as long as he lived; for they delivered him from a priſon to which he had been confined about twelve years. Neither did they ſpare the priſons of the Civil Magiſtrate; releaſing ſeveral out of them. They likewiſe forced the Convents of Nuns; who fearing worſe things, made their eſcape, and retired to their friends, abandoning their Lodgings to the fury of the Mob. *The Churches at* Antwerp *plundered.*

[2] *Strada* adds, that they laid hands on the Sacramental Bread or Maſs-Wafers, trampling them under their feet. The conſecrated Chalices they filled with the wine they found in the Churches, and drank to one anothers health. They ſmeared their ſhoes with the holy Oil, defiled the Church Garments with ordure, and daubing the Books with butter, threw them into the fire: Some of the Images and Pictures were kicked up and down; others they thruſt thorough with ſwords, or chopped off their heads with axes; upon others they put on armour, and then tilted againſt them with ſpears javelins ~~and~~ out of wantonneſs, till the Images fell down, and then they mocked and jeared them.

The Papiſts write, that a certain Miniſter, or Teacher, accompanying the Mob during theſe ravages, and endeavouring to convert ſome of the Nuns of St. *Clara*, when he obſerved how they fixed their eyes on the ground, and poured out their prayers to God, was ſtruck dumb with wonder, and could not go on, though preſſed by the ſpectators.

At day-break, theſe deſtroyers of Images ſallied out of the Town, and fell to plundering the Abbey of St. *Bernard*, and other Religious houſes round about, ſparing none that were in their way or ſight; whilſt thoſe of their Gang that ſtaid within made an end of all that remained there. Three days this epidemical rage laſted, which grew up to this height of inſolence through the cowardice of the Magiſtrates. Add to this, an incident which made the Mob yet more bold: Some people of quality and eſtates, armed with piſtols and daggers under their cloaths, mixing with them and lurking in corners and by-places of the Town, terrified all that were inclined to oppoſe them; overpowering the Watches kept by the Inhabitants. Beſides, the chiefeſt of theſe durſt not exert themſelves; ſuch as were *Papiſts*, ſuſpecting that the *Proteſtants* had unanimouſly plotted their ruin, durſt not ſtir for fear of being fallen upon: And on the other hand, the *Proteſtants* fearing theſe diſorders would be revenged upon them, thought they did enough in keeping a watchful eye on the *Romaniſts*. *Some perſons of Quality join with the Image-breakers.*

[1] Strada, *p.* 254. [2] Strada, *p.* 255, 269, &c. Burgund. Lib. III. *p.* 305. Hooft, *p.* 101.

An° Dom. 1566.

Romaniſts. In one thing however they all agreed, *viz.* in keeping the Rabble out of their houſes and from their coffers; and accordingly the *Roman Catholicks* of the *Low-Countries* have ſince been often reproached by the *Spaniards*, with having had more regard to their own Temporal concerns than to the intereſt of the Church and Religion.

All theſe Violences, Plunderings and Deſolations, ſay thoſe of the *Spaniſh* faction, were committed by about a hundred unarmed Rabble at the moſt, and a parcel of Whores and Boys inſtigated by the *Hereticks*, and who might have been hired by either party for eight or ten Stivers a day.

But what *Hooft*, our famous *Dutch* Hiſtorian, ſays of this matter, is well worthy our notice: "As I ſhould not eaſily have ventured my Salvation in the Communion "of people who, under pretence of a ſudden fit of flaming zeal for Religion, aban- "doned themſelves thus to all kinds of villany, by trampling under foot all divine "and humane Laws; ſo neither (*ſays he*) do I think it ſtrange (ſince there are "good and bad men to be found in all Sects) that the vileſt of the party ſhewed "their temper by theſe extravagancies; or that others fed their eyes with a ſport that "grew up to a plague, which they thought the Clergy had juſtly deſerved by the "rage of their Perſecutions. Others again, probably, did not trouble themſelves "about the matter, hoping that one madneſs might prove a cure for another, and "ſo produce Order out of Confuſion; but the generality of the *Reformed* certainly "behaved themſelves nobly, by cenſuring things which they thought good and proper "to be done, becauſe they were brought about by improper methods.

The Image-breaking diſapproved by the generality of the Proteſtants.

Herman Modet, one of the moſt zealous Preachers, whom we have had frequent occaſion to mention above, declares in a certain Apology which he publiſhed ſoon after theſe diſorders: "That neither he himſelf, nor any of his Conſiſtory, had any more "knowledge of this deſign of deſtroying Images when it was firſt contrived, than of "the hour of their death; and that the Ducheſs, the whole Court, and the Magiſtrates "of *Antwerp*, were, on the contrary, very well apprized of the deſign of the "*Reformed* Congregations at this time, *viz.* That ſome of the chief perſons among "them ſhould come to *Bruſſels*, in order to preſent a general Petition about matters "of Religion; and that for this purpoſe, there were not only ſome from *Flanders*, "but alſo about twelve or fourteen hundred perſons deputed from all the Churches "of the *Netherlands* already met at *Antwerp*: That the time of this Meeting was "not unknown to the Magiſtrates, for the Penſionary *Weſenbeek* was informed of it "two days before, by him and his Collegue *George Sylvanus*; *and he adds*, that "they were together that day, being the 20th of *Auguſt* (deſigning the next day "to go to Court) from the morning till ſix o'clock in the evening, conſidering of "the Journey and the Petition which they were about to make. That it having "been there reſolved to ſend from *Antwerp* two Miniſters, one in the name of the "*Dutch*, the other in the name of the *Walloons*, he was deputed on the part of the "former; but as he returned to his Lodging in the evening, he was informed, "that the Church was full of people, and he was hardly come into the houſe, be- "fore he heard that they had fallen upon the Images. It was objected againſt him, "that he was in the Church whilſt they were breaking and defacing them: This he "owns was true, *but adds*, That it was at the deſire of the Magiſtrates themſelves, "and at the peril of his own life, that he went thither to quiet the Mob, though "he could not be heard, but was pulled down from the Pulpit, and thruſt out of "the Church: That he returned thither about five hours after, having been requeſted "ſo to do, that he might warn the people not to plunder and ſteal, under the pre- "tence of demoliſhing Idols. That being likewiſe informed, that the Mob were "broken into the Convent of the *Grey-Fryers*, and had treated them ſomewhat rudely, "he went thither at the deſire of ſome of his friends; and when he found that the "people were gone from thence, he went to that of the *Jacobins*; there underſtand- "ing, that thoſe of the Nunnery of St. *Clara* were in diſtreſs, he made the beſt of "his way thither, and did his utmoſt by begging and entreating, to get the people, "who had forced their way as far as the middle Chapter-houſe, to depart: That of "this matter, fifty or ſixty Nuns, who were there, could teſtify, if they would "ſpeak the truth. This was all the concern he had in that affair. The charging "him therefore with having excited theſe tumults by his preaching, was much the "ſame as the accuſing of *Elijah* for having troubled *Iſrael* with his Doctrine; and

1 Kings xviii. 18.

" it is well known what anſwer the Prophet returned to the King upon ſuch accu- An° Dom. 1566.
" ſation. He comforted himſelf likewiſe with the conſideration of what had hap-
" pened to all the Prophets in their attempts to reſtore the depraved worſhip of God;
" as alſo to our Saviour *Chriſt*, and the Apoſtle *Paul*, on account of preaching the
" Truth." This is the ſubſtance of what *Modet* ſays in his defence, with reſpect to the plundering of the Churches, but without taking notice of what happened at the introduction of preaching into the Great Church. Of which we have the following account by other hands.

An Attempt to preach in the Churches.

The Magiſtrates being informed on the 22d of this month, that the Proteſtants intended to meet that day in two of the principal Churches, ordered the Penſionary *Weſenbeek* to uſe his utmoſt endeavours and intereſt with the Miniſters and others to prevent it. He, hearing it was reſolved that *Herman Modet* ſhould preach at Eight o'clock in the Great Church, and *John Taffin* at Ten, in the Burgh, a place ſo called, gave notice of it to the Magiſtrates, who alſo found that the people were aſſembling there, and therefore ſent him thither with all poſſible expedition. In the Church-yard he met with the Preacher *Taffin*: This perſon who was of an honourable family, and not of the dregs of the people, like many others, but by nature and education inclined to modeſty and good behaviour, received the Orders of the Government, and promiſed all poſſible obedience. [1] *He was ſorry*, he ſaid, *that he had not ſooner known the good pleaſure of the Magiſtrates; but that he would take care however, that this Aſſembly ſhould tend only to the ſecuring the Peace and Tranquility of the inhabitants; to which end it had been already agreed to exhort the people to reſtore what they had plundered, and to practiſe modeſty and ſubmiſſion to the higher powers*; but he added, *It was now too late to diſſolve the Aſſembly, for he was juſt come out of the Church, and had ſeen the Miniſter in the Pulpit.* Nevertheleſs he returned, at the requeſt of the Penſionary, and making his way through the crowd, aſcended the Pulpit to *Modet*, (whilſt *Weſenbeek* ſtay'd at the foot of it) and there informed him how the latter was ſent from the Magiſtrates, to beg that he would forbear preaching. But *Modet* anſwering, that the people would not be pleaſed to be diſmiſſed without hearing ſomewhat, promiſed however, that, inſtead of a Sermon, he would only make a ſhort Exhortation and Prayer; and he kept his word, excepting that his Prayer was ſufficiently long. They that expected to have heard *Taffin*, were got together at the Burgh, where he ſent them word there would be no preaching at that time; but when he found that they ſtay'd there, he went himſelf, and repreſented to them, in ſuch preſſing terms, the Requeſt or Order of the Government, and their obligations of ſubmitting to it, that they ſuffered themſelves to be perſwaded, and went away without carrying home any thing but the aforeſaid Leſſons of obedience, which were as good and wholſom as any Sermon. And though ſome took this amiſs of him, yet he repeated the ſame in the afternoon, informing his hearers of what became them as Subjects, and *preſſing it as their duty, to abſtain from Sermons for a day or two, at the deſire of the Magiſtrates.* For both theſe ſervices he was thanked by the Government, who likewiſe declared to his honour, that he had twice kept his word better than *Modet*; for the latter pretending, that upon the complaint of the people, of his having diſmiſſed them in the morning with an imperfect Sermon, he could not avoid appointing another meeting at two o'clock, and yet promiſing to be as ſhort as poſſible, and even to exhort them at the Church door to return home, went on however with his preaching as uſual, and encouraged the people to preſs through the Guards, which at his own requeſt were placed by the Magiſtrates at the avenues of the Church-yard, and at the doors of the Church.

Part of the Plunder of the Churches reſtored.

The next day there was neither Church nor Convent opened, excepting the Great Church. In the mean time, a great part of the moſt valuable goods, which had been miſſing ever ſince the tumult, was voluntarily delivered either to the Government or Proprietors, but a great quantity of yet greater value was detained. This occaſioned an Order, the ſame day, for bringing in all ſtolen goods to the owners within twenty four hours, and forbearing all further violences on pain of the Gallows, which was ſet up immediately in the great Market, and defended by Guards. But that no freſh troubles might ariſe from ſuch a Declaration, it was thought fit to notify it to the

[1] Hooft, *p.* 102. Weſenb. *p.* 150. Bor. f. 60.

An° Dom. 1566. *Proteſtants*, both *Dutch* and *Walloons*, and to prevail upon the Miniſters by arguments and promiſes, to cenſure the diſorderly actions of the people in their Sermons; to perſwade them to reſtore the plundered goods; to exhort them to live quietly for the future, and ſubmit to their Governours; and laſtly, to publiſh to them the Orders lately made. But whilſt the Miniſters were preparing an Anſwer to theſe Propoſitions, in their Conſiſtory, there were again ſome diſorders committed by the Mob that afternoon in the Great Church. [1] They defaced the Arms of the King, and of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, that were finely painted in the Choir; but ſome ſay they were broken by a Crucifix, which fell upon them accidentally from a great height. This was looked upon as a violation of the Civil Authority, and the Magiſtrates were ſenſibly affected at it. Hereupon the Markgrave (who was likewiſe the *Scout*) with ſome of the Magiſtrates, Citizens and Trained-Bands, marched thither, and the Mob retired as faſt as they could; but ten or twelve of them were ſeized. Then, though too late, were they convinced what they might have done if they had acted with ſo much reſolution and vigour at firſt, and what they loſt for want of it.

An Addreſs of the Reformed *to the Magiſtrates of* Antwerp.

At night *Taffin*, one of the Miniſters, waited on the Burgomaſter *Jacob vander Heyden*, and the Penſionary *Weſenbeek*, in the name of the other Miniſters and Elders of the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Congregations, with a written Anſwer to what had been propoſed to them in the morning by the ſaid Penſionary; the ſubſtance of which was as follows: Firſt, *They called God to witneſs, that what happened in the taking away and deſtroying of the Images, was done* g *without either their knowledge or conſent. Upon this occaſion they declared their deteſtation of thoſe Plunderings, Robberies, and other Diſorders that followed; for which reaſon they promiſed, that the Miniſters ſhould warn their Auditories to forbear the like for the future, and to reſtore what had been taken away. And that thoſe who belonged to their Congregations were ready and well-diſpoſed to obey the Government in all things, and to ſubmit to ſuch Orders as they ſhould think fit to make, with reſpect to plundering and other kinds of violences. They likewiſe acknowledged the divine Inſtitution of Magiſtracy, and their obligation of ſubmitting to it, not only for fear, but for conſcience-ſake; and therefore declared they were willing to pay Scot and Lot, Taxes and Tributes; and that for further ſecurity, they the Miniſters and Directors of the Church were ready to take an Oath of Fidelity to the Government. Then they prayed that they might be allowed to aſſemble in ſome Churches, proper and large enough for that purpoſe, in order to perform their Religious Worſhip, under the Authority and Protection of the Government: They likewiſe hoped that they ſhould be excuſed if they were neceſſitated to make uſe of ſome Churches in the mean while, till further directions could be given.* They added, *That they did not deſire to offer any violence to other mens conſciences, nor to introduce their Religion by force, being contented and giving God thanks for the opportunity of ſerving him according to their own conſciences, and of exerciſing their own Religion with freedom.* [2] In the concluſion, *They moſt humbly beſought them that both parties might be ſtrictly enjoyned to forbear all reproaches, either by word or deed, on account of different opinions in Religions.* g

Preaching allowed in ſeveral of the Churches.

At the ſame time it was propoſed to the *Reformed*, that whatever they did with reſpect to other Churches, they ſhould, for certain particular reaſons, abſolutely forbear meddling with the Great Church or that of St. *George*, (to which were afterwards added the Abby and Church of St. *Michael* and that of St. *James*) yet that this Prohibition was not to be underſtood to imply a liberty of uſing the other Churches or Convents within the City.

The *Reformed* were ſatisfied, and contented to let alone the four places beforementioned, and ſuppoſed they ſhould be allowed the uſe of all the reſt. Wherefore the *Dutch* preached on *Saturday* morning in the Burgh-Church, and the *Walloons* intended to do the ſame in another; but upon the Prince of *Orange*'s ſending to them two Gentlemen, the Heers *van Tholouſe* and *Fames*, who had ſigned the Confederacy of the Nobility, deſiring that they would be contented to preach in the new Town, they ſubmitted to that requeſt.

But

[1] Bor. f. 61. *a*, *b*. Weſenb. *p*. 155. Hooft, *p*. 103.

[2] Bor. f. 61. *b*. Weſenb. 156.

But the Magiſtrates looking upon it as a matter of ſome danger to allow the *Reformed* to aſſemble within their walls, whilſt the *Lutherans*, or *Evangelical* (for ſo they were likewiſe called) went out of the Town in great numbers to their Meetings; they therefore ſignified to the Miniſter of the *Kiel*, that he might for the future make uſe of St. *George*'s Church. It was thought that the Magiſtrates endeavoured by this mark of their favour to the *Lutherans*, to render them more odious to the *Reformed*; and thus by fomenting the diviſions between theſe two great parties of *Proteſtants*, to weaken them both. An° Dom. 1566.

[1] Whilſt *Antwerp*, the moſt powerful Emporium of the *Netherlands*, laboured under theſe evils, other Cities ſuffered many ſhocks and convulſions too; the madneſs of the people diffuſed it ſelf like wild-fire, to one place ſooner, to another later. [2] At *Bois le Duc*, on the 22d of *Auguſt* at night, they began to break the Images in St. *John*'s Church; but a few hours after they were driven away by the Militia of the Town. The next day the Magiſtrates ordered the Church doors to be kept ſhut, and ſet Guards at them, till they could ſecure the publick Papers, and the Jewels, Plate, and other valuable things of the Clergy. This being done, the Church was abandoned to the fury of the Mob, which ruſhed in like a torrent, and reſumed the work of Image-breaking. The Choir of our Lady was ſecured above by the care of *Dominic Beyens*, a Monk, (from whoſe manuſcript account this is taken) and ſix Soldiers. The reſt of the Choir with all its furniture, except two brazen Statues of *Moſes* and *David*, was moſtly demoliſhed. Afterwards the Fraternity of our Lady carried away her Altar themſelves, together with the Braſs-work of her Choir, *&c.* and then the Image-breakers daſhed every thing that remained to pieces. This done, away they marched to the other Churches and Convents within and without the Town, and committed the like outrages. They ſet open the Nunneries every where, ſo that the Nuns, with many of the Siſters or Novices, finding themſelves free, forſook their Cells. *Image-breaking at* Bois le Duc, *&c.*

Cornelius van Dieſt, a Paſtor of the *Reformed*, who had preached the firſt publick Sermon in a Plain without the Town, on the 21ſt of *July*, did the like on St. *Bartholomew*'s day, and the following *Sunday* in St. *John*'s Church, where he zealouſly inveighed againſt the Maſs, calling it juggling and monkey-tricks. After which ſome other Miniſters preached in the Churches of St. *James* and St. *Peter*, and in the Chapels of St. *Cornelius* and St. *Anne*.

[3] *Breda*, *Bergen-op-zoom*, and other Towns of *Brabant*, underwent the ſame fate of Image-breaking. At *Lier* there appeared eight men, who came, as they ſaid, from *Antwerp* to ſee if the Idols were taken down: The Magiſtrates ſurpriſed by ſo confident an aſſertion, ſuffered two of the company to come into the City, and to be led from one Church to another; removing whatever they ordered, without once aſking them by whoſe Authority they came: At laſt one of the Magiſtrates that attended them, ventured to aſk that queſtion: *Sir*, ſaid they, *we are in your hands, and do you imagine that we ſhould preſume to do this of our own heads? You ſhall ſoon know with whom you have to do.* This ſhort and bold anſwer ſatisfied them. They went on with the work, and when the two perſons ſaid it was ſufficient, their expences at the Inn were likewiſe defrayed by the Town. [4] At *Mechlen* the Mob preſumed to lay their hands upon the Convent of the *Franciſcans*, and other conſecrated places, but met with ſuch reſiſtance as made their courage fail them. *Franciſcus Junius* giving an account of what befel him at the time of the Image-breaking in *Gant* (for after his return from the Aſſembly at *St. Truyn*, he went thither at the requeſt of the Church) ſays firſt, that the Image-breakers, who were unknown to him and his brethren, being ſtirred up by raſh and perhaps ill-deſigning men, did, againſt his and their conſent, fall upon the Churches, the Pictures and Images. He likewiſe appeals to all thoſe who at that time ſate in the great Council of *Flanders*, how faithfully he had behaved himſelf, when deputed by their Authority and Command, with ſome others of his Rank, to the ſaid Image-breakers, to diſcourſe with them, and to learn their intentions. *In truth*, ſays he, *I never approved ſuch violent and diſorderly Counſels; nor did I ever ſhew by the leaſt token, that their proceedings were agreeable to me. By this Teſtimony I openly declare the Loyalty and Fidelity of my ſelf and all my worthy Colleagues; for as for thoſe diſorderly*

[1] Hooft, *p.* 103. Meur. Gul. Aur. Lib. II. *p.* 25.
[2] Oudenhov. *Deſcription of* Bois le Duc. *p.* 346, 658. Weſenb. *p.* 159.
[3] Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 62, *d.* Hiſt. Mart. Lib. LX.
[4] Hooft, *p.* 103. N. Burgund. Lib. III. *p.* 324.

An° Dom. 1566. *diſorderly and ſelf-willed Ring-leaders of Tumults, I do not own them to be of us.* [1] Among thoſe who concerned themſelves with *Junius*, in putting a ſtop to the Image-breaking, were *Jacobus vander Hagen*, ------- *Goetheim*, afterwards Burgomaſter of *Gant*, *Peter Carpenter* a Miniſter, and others.

But no ſooner was the news of the Image-breaking of *Antwerp* arrived at *Gant*, but the ſame pranks were endeavoured to be play'd there. All the night, the Organ-pipes that had been brought from *Antwerp*, were dragged and rattled about the ſtreets. The Mob gathered tumultuouſly, and took a reſolution to deſtroy all the Images. The Fiſh-market was appointed for their Rendezvous the next day, from whence they deſigned, with as much order as they were capable of, to fall to work with cleanſing the Churches of Images, Reliques, *&c.* In the mean time, about three hours before they were thoroughly engaged in the work, one *Lieven* (who is mentioned in the *French* Book of Martyrs) came to *Junius*, aſking him, whether or no when the people of *Gant*, in imitation of thoſe of *Antwerp*, ſhould demoliſh the Images, he would likewiſe concern himſelf in the ſame buſineſs? To which, *Junius* tells us, he made the following Anſwer: *We ought to do nothing but according to our Call; you have no ordinary Call, ſince you are no Magiſtrate, nor are inveſted with any other ordinary authority: neither have you any extraordinary Call, ſince you apply to me for advice, and do as it were thereby declare, that you are not called extraordinarily to this Work.* Thus *Junius* diſſwaded him from meddling with that matter, and *Lieven* acquieſced in his advice; but afterwards by endeavouring to obviate I know not what publick miſchief, he brought deſtruction upon himſelf. But notwithſtanding *Junius* openly did all he could to hinder theſe tumults of the people, to the giving them great offence, yet almoſt all the Adverſaries looked upon him as a contriver of the whole buſineſs, as a certain Prieſt of *Gant* had the boldneſs to tell him to his face, the fourth day after the Image-breaking; at the ſame time demanding of him the great Silver Seal of the Canons of St. *John*.

The Opinion of Junius *as to Image-breaking.*

[2] What the *French* Book of Martyrs relates of one *Lieven Ongena*, ſhews that (if he was the ſame perſon we mentioned above) he did not much regard the counſel which *Junius* gave him. For when, upon the 25th of *Auguſt*, a great number of the Tradeſmen were aſſembled, with a deſign to follow the example of *Antwerp*, and to demoliſh the Images, he and his brother gave them this advice; That to prevent their being charged with raiſing Tumults, they ſhould early the next morning attend the High-Bailiff of *Gant*, *Adolf* of *Burgundy*, Baron of *Wakkene*, and Vice-Admiral at Sea, and acquaint him that there was a general Commiſſion, or Order, to demoliſh the Images. They did accordingly, and the Bailiff aſking them, in great ſurprize, whence the Order came, they replied, from *His Majeſty*, holding a folded piece of Parchment in their hands: He, thinking of no other Majeſty but that of *Spain*, deſired of them, without inquiring further into the matter, to keep the people ſtill for an hour or two, and in the mean while he would take care that the work ſhould be performed decently. He likewiſe gave them ſome of his Halbardeers and two of the City Meſſengers to attend them, and iſſued an Order, in his name, that none ſhould preſume to act otherwiſe than according as the Commiſſion of the ſaid *Ongena* imported; *viz.* that they ſhould be ſatisfied with pulling down the Images, without ſtealing or taking away any thing, upon pain of being proceeded againſt as Rebels. He likewiſe required, that none ſhould preſume to deny them entrance into any Church, Chappel, or Convent, on the like penalty. Immediately they went to work with the Images, marching from one Church to another; and when they had thrown down the Images, they proceeded to break the Organs to pieces, and tear all Books, Writings, and Pictures. The next day they did the ſame to all the conſecrated places, five or ſix miles round the Town, and then returned quietly to their reſpective employments. But the High-Bailiff found his error, and repented of it too late; tho' he could no otherwiſe attone for it, than by threatning at firſt, and afterwards by ſeverely perſecuting thoſe that had led him into it.

At *Oudenard* the Images had been demoliſhed ſome time before. At *Aloſt*, *Dendermond*, and *Courtray*, the Church-plunderers were denied admiſſion into the Cities, as alſo at *Bruges*. At *Tournay*, under pretence of Image-breaking, every thing was deſtroyed or plundered, that Force or Avarice could lay hold on. At laſt they began to dig

[1] F. Jun. in Narrat. inedit. [2] Hiſt. des Mart. Lib. IX. f. 658. Burgund. Lib. III. *p.* 309.

dig even into the bowels of the earth; for the Canons foreſeeing this ſtorm, had buried all their Gold and Silver, the moſt valuable Images, with the richeſt Garments belonging to the Church, which caution of theirs, was, by I know not what accident, diſcovered to the plunderers. An° Dom. 1566.

At the ſame time it happened that they broke into the Vault of Duke *Adolphus* of *Gelderland*; upon which, the Corpſe of the ſaid Prince, which had been preſerved entire by embalming to that very day, was taken out of the coffin, and, as if he had not been ſufficiently puniſhed in his life-time, they ſported with his dead bones, crying out, *That he who had offered violence to thoſe that brought him into the world*, was not worthy to reſt in the earth; the meaning of which was, [1] That he had formerly laid violent hands upon his aged father Duke *Arnoldus*, and drawing him out of his bed, had obliged him to walk without cloaths, and bare-footed, in an extream cold night, five *German* miles, from the Town of *Grave* to that of *Buuren*, whilſt himſelf rode on horſeback; and when he had brought him thither, had thrown him into the bottom of a dark Tower, where he kept him priſoner for the ſpace of ſix months, for no other reaſon, but to extort from him that Dominion which after his death would have devolved upon him naturally. *The Tomb of Duke* Adolphus *of* Gelderland *broken open, and his body abuſed.*

Being diſinherited on this account, and endeavouring however to poſſeſs himſelf of the Duchy, he was alſo himſelf detained ſeveral years in priſon by Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*; till at laſt being releaſed by the rebellious *Ganteners*, after the death of *Charles*, and putting himſelf at the head of them, he was defeated and ſlain before *Tournay* by the *French*, and there interred; [2] becoming an example to poſterity, that Parricide can never be ſufficiently attoned for by any puniſhment.

[3] After the demolition of the Images in the aforeſaid Town, the Churches were not only converted to the uſe of the *new Preachers*, but thoſe of their Sect, in defiance of the Laws, proceeded to arm themſelves againſt the *Papiſts* (who were not a fourth part of the inhabitants;) but particularly they endeavoured to ſecure themſelves againſt the Garriſon of the Caſtle.

[4] At *Valenciennes*, after the Mob had plundered the Churches, the *Reformed* ſeized upon ſome of them for their own uſe. There were likewiſe ſeveral Abbies plundered in that Diſtrict, on which occaſion the famous Library at *Vicogne* was burnt. They deſigned to have proceeded and fallen upon the Monaſtery of *Auchem*; but the Seigneur *de la Tour*, and the Baily of *Auchem* drawing together a body of the inhabitants, killed four hundred of them, and diſperſed the reſt.

[5] At *Amſterdam*, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, in the morning early, ſeveral Merchants as well Citizens as Foreigners, meeting at their Conventicle in the *Warmoes-ſtreet*, related what they had ſeen a few days before of the Image-breaking at *Antwerp*; and to convince the others of the truth of it, they ſhewed ſeveral pieces of Altars and Images of Alabaſter, Marble, and other valuable ſtones; adding, this belonged to ſuch an Altar, this to ſuch and ſuch an Image, famed for ſo many miracles. *Jacob Serrot Teeuweſſon* and *Floris Dirkſon Otter*, hearing this, immediately croſſed the new Bridge towards the little Tower. *Laurence Real* gueſſing at their deſign, followed them. Immediately the Burgomaſters cauſed notice to be given to the Pariſh Prieſts, Monks and Nuns, that they ſhould hide the moſt valuable Furniture and Goods of their reſpective Churches and Convents. This was imprudently both ordered and acted. The Clergy were ſeen running along the ſtreets with their Plate, Chalices, Pattens, Pixes and Maſs-habits; and it happening unluckily at the very ſame time that the Labourers and Handicrafts-men were returning from their work to dinner, each of them ſaw the moſt valuable things of his Pariſh or Diſtrict dragged along the ſtreets by his Altar-Prieſt. Every one had his eye upon his own, or what was brought from his own Pariſh. Some oppoſed thoſe Removes, and eaſing the Prieſts of their burthens, brought them back again to the Churches they belonged to: Others repaired to the old and new Churches, in both which great numbers were aſſembled. There were no diſorders committed in the new Church, the Clergy having been ſo prudent as to abſtain from ſinging Veſpers; ſo that ſome of the Burghers giving the Mob good words, prevailed on them to diſperſe, and then locked up the doors. In the old Church all was quiet at firſt, but in the afternoon, when Veſpers were begun, and ſeveral Children were brought to be baptized, *A Tumult at* Amſterdam.

[1] Commines, Lib. IV. *p.* 110. J. Lipſ. Monit Lib. II. *p.* 113.
[2] Commines, Lib. V. *p.* 185. Burgund. *p.* 316.
[3] Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 63. Hooft. Lib. III. *Apol. for the Counts of* Horn.
[4] Meur. *p.* 15.
[5] Meur. *of* L. Real. *p.* 40. *a.*

An° Dom. 1566. tized, while the Chaplain performed the *Exorciſms* or Conjurations, ſome of the Mob cried out, *You! Prieſt, forbear conjuring the devil out of them; you have cheated the world long enough; baptize in the name of* Jeſus, *as the* Apoſtles *were wont to do.* Upon this, ſome of the women carried their children home again unbaptized: Others were bleſt and chriſtened in their mother-tongue, and the Veſpers were finiſhed notwithſtanding the murmuring of the people: But between three and four o'clock there came a certain Corn-Porter, named *Jaſper*, to the *North-Eaſt* end of the Church, cloſe to the place where the Pix was kept, and accoſted the Wife of Burgomaſter *Simon Kops*, whom he found there, with this expreſſion: *Look, there hang thoſe abominable, thoſe blaſphemous verſes!* and at the ſame time laying hold on a board that hung near him, he read the inſcription which was in rhime, and the firſt four lines were to the following purpoſe: *Jeſus Chriſt is locked up in this Box: He is truly God and Man, being born of the Virgin* Mary: *Whoever does not believe it, is damned.* When he had done, he threw it upon the ground and broke it all to pieces; and it being in a glaſs frame, the whole Church rang with it. Immediately certain boys began to throw ſtones at the Altar. *Laurence Real*, who was preſent, went with *Reiner Kant*, *Francis de Wael* and *Cornelius Koſter*, out of the Church to the Market-place, where they continued a while, to ſhow that they had no ſhare in what was doing there, nor intended to countenance it. In the mean while the Mob fell upon the Altars and Images. Among the reſt that ſuffered in this common deſtruction, was a certain Image of the Virgin, about a foot and half long, with a dead *Chriſt* in her lap: Maſter *Simon Slecht*, the Miniſter of this Church, had cauſed it to be carved at *Harlem*, and putting it into a glaſs Caſe, placed it upon an Altar before the Choir of St. *Sebaſtian*, on the *South* ſide of the Church. There was likewiſe a Virgin Society erected in honour to the ſaid Image, who were wont to come to him to Confeſſion, Oblation and Sacrament, on which occaſion the Image was ſure to be adorned with rich preſents. *Wein Adriana Okkers*, the Wife of *Julian ter Meulen*, threw her Slipper at the head of this wooden *Mary*, which afterwards coſt her and her maid their lives.

In the mean time the Burgomaſters met at the *Schepens* Chamber, inviting thither not only all the *Schepens* or Aldermen, but alſo three of the principal Citizens of the *Reformed* Religion, named *Egbert Roelofſon*, *Adrian Pauw* and *Arent Brouwer*. They begged of theſe three, that they would propoſe ſome expedient to pacify the people; but they being unprepared to give an anſwer, deſired time till the next day. This was agreed to, and they were ordered to put their thoughts in writing; but before they went away, *Cornelius Jacobſon Brower* came running in a fright and crying out, *All the Saints in the old Church are broken in pieces! Egbert Roelofſon*, who was of different ſentiments, replied warmly; *Are they any thing elſe but Images? That's very different from the Saints of God.* Upon this report the three Companies of the Militia were ordered to come armed to the Market-place. *Scout Peter Peterſon* marched immediately with forty of the City Watch from the Stadthouſe to the Church, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the Mob, attacking them at firſt with Sticks and Halbards, but threatning to fire upon them; and accordingly one Muſquet was diſcharged, which ſo terrified many of the boys, that in crowding out of the *South* door, a young girl was preſſed to death: The reſt that ſtaid in the Church ſtood upon their defence, and obliged the *Scout* to retire. Then they went on with their Image-breaking. The Burgomaſters perceiving they could do no good by force, had recourſe to gentler methods. They entreated ſome of the Militia to repair to the Church, and to try by fair words and promiſes to perſwade the people to return home. This took effect; the Mob withdrew, and the doors were ſhut. The next night a whole Regiment of the Train-bands were obliged to keep guard in the Market-place. [1] The Magiſtrates, conſcious of their paſt ſeverities and preſent weakneſs, durſt not appear without five or ſix Halbardeers at their heels, which the Council of XXXVI. had ordered for their ſecurity. The three above-mentioned Burghers were ſent for again to give their advice. [2] *Adrian Pauw* had drawn up certain Articles which were propoſed and agreed to by the Burgomaſters; (at leaſt, till the Regent and the Knights of the Golden Fleece ſhould otherwiſe direct) importing, "That all the Images "ſhould be removed out of the Churches, and the ſaid Churches ſhut up till farther "Order.

An Ordinance of the Magiſtrates for reſtoring the publick peace.

3

[1] Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 104. [2] Real. *p.* 44. Pont. Hiſt. Amſt. *p.* 66.

" Order. That the *Proteſtants* ſhould hold their Meetings out of Town, and no " injury be offered either to the Miniſters or their Hearers; and that in caſe of bad " weather, they might uſe the *Spittal* Church. The Burghers or Inhabitants ſhould " be permitted, in caſe of ſickneſs, to make uſe either of a Prieſt or a Miniſter, as " their Conſciences ſhould direct. The Paſtor of the Pariſh when he carried the Sa- " crament in the ſtreets, was to forbear tinkling the Bell, to avoid offence or diſtur- " bances. The violation and robbing of Churches ſhould be prohibited on pain of " bodily puniſhment, to be inflicted at the diſcretion of the Magiſtrates, as the caſe " might require. None ſhould reproach or exaſperate another by word or deed, on " account of his Religion; but on the contrary, ſuffer every one to live quietly and " peaceably upon pain of diſcretional correction, according to the nature of the offence: " In caſe of Tumults, all perſons might betake themſelves to arms in their defence, " but not ſtir beyond the threſholds of their houſes; however, if any fire happened, " thoſe who were deſired might aſſiſt in extinguiſhing it. And laſtly, every Di- " ſtrict ſhould have a Captain, whoſe orders were to be obeyed. AN° DOM. 1566.

On the 26th of this month, the Burgomaſters ſent for ſome of the moſt conſiderable of the Inhabitants, who chiefly intereſted themſelves in the affairs of the *Reformed*: To theſe were communicated the contents of the above-mentioned project of Accommodation; and they were aſked, Whether, in caſe this was put in execution, the people would be ſatisfied? They replied; *They could not tell, ſince neither they had had any hand in the tumult, nor their Preachers, who had always exhorted the people to peace, according to the genius of the Goſpel. You, my Lords*, continued they, *provoke the people to many things, and then expect we ſhould quiet them. If you can do it, we ſhall be glad. We deſire nothing but that* Chriſt *may be preached; for which purpoſe the Field out of Town is convenient enough for us; you need neither open the* Lepers-Church, *nor ſhut the reſt on our account. We have been always accuſed and charged with raiſing tumults, but now you have the Teſtimony of many credible perſons, as to what Doctrines have been preached among us. Or, if you cannot believe it, we entreat you to come and hear your ſelves, to the end you may judge from your own experience.*

An Ordinance of the Magiſtrates for reſtoring the publick Peace.

The ſame day the Magiſtrates cauſed the aboveſaid Decree to be notified by ſound of trumpet, not only in the preſence of the Burgomaſter *John Klaeſſon van Hoppen*, but of *Adrian Pauw*, *Egbert Roelofſon* and *Arent Brower*, to the end it might have the more weight and influence upon the Citizens. The next day being the 27th, the Burgomaſters deſired the chief Officers of the Militia to ſingle out two perſons from every Company, to whom the people might make their complaints, which they ſhould lay before the Government, that ſo they might be redreſſed ſeaſonably and regularly. Accordingly, the ſix following perſons were made choice of; *viz. Andrew Boelenſon*, *Adrian Pauw*, *Herman Rodenburg*, *Nicolas Reijerſon*, *John Betſon Rodenburg*, and *Arent Corneliſon Kole*. This choice was confirmed by the Burgomaſters and the Council of XXXVI; whereupon a Commiſſion was granted them to execute the above-mentioned Office, and an aſſurance given, that for whatever they did by virtue of the ſaid Commiſſion, they ſhould never be liable to be called in queſtion. Soon after the Regent writ a very ſharp Letter to the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, reproaching them with having done ſo much for the *Gueuxes* and new Preachers, and that (ſays the Letter) *of their own good will, and without neceſſity.*

Images removed at the Hague, Delft, Leyden, *and the* Brill.

In the *Hague* there were two men, named *Adrian Mennink* and *Richard Joſten*, that had the confidence to apply to the Preſident *Suis*, and others of the Court, and to demand Workmen or Labourers to break down the Images. [1] Thus *Bor*, *Hooft* and others relate it. [2] But *Real* ſays, that the Preſident himſelf ſent for one of them, *Richard Jooſten*, at that time Treaſurer of the *Hague*, and aſked him, Whether he had an Order to demoliſh the Images? And was anſwered by him, *Yes*. Whereupon, aſking, where it was? the other with a bold Lie, laying his hand on his breaſt, ſaid, *Here it is*. The Lords of the Government, with whom was *Hyppolitus van Perſtin*, Preſident of the Court of *Utrecht*, being then accidentally at the *Hague*, whether ſtruck with terror, or thinking that their courage and confidence was their Commiſſion, did as they deſired, without any further enquiry; but they begged them to do the buſineſs peace-

[1] Bor Lib. II. *p.* 62. *b.* Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 104. Meur. Gul. Aur. Lib. II. *p.* 15. [2] Real. *p.* 46.

An° Dom. 1566. ably, and without any Tumult, granting them twelve Labourers, who were to have ſeven Styvers a day for their pains, which they were accordingly paid. During the demolition, the doors of the Church were guarded by the Officers of the Court and of the Militia. By reaſon of this eaſineſs of theirs, which was ſuppoſed to ſpring from fear, they could not ſo much as ſave any of the Images which ſeveral perſons had timely hid and houſed, but which they were obliged to deliver up to deſtruction. All this made a mighty noiſe through the whole Country, eſpecially among the Mob, who now reckoned they were at liberty to proceed with their Image-breaking, ſince the Preſident had not only appointed men to aſſiſt them, but had likewiſe paid for the doing it.

[1] At *Delft* it was not ſufficient that the Churches and Convents were purged according to the Magiſtrates order, for the Mob fell upon whatever remained, in ſpight of the Watch, and demoliſhed it entirely. After this ſome of the ſacrilegious Rabble ([2] *Strada* ſays they were women) plundered the *Franciſcan* Convent, and made uſe of the Church to preach in. At *Leyden*, the *Brill*, and other Towns of *Holland*, the Images were likewiſe demoliſhed. At *Dort*, *Gouda*, *Rotterdam*, *Harlem*, and divers other places, as ſome write, the Magiſtrates perceiving they could not weather the ſtorm, thought fit to prevent it by being active in that wherein they would otherwiſe have been forced to be paſſive, and gave orders for the quiet and orderly removal of Images. But Mr. *Peter Hooft* writes, that all Riots were prevented at *Dort*, though not without infinite pains of the Burgomaſter, and others. The like happened at *Gouda*, chiefly by the prudence of the [3] [4] Caſtellan, *Cornelius vander Myle*. [5] At *Horn*, no Churches were violated, nor Images demoliſhed, partly through the provident care of the Magiſtrates, and partly through the diſcretion of *Clement Martſon*, and other Heads of the *Reformed*, who kept the diſorderly Mob within bounds, by their good exhortations.

The Heer *van Brederode*, following the example of the Count of *Kulenburg*, caſt out the Images from the Churches within his Lordſhip.

Churches plundered in Zeland, In the Iſland of *Walcheren* (in *Zeland*) there remained not one Church unplundered, particularly at *Midelburg* they not only broke down the Altars and Images, and plundered the conſecrated places, though long oppoſed by the Magiſtrates and the Militia, but the Common people coming together again in great numbers on the 24th of *Auguſt*, deſired of the Biſhop, and their Civil Governours, *That they would releaſe all ſuch as were impriſoned for Religion, and deliver them up*; *otherwiſe threatning to force the doors of the priſon.* Hereupon to avoid bloodſhed, they were obliged to releaſe one and twenty Priſoners, and to ſuffer the *Reformed* to preach in the Churches.

And at Utrecht, The Rumour of the inſolencies committed in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, and particularly at *Antwerp*, without any oppoſition or ſubſequent puniſhment, having reached as far as *Utrecht*, with this addition (as frequently happens) that a body of eight thouſand armed men ranged about the Country, to do the ſame thing where-ever they came, occaſioned ſo great a terror through the whole Town, and rendered the *Reformed* ſo bold, that upon the 24th of *Auguſt*, in the forenoon, as ſoon as they had done preaching, they demanded two Churches of the Magiſtrates. To this it was anſwered: *That ſuch a thing was not in their power, but they would aſſemble the Council about it.* Yet in the afternoon, as ſoon as Sermon was ended, without the *Tollenſteegh* Gate, ſome of the *New Religion* went directly to the Pariſh Church of St. *Geertrude*, and fell to plundering and breaking the Images. But the Magiſtrates immediately ſent ſeveral of the Town Officers that way, by whom a ſtop was put to their proceedings. The afore-mentioned demand was renewed by the *Reformed* in the Council, who particularly inſiſted on the delivery of the Churches belonging to the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans*; adding, *That their Congregations had reſolved to remove the abomination of Images, though without prejudice to the perſon or goods of any man, or damage to the rich furniture of the Churches.* The Council declined coming to any Reſolution, on pretence of their being too few and weak (as they phraſed it) by reaſon of the abſence of divers of their Members; upon which one of the Deputies of the *Reformed* cried, *Eat Muſtard with your Ham, and then you will be*

[2] Weſenb. *p.* 159. Meur. *p.* 15. Bor. f. 65.
[3] Bor. f. 62. *b.* Lib. IV. *p.* 154. *a. b.* Meurs, ib.
[4] Beverwijk's *Deſcript. of* Dort, *p.* 181.
[5] Vel. Chron. van Horn, *p.* 163. Hooft, *p.* 114. Burgund. Lib. III. *p.* 351. Meur. *p.* 15. Weſenb. *p.* 159.

be ſtrong: Which unmannerly expreſſion afterwards coſt him his life. After conſultation with the men of the long Robe, the Governour of the Fort called *Freedenburg*, ſeveral of the principal Nobility (of whom ſome had ſigned the Confederacy) and the chiefeſt of the Citizens, they returned the *Reformed* the following Anſwer: *That they of the City had no power to grant them the uſe of any Church*; wherefore, on account of the troubles that would certainly follow, if they perſiſted in their reſolution, of taking them by force, as they had given out, they deſired a week's ceſſation, till they could learn the pleaſure of the Ducheſs of *Parma*, and the Prince of *Orange*. An° Dom. 1566.

This Propoſal was qualified with many plauſible Reaſons, to make it go down with the Deputies, and was at their requeſt communicated by ſome Gentlemen of the Town, whom the Council ſent upon that errand to the reſt of the *Reformed*, who were attending in great numbers in St. *Mary*'s Church-yard, well armed and ready to begin the aſſault. They conſented to it at laſt, upon condition that the Clergy ſhould be forbidden in the mean while to rail at the *Reformed*, and the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* not be allowed the exerciſe of their Functions. This agreement was ratified by ſome of the chief of the *New Religion*: but notwithſtanding the Ratification, it was no longer obſerved than till the Council broke up. Then an armed Mob fell upon the *Buur-kirk* in a moſt riotous manner, as alſo upon that of St. *James*, and thoſe of the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans*; the Images were broken, all the rich furniture either prophaned or plundered, and the Miſſal, and other books there, cut or torn in pieces. The Government being too weak to oppoſe them, did nothing elſe but ſecure the Stadthouſe, and the next night cauſed it to be guarded by 160 of the moſt reſolute and faithful among the Townſmen. The following day, which was the 27th, they entered into a new Treaty with the *Reformed*, who were re-aſſembled again at St. *Mary*'s about 500 ſtrong, and well armed, intending to put their further deſigns in execution, and at laſt obtained of them a Ceſſation for four days only, in order to make their demands known to the Regent and the Prince. But whilſt they were thus treating, the people began to fall upon the Images in St. *Nicolas*'s and St. *Geertrude*'s Churches; but ſome of the Magiſtrates being ſeaſonably ſent thither, made ſuch an oppoſition, that they immediately deſiſted. On the 27th, to prevent the further diſorders and violences with which the City was threatened, they found themſelves neceſſitated to make a new agreement with *James Coſynſon* and *Richard Kater*, deputed by the *Reformed* for promoting their requeſt; by virtue of which agreement, the three States of the Province of *Utrecht* and the Court of Juſtice, conſented to ſeveral points tending to the ſecurity of the *Reformed*, but with the proviſo, that they had the approbation of the Regent and Stadtholder. In conſequence of this, St. *James*'s Church was delivered, and more were promiſed, in caſe that ſhould prove too ſmall.

[1] The Peace of *Freeſland* was not ſo ſoon diſturbed; perhaps becauſe thoſe who had there forſaken the Church of *Rome*, conſiſting for the moſt part of *Mennonites*, (a defenceleſs and non-reſiſting people) did not know, or truſt to their own ſtrength; or perhaps becauſe the fire of indignation and revenge did not burn ſo fiercely there for want of fewel: certainly there was no other Province where the affair of Religion was treated with more temper, and where leſs blood was ſpilt on that occaſion. The honour of which was in a great meaſure due to the Count of *Arenberg*, Stadtholder of *Freeſland*, who with a peculiar Dexterity, Prudence, and Gravity, knew how to moderate the *Rigour* of the *Placards*, the *Cruelty* of the *Clergy*, and the *Impatience* of the *Perſecuted*.

Images deſtroyed at Leeuwarden, *&c.*

At *Leeuwarden* nevertheleſs, on the 6th of *September*, all the Images, Altars, and other Ornaments, were caſt out of the three Pariſh-Churches. [2] But it was by the permiſſion of the ruling Burgomaſter, *Tijerk Waller*, and moſt part of the Council, ſome of whom even joined with the armed inhabitants to bring the *Reformed* Miniſters to one of thoſe Churches named *Oldenhove*, and gave them the poſſeſſion of the Pulpit. [3] *Antony Claſſon* preached there in the morning, and *Martin Eliacus* in the afternoon. [4] *Arenberg* informed of this, haſtened thither, but required no more than the reſtoring the Church to its former ſtate, and the diſmiſſing the Miniſters; but finding this not practicable, by reaſon of the numbers of the *Reformed*, he con-

[1] Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 64. *b.* Hooft, Lib. III. *p.* 105, *&c.*
[2] Bor. ibid. Hooft, ibid.
[3] Ub. Emm. Rep. Friſ. *p.* 37.
[4] Hooft, *p.* 106.

An° Dom. 1566. tented himſelf with retiring into the Caſtle, where he fortified himſelf againſt the threats of the tumultuous people, who made their boaſts that they did not want means to become maſters of it. At *Sneck* the breaking of the Images was, by the care of the Magiſtrates and the oppoſition made by many of the Burghers, prevented; but they were obliged to forbear ſaying Maſs, and other Eccleſiaſtical Services: The ſame happened at *Franeker*, where the *Reformed* preached ſeveral times, but without plundering the Churches. *Groningen*, where it was never known that any man ſuffered or died for Religion, was one of the laſt Towns involved in theſe diſturbances: But the example of *Leeuwarden*, and other places, ſtirred at length the zeal of the *Reformed* in that City, who yet proceeded no farther than to poſſeſs themſelves of the *Franciſcans* Church, and to demoliſh the Images and Altars; which they did the more boldly, in that they had not only the permiſſion but the aſſiſtance of the Magiſtrates, who ſent them Labourers to clear the place of rubbiſh and other obſtacles, and fit it up for preaching; which however, in the year 1569, coſt ſome of thoſe poor people their lives. In the Villages of the *Ommelands*, at *Winſum*, *Garſhuiſen*, *Weſteremden*, *Ten Poſt*, *Middleſtum*, and elſewhere, the Peaſants, excited by the Gentry, plundered many Churches, in ſpite of the Government; who were of opinion, that on account of the Liberty of Conſcience always enjoyed in thoſe parts, it was but juſt and reaſonable the Clergy ſhould have been more gently treated. [1] In *Gelderland*, the ſtorm fell upon the Churches of *Arnheim*, *Nimwegen*, *Roermond*, *Venlo*, *Harderwijk*, and other adjacent Towns and Villages. Several Towns in *Over-Yſſel*, ſuffered by the ſame inſolencies, particularly *Kampen* and *Zwol*. [2] But at *Deventer*, where *Gaſpar Koolhaes* preached from the 5th of *September* of this year, to the 6th of *May* of the following, with the knowledge and conſent, and even at the invitation of the Magiſtrates, there was no complaint of Riots and Tumults. There were no Images demoliſhed in that place, nor were the *Papiſts* interrupted in the exerciſe of their Religion, otherwiſe than by the publick preaching, and private teaching from the Word of God, and that too without bitterneſs or reproachful language. By which mild and gentle behaviour it came to paſs, that both Sects lived together as became Fellow-Citizens, in peace and unity, and many forſook the Popiſh Religion. [3] In *Luxemberg*, *Artois*, part of *Hainalt*, *Namure*, and the places adjacent, there was neither preaching nor plundering. How the *Reformation* was introduced into the County of *Limburg*, without any violation of the Churches, ſhall be related in the proper place.

Churches plundered in Gelderland.

During this general Inſurrection, Image-breaking, and Church-plundering, the Ducheſs of *Parma* found herſelf extreamly embarraſſed; and perceiving that Counſel came from *Spain*, *poſt factum*, or always too late; and that the evil continually increaſed, ſhe reſolved, ſince the fermentation at *Antwerp* continued, and that *Bruſſels* was threatened with the like evils, to yield ſomething to time and neceſſity; and the rather, becauſe the Prince of *Orange*, and the Counts of *Egmont*, *Horn*, and *Hoogſtraten*, had declared in the Council: [4] *That the people who were up in oppoſition to the Government, and who amounted to the number of two hundred thouſand, could not be induced to lay down their arms without previous aſſurances that they might meet ſafely and peaceably in thoſe places where they at preſent held their Religious Aſſemblies; which being obtained, they would probably oblige themſelves not to commit any diſorders, nor give offence to others; that nothing leſs would ſatisfy the Nobility, nor was any ſervice otherwiſe to be expected from the Militia, who would never ſuffer themſelves to be employed for the Placards, nor againſt their Brethren the Confederates.* Theſe Arguments prevailed ſo far upon her, that upon the 24th of *Auguſt* ſhe made a Convention or Agreement with the united Nobility, whereby ſhe promiſed in the King's name, [5] *To deliver the Country from the* Inquiſition, *and to iſſue new Placards for ſettling the buſineſs of Religion: but his Majeſty having not yet determined whether he ſhould call together the States-General on that account, ſhe, the Regent, would uſe her utmoſt endeavours to procure his conſent to that end. She likewiſe conſented to grant the Confederates, Letters of Indemnization, in as ample a form and manner as they themſelves deſired, ſo far as related to paſt tranſactions. On the other hand, the Nobility obliged themſelves to do nothing againſt the King, the States, or the Subjects, but to defend them to the utmoſt of their power, to do their beſt towards ſuppreſſing*

An Agreement made with the Confederated Nobility;

[1] Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 62. *b.* Meur. Gul. Aur. Lib. II. *p.* 15. Lib. V. *p.* 260. 216.
[2] *Short Account of* Gaſpar Koolhaes, *in* Dutch.
[4] Hooft, *p.* 103. Grot. Annal. Lib. I. *p.* 13. Strada, [4] N. Burgund. *p.* 321.
[5] Bor. f. 67. *b.* Meur. Lib. II. *p.* 16.

ſuppreſſing all Tumults, preventing the violations of Churches, and delivering the Clergy and other publick perſons from all oppreſſions: promiſing beſides, that they would bona fide *promote an immediate and actual Ceſſation of Arms, from whence ſo many miſchiefs had ariſen, and more were to be expected. As for the buſineſs of preaching, they would endeavour to the utmoſt of their power, to hinder the eſtabliſhment of it in any new places; and where it had been uſed, would take care that none ſhould meet armed, nor commit any diſorders, nor give any ſcandal. And further, that they would ſtand by the King, againſt all his foreign Enemies and domeſtick Rebels, purſuant to their Oaths. Laſtly, That they would make uſe of their whole intereſt with thoſe who at that time were diſcontented either on the account of Religion or otherwiſe, to induce them to ſubmit to whatever ſhould be agreed upon by his Majeſty in concert with the States-General, for promoting Peace and Uniformity of Religion.* An° Dom. 1566.

1 The Letters or Charter of Indemnity were ſigned on the 25th, and at the ſame time the Nobility diſſolved their League or Confederacy, (yet only for ſo long as the ſaid Indemnity ſhould ſubſiſt) and they all ſwore to obſerve the abovementioned Agreement. 2 And this Agreement or Pacification, having been ſince ſo ill obſerved on the *Spaniards* ſide, has by ſome been counted one of the juſtificatory cauſes of taking up arms againſt the King. And even the *Popiſh* Writers themſelves have owned, that it was firſt violated by the Regent. For 3 *Nicolas Burgundius* teſtifies, that when the people of *Bruſſels* hindered their Fellow-Citizens from going to their Meeting at *Vilvoorde*, Count *Lewis* of *Naſſau* boldly aſked, *Whether theſe men had leſs liberty than others?* Letting them know at the ſame time, *that they muſt either keep their Faith, or that others would look upon themſelves as free from all Engagements on their ſide too.* To this it was indeed anſwered, *That they would not break their word, nor would have hindered the preaching at that place, provided the ſame had been practiſed there before.* But the ſame Writer adds, that the Magiſtrates were excited under-hand to convene the Gilds, or Companies, and there to make a Decree, or Order, that none ſhould go out of Town to any Religious Meeting, and that if they preſumed to hold any within the City, they ſhould be puniſhed with the infamous death of hanging.

But not obſerved by the Regent.

In the mean time there was a Placard made againſt the Church-plunderers, which was publiſhed at *Bruſſels* on the 25th of *Auguſt*, containing among other things the following particulars: **That it ſhould not only be lawful for every body to kill them, without being called to account or puniſhed for ſo doing, but alſo that it ſhould be looked upon as a laudable and good action.** At the ſame time was prohibited, **the appearing at any Meeting with Arms, either in or out of the Town.** Immediately after, the Nobility returned home, and the Stadtholders to their ſeveral Governments, or to ſuch other places as the Regent thought fit to ſend them to, for reducing all things into order, for puniſhing Mutineers, for preventing further violences, and for putting in execution the Agreement 4 that had been extorted by force.

A Placard againſt the Plunderers of Churches and Deſtroyers of Images.

5 The Prince of *Orange*, at the urgent deſire of the City of *Antwerp*, cauſed three of the impriſoned Image-breakers to be hanged, and the reſt baniſhed, or otherwiſe puniſhed; the Great Church to be opened again, and the Exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion reſtored. He alſo entered into a Treaty with the Deputies of the *Reformed*, of whom there were eight choſen, to wit, four out of the *Dutch* Congregations, and four out of the *Walloons*. The former were, *Marcus Perez*, *Herman vander Meen*, *Charles* and *Cornelius van Bombergen*. The latter, *Francis Godin*, *John Carlier*, *Nicolas du Viver*, and *Nicolas Selin*. With theſe he made a Convention, on the 2d of *September*, in which it was ſtipulated: *That the* Papiſts *ſhould remain unmoleſted in the enjoyment of what belonged to them; and that the others (without ſeizing upon any conſecrated places) ſhould have Churches of their own in certain quarters of the Town appointed for them, in which they might preach and perform the neceſſary Duties of their Religion, but that they ſhould not be allowed to wear any other arms than a Sword and Dagger. That there might be two Preachers at every place, who were to be Natives of the Country, or at leaſt Denizens of ſome good City, who ſhould alſo be obliged to take the Oaths to the Government, and inſtil Principles of Loyalty into the minds of their hearers. All Preachers, of whatever Religion they were, ſhould abſtain*

The Prince of Orange, *as Governour of* Antwerp, *makes an Agreement with the Proteſtants of that City with reſpect to the publick exerciſe of their Religion.*

[1] Grot. Annal. I. *p.* 23. Bor. f. 68. *a. b.* Burgun. *p.* 337.
[2] Hooft, *p.* 110.
[3] Burgund. Lib. III. *p.* 345, *&c.*
[4] Grot. *p.* 23.
[5] Hooft, *p.* 111. Strada, Lib. V. *p.* 267. Meur. Lib. II. *p.* 18.

An° Dom. 1566.

abſtain from ſatyrical and reproachful expreſſions in their Sermons, and from all arguments tending to the exciting tumults either againſt the Government or againſt their Adverſaries in Religion. The Prince might chooſe ſome perſons from the body of the Magiſtrates, who ſhould be preſent at the elections of Miniſters, Elders and Deacons, and at all Church-Aſſemblies, to take cognizance of what paſt among them, and to render a faithful account to the Prince and the Regent. None ſhould be allowed to do any injury to thoſe of a different perſwaſion, but rather be obliged to ſerve and aſſiſt them. None were to ſing Pſalms in the ſtreets where any number of people was either met or likely to come together. The Prince and the Magiſtrates ſhould take under their protection all the Inhabitants without diſtinction, that behaved in their reſpective ſtations dutifully and peaceably. But all theſe matters were to be obſerved no longer than till the King's pleaſure and that of the States were known, to which every man ſhould be obliged to ſubmit, or elſe there ſhould be allowed him a convenient time to withdraw his Effects and to leave the Country. And laſtly, *None of the* Reformed *that ratified this Convention, ſhould ever be brought into trouble on that account.*

[1] Thoſe of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion had petitioned the Prince and the Magiſtrates ſome days before, for a Toleration of their Religion, and their Petition was tranſmitted to the Ducheſs; but hearing now that the Prince was treating with the *Reformed*, they never left ſolliciting him till he agreed with their Deputies (who were *Giles de Greve*, *Giles vander Banderyen*, *Henry vander Broek* and *Thomas van Geere*) for preventing all diſorders, to grant them the ſame conditions. It was likewiſe declared, that the *Inquiſition* ſhould ceaſe from that time forwards for ever, and the Placards about Religion, till further order; and both Parties were prohibited the moleſting one another on the account of different Opinions in matters of Faith. And whereas the publick tranquility could be no longer maintained without ſtrengthning the hands of the Magiſtrates, there were raiſed and armed from among the Citizens, ſixteen hundred Soldiers at the charge of the City. All this was approved by the Regent, who was however much diſpleaſed at the permiſſion of preaching, and other exerciſes of the *Proteſtant* Religion, within fortified places.

The Regent's diſcontent and the Prince's defence.

[2] To ſatisfy her upon this latter point, the Prince writ a Letter of the following ſubſtance: *That the* Reformed *had never preached in any place without the practice of the other parts of their Religion, ſuch as ſolemnizing the Lord's-Supper, baptizing Children, Marrying and Burying, the one depending on the other: That preaching within the Fortifications tended more to the ſafety of the City, which could be much more eaſily ſurprized and plundered by the Out-meetings of the common people; neither could theſe be ſo eaſily inveigled and miſled within the City as without; it having been found by experience, that inſtead of three or four and twenty thouſand who frequented the Sermons out of Town, there were not above twelve or fourteen thouſand that met together within it; and that theſe, aſſembling themſelves under his and the Magiſtrates eyes, were more modeſt, and refrained more readily from ſcandals and tumults than if they were free and unobſerved in the open fields; as indeed ſince then, they had laid aſide their Arms, Guards, and all kind of violences. And foraſmuch as they were reſolved to exerciſe their own Religion, he would fain know how it could be hindered where their numbers were ſo great, and where not one of the Burghers would take up Arms againſt them. As for the* Anabaptiſts *and* Enthuſiaſts, *if her Highneſs did not think fit to prohibit them in general, and every where, ſhe might command him to do it in particular at* Antwerp, *for the ſake of the publick peace and tranquility; and he thought that this would greatly tend to the ſervice of God, of the King, and of her the Regent.* I do not find, however, that there were any new ſeverities exerciſed at this time againſt the *Anabaptiſts*.

The Reformed *build two Churches at* Antwerp.

Hereupon the *Low-Dutch Reformed* begun to build a new Church on the 25th of *September*, in a place called the *Mollekenſraem*, which was allotted them; and a few days before the firſt Stone of the Round Church was laid for the uſe of the *Walloons*.

Tumults at Mechelen, Tournay, *and* Valenciennes.

[3] The Count of *Hoogſtraten* had about this time the good fortune to ſtifle a Mutiny at *Mechlen* in its very birth; for by ſeaſonably publiſhing an Order on the foot of the *Antwerp* Convention, he put an immediate ſtop to the Church-plundering,

[1] Bor. *p.* 70. *a.* Strada Lib. V. *p.* 268. & Meur. ib.
[2] Welenb *p.* 181. Hooft. *p.* 111. Bor. *p.* 71. Strada *p.* 268.
[3] Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 114. Bor. Lib. IV. *p.* 163. Strada Lib. V. *p.* 269. *a.*

ing, and the exercise of the *Romish* Religion, which had been discontinued for some days, was restored. An° Dom. 1566.

1 At *Tournay* all was in confusion. The people who had taken up Arms to the number of six thousand men, had so distressed the Garrison, that the Heer *van Moulbais*, who commanded in the absence of the Heer *de Montigny*, sent word to the Duchess, that he could not defend the Castle twenty four hours, being unprovided of all necessaries. The Count of *Horn*, who went thither by the Regent's order, to the end that he might not farther provoke the inraged Mob, but rather pacify them by a generous confidence, thrust himself, not without danger of his life, into the midst of them, and would not be lodged in the Castle, but in the City; where, by his unwearied diligence, and with the assistance of the Heers *d' Esquerdes* and *Villers*, as Deputies of the Confederate Nobility, he brought matters to so good a pass, that the Inhabitants laid down their Arms, yeilded up the consecrated Places, and at last agreed to perform Divine Worship in Churches, which were to be built without the Town for that purpose. By his management, things were so wisely ordered, that the Castle was furnished with Men, Arms and other Provisions, even in the sight of the jealous people; and a Convention was made with the *Reformed*, by the approbation of the Magistrate, in case the Regent should confirm the same, as she afterwards did, with the alteration of some small matters only, though the Count was accused of being too favourable to the Inhabitants.

In *Hainalt* and *Valenciennes*, by reason of the absence of the Marquis of *Mons*, the direction of affairs was devolved upon the Heer *de Noirkarmes*: This Gentleman who sided with the Bishop of *Cambray*, and the *Reformed* of the aforesaid City, lived so ill together, that he writ to the Duchess, that no good was to be expected from them otherwise than by force and violent methods. There was indeed a kind of Treaty concluded with them on the 20th of *October*, upon the foot of the Convention that had been settled with the Nobility with respect to Religious matters; 2 but he (*Noirkarmes*) instead of immediately publishing and putting in execution the said Treaty, whereby he was obliged to provide them with preaching places out of Town, did not return till after the end of a month, *viz.* on the 20th of *November*, which was three days after they had published the intended celebration of the Lord's-Supper. On that day, being followed by a strong and unusual body of Horse, he appeared before the gate, halted there a little, and hastily asked to speak with some of the Consistory: They not being aware of his coming, and therefore in some confusion, and having been some time before jealous of his intentions, did not immediately come out to meet him; whereupon, in a great rage, he took their delay for a refusal, and then droped several threatnings, protesting, that they themselves would be the cause of the mischiefs that were like to befal them before ten days were at an end; and then he presently departed. Wherefore the *Reformed*, contrary to the unexecuted Treaty, kept possession of the Churches, and a foreign Preacher in their service, to wit, *Peregrine de la Grange*; their other Minister, *Guido de Bres*, was a native of the Country, but having been banished, was come back without leave. They were next forbidden to celebrate the Lord's Supper within the Town; and the Heer *van Moulbais* forbad those of *Tournay* to go thither, in order to break Bread with them, threatning to burn the houses of such as should presume to contravene his Orders; nay, even to fire the Town it self, if he should judge it necessary. The people of *Valenciennes* nevertheless venturing to receive the Lord's-Supper within the Town, the Regent commanded them, on the 21st of *November*, to admit a Garrison of Soldiers. The Government of this place consisted of three Members, the Magistrates, the Council, and the Citizens, but no Resolution could be taken without the consent of the Common people. The Magistrates and Council were sensible of this difficulty, for the ears of the people were chained to the tongues of their Preachers, who kept them hoodwinked by their intemperate zeal, and talked of nothing but the deliverance of *Jerusalem* and *Bethulia*, as if God owed them the pure mercies and blessings, but not the punishments of the *Jewish* Nation; and as if these had not been oftner plagued and vexed by their enemies. In fine, the Soldiers could not be received, and on the 14th of *December*, the Townsmen were declared Rebels and Enemies. This was done by a Placard or Proclamation, in which the *Reformed* were charged: That

[1] *Apology for the Church of* Horn, *p.* 171. Hooft. *p.* 112.

[2] Hooft. *p.* 118. Bor. *p.* 76. Meur. *p.* 21. Hist. Mart. *p.* 659. Burgund. *p.* 360.

An° Dom. 1566. at their Communion, they bound themselves with an Oath to persecute and damnify the Roman Catholicks; and that their Ministers durst assert in their Sermons, that their Consistories owed no obedience neither to the King nor to the Magistrates of the City; [1] for both these accusations are repeated in their Apology, which they published soon after, and both of them fully confuted.

[2] About the same time, the Count of *Egmont* made a strict inquiry after the Image-breakers through all *Flanders*, in order to bring them to punishment. *John Kasenbroodt*, Heer *van Bakkerseel*, his Chief Steward and Councellor, having surprized and fallen upon a Conventicle of the *Reformed* at *Geersberg*, put twelve of them to the sword, caused two and twenty to be hanged, and about thirty to be whipped; being charged with having plundered Churches.

At *Gant* they were forced, by order of Count *Egmont*, to open the Churches again. The Priests, who till now had been obliged to sculk about in Lay-habits, were restored to their former functions, and the following Agreement was made with the *Reformed*; *viz. That they should not preach within the Walls, but rest contented with such places as should be allotted them. That none should be allowed to preach but the* Calvinists. *That they should pay all obedience to the Magistrates, and oppose the storming of Churches with all their might.* After this, a place was appointed them for the exercise of their Religion, not far from the *Carthusian* Convent, where they afterwards built a Conventicle. The first person that preached in it, was *Nicolas vander Schuure*, the next was *James Carpenter*, and the third, Master *Peter Dathenus*.

An Agreement with the Reformed *at* Gant.

Matters being thus composed at *Gant*, the Count went from thence to *Oudenard*, and from thence to *West-Flanders*, regulating all things to the satisfaction of the Duchess. He likewise caused an Order to be there published, whereby all Foreigners were banished the land. [3] The Assembly of the Confederates at *St. Truyen*, had, at the instances of the Regent, consented, that no foreign Divine should be suffered to preach in the *Netherlands*; her view was by that means to exclude *Franciscus Junius*, who was most obnoxious to her. And it was to have been feared, that if they had not consented to it, the Government would have given out, that they sided with Foreigners, and particularly with the *French*, the inveterate enemies (as they called them) of the King; as if *Junius* had been made use of by foreign Princes in politick matters (which, being mindful of his Office, he had always studiously avoided) and was sent as a Spy and a Firebrand into the *Low-Countries*; and as if their skreening him were alone a conviction of their maintaining such a criminal correspondence. He therefore, being thus odious on account of his Nation and Office, and being likewise unjustly accused of encouraging the demolition of Images, as we have already shown, found himself in great danger. The Heer *van Wakkene*, High-Bailiff of *Gant*, came one evening very privately to the Lodgings of *Junius*, in order to seize upon him, as he had done, if the good man had not providentially left them about an hour before, to go to *Brussels*. Another time, the said Bailiff having contrived to apprehend him out of the Assembly, published an Order, that none should presume to go by water that day to the *Carthusians* (this was the place lying near the Town, where the *Reformed* then preached) pretending a plausible reason for the said Order; *viz.* that the people might not privately take any Arms with them. But this Order was published at an unusual hour, whilst *Junius* and others were at dinner with *Peter de Rijk*, a Lawyer of the Town. After which, as they were going to take Boat, some notice was given them of the said Prohibition; but *de Rijk* spake against it, and maintained, that this was not the proper time to publish any such Order. Upon the credit of what he asserted, the Minister was received into the Boat, and proceeded on his way to the *Carthusians*. In the mean time the Bailiff, with a good number of *Halbardeers*, waited for them on the Bridge near the Gate by which they were to pass, and spying them at a distance, ran to meet them on the shore. All the people in the Boat being amazed and dejected, were in great pain for *Junius*, and cast about what they had to do; but he relying upon God, bad them be of good cheer, only to follow his directions, and, in short, not to have the least concern for him any more than if he was not present. As they came nearer, the High-Bailiff called to them, and asked if they had not heard of the Prohibition? and why they presumed to go forward with the Boat? commanding them immediately to leave it. Upon which, all of them,

A Continuation of the troubles of Junius.

[1] Bor. Lib. III. *p.* 97.
[2] Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 112. Reid. *p.* 4. Burgund. Lib. III. *p.* 340.
[3] N. Burgund. *p.* 343. Vita Francis. Junius, *p.* 17.

them, being about five ond twenty ſtrong, came out, and *Junius* in his turn, being in the midſt of them; when paſſing through the Halbardeers, he ſaluted the Captain, who ſitting on horſeback returned the compliment very civilly, keeping a ſharp eye in the mean while on the Boat to obſerve whether there might not ſtill be ſome body concealed in it. Thus he eſcaped that ſnare. *Junius* (from whoſe relation this is taken) concludes with theſe words: *Truſt then to the Providence of the Lord, thou that ſerveſt the Lord, and acquieſce in the certain Truth and ſure Faith; for the Lord who watches over* Iſrael *is faithful.* He was afterwards called elſewhere, but danger followed cloſe at his heels. An° Dom. 1566.

There came from *Bruges* to *Gant*, *John Munt*, a Miniſter, who a little before had been dragged out of the Pulpit by ſome *Spaniards*, inhabitants of *Bruges*, and very ill uſed by them: This man was preſent at a certain Aſſembly at *Gant* in the Suburbs, at that time, when it pleaſed God by the advice, labour and ſervice of *Junius*, in ſome meaſure to heal the deep wound which the imprudence of ſome had given to the Church of the aforeſaid City. This *Munt* having repreſented the difficult ſtate of the *Reformed* at *Bruges*, begged that ſome body might be joined to him to comfort and aſſiſt the *French* Church of that place. The people of *Gant*, on account of the ſcarcity of Miniſters, excuſed themſelves from ſending any of theirs, and *Junius* preſt that he might be ſent back to his own Flock at *Antwerp*; *Munt*, on the contrary, and thoſe of *Gant* inſiſted, that he ſhould go to *Bruges*, if it were but for a few days, but he ſtill declined it; whereupon, *Munt*, armed with I know not what authority, treated him ſo roughly, that *Junius* amazed at his boldneſs, ſubmitted, without any more ado, to what they required. Thus he viſited the Church at *Bruges*, where there were two Sermons preached near the Town, the one in the *French* by *Junius*, the other in the *Flemiſh* language by *Munt*. The Citizens, contrary to the opinion of *Junius*, thought they might eaſily return into the Town in the evening; but as they were entering, the Magiſtrates ſtood at the Gate, and having ſuffered the people to come in, ſtopped the other Miniſter, whom *Junius* put forwards on purpoſe, and required him to be gone. *Junius* obſerving this at a diſtance (for *Munt* was almoſt the head taller than the reſt of the company) took his leave of ſome *Engliſh* that were next him, and came no further. Thoſe of his company gave him a Guide to ſhow him the way, and to provide him a Lodging near the City, and the rather, becauſe the next day was *Sunday*, and they were to meet again at the ſame place. But whatever endeavours they uſed to find out a Lodging, they were obliged to wander to and fro half the night by Moonſhine, every one being fearful of harbouring him. The reſt of the night was ſpent in a little Cottage, into which they could not be admitted but with much intreaty. The next day, after performing Divine Service near the Town, both Miniſters were conducted, by the joint conſent of the Congregation of *Bruges*, to the neighbouring Town of *Damme*, where they reſted two days and were honourably entertained. In the mean time, the Count of *Egmont* was expected at *Bruges* to re-eſtabliſh Order in matters of Religion. The day before his arrival, there was a Placard or Proclamation publiſhed by his command againſt *Junius*, in which the Sum of eight hundred Gilders was promiſed as a reward to any that could take him alive; and of four hundred if he were delivered dead. The arrival of *Egmont* much alarmed the *Reformed* of that place, as not knowing what to do, nor how they ſhould treat with him, there being no body near them whoſe advice or ſervice they could uſe to their advantage, as they themſelves believed. Having therefore conſulted with the *Ganteners* about it, who had been aſſiſted before by *Junius* in the like caſe, it was agreed by all of them, that if it were poſſible, he ſhould come to them into the Town. Accordingly a meſſage was ſent to him. Whilſt theſe things paſt at *Bruges*, the Magiſtrates of *Damme* cited *Munt* and *Junius* before them to the Stadthouſe. The former was aſked, who, and from whence he was? and underſtanding that he was a *Brabander*, they diſmiſſed him; but *Junius* was much more ſtrictly interrogated, and he anſwered all the queſtions that were put to him according to the truth and the beſt of his judgment. Then the Magiſtrates, after a long conſultation, ſpake to him very kindly, to the following purpoſe: *We do not deſire you ſhould come into any trouble by our means; and on the other hand, we truſt that you do not wiſh any harm to us or our Town; but it cannot be concealed, that a ſevere Placard was publiſhed yeſterday in the King's name againſt you at* Bruges, *our Metropolis. We therefore, as people well inclined towards you, and the publick*

An° Dom. 1566. *good, adviſe you to depart this very day, for we ſhall be obliged to publiſh the ſaid Placard here to morrow. And if the Council of* Bruges *ſhould blame us for our ſlowneſs, we will excuſe ourſelves by ſaying, that their Orders came late to us, and therefore could not be ſooner publiſhed.* Upon which *Junius* promiſed them to depart, and returned them thanks for their civility. But he was under a great conſternation, neither underſtanding the Language of that Country, nor knowing a ſtep of the way, nor having any Guide; he reſolved therefore to ſpend the night in the adjacent Moraſs, where he had been the day before. Whilſt he was conſidering which way to turn himſelf, there came, unexpectedly, a meſſage from *Bruges*, to intreat him, in the name of the whole Church, to come thither and to acquaint him with the reaſons of their requeſt. He on the contrary was diſpoſed to go a different way, and not to hazard himſelf at *Bruges*. But the Meſſenger urging him with great importunity, and begging him for the love of God, whom he affirmed to be the Author of this Call, he at laſt anſwered; *That he was ſufficiently ſenſible of that danger, which the other ſo ſtifly denied; but if there were any means of bringing him ſecretly and diſguiſed into the City, he would much rather go thither than that the common good ſhould ſuffer by his abſence.* The Meſſenger, overjoyed at his conſent, moved every ſtone to introduce him privately; at laſt he made an agreement with a Potter, that *Junius* ſhould leave his own cloaths with him, and put on the Potter's. Thus diſguiſed, he made the beſt of his way with his Guide to *Bruges*. The night coming upon them, and being admitted into the Town by the Wicket, he paſſed through all the Watches undiſcovered. It had pleaſed God very providentially to join to the Watch a Burgher of *Bruges*, who, not intending any ſuch thing, paved the way for him without examination or oppoſition; for he taking the Miniſter for one of his Neighbours or Acquaintance, ſpoke familiarly to him, to his great ſurprize; and thus being himſelf deceived, he undeſignedly deceived the Watch, to the great advantage of the Church. After this manner *Junius* came unexpectedly to his friends, who were in great pain for him. Having paſt ſome days at *Bruges*, he took his leave and returned to *Antwerp*, where he was ſurprized to find himſelf excluded from ſerving that Church any longer, by virtue of the Agreement made with the *Reformed* the 2d of *September*. Now they could perceive the Liberty of Conſcience which they had accepted, on the late Conditions, begun in many Cities to decreaſe, and in ſome to be limited as to place and time. Thoſe who preſumed to tranſgreſs the bounds that had been ſet them, were rigorouſly puniſhed. [1] *Andrew Bartelot* of *Hontſchoten*, who formerly had the courage to attack Prieſts and Fryers in the ſtreet, and reprove their Lives and Doctrines (wiſhing, when told of the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, that he might ſuffer for *Chriſt*'s ſake, and become a Witneſs to the Truth) preached on the 27th of *October* near *Aloſt*, contrary to the Orders of the Government, at a place where the *Reformed* were not allowed the exerciſe of their Religion; whereupon the Meeting was diſturbed, the Miniſter apprehended, and condemned to be hanged. As he was led to execution on the 2d of *November*, he ſung a Hymn to God, and prayed for his enemies upon the Ladder.

At *Axel* they had much trouble with the Image-breakers, of whom ſome were puniſhed. [2] To releaſe others that were impriſoned, a certain Attorney ventured on a deſperate piece of work. Having ſtirred up about a thouſand of the common people to aſſiſt him, he ſcaled the Walls; but the noiſe they made was ſo great, and the order they obſerved ſo little, that the Burghers, aware of them, betook themſelves to their Arms, and beat them off, twenty remaining dead on the ſpot, and two being taken Priſoners,. This was open Rebellion.

The Ducheſs, on the other hand, did as little obſerve ſome of thoſe Agreements which had in a more orderly way been ſtipulated with the *Reformed*. [3] Thus ſhe commanded, that what had been conſented to at *Utrecht* and *Amſterdam* ſhould be annulled, as inconſiſtent with the Convention made with the Nobility. Accordingly, the Agreement of the 27th of *Auguſt* was repealed by toll of Bell at *Utrecht*, and the *Reformed* required to deliver up St. *James*'s Church, and to preach no longer in the Town. This was complied with, and five hundred Soldiers were inrolled at the charge of the ſaid City and Clergy.

[1] Hiſt. des Mart. *p.* 659. *b.* Meur. Gul. Aur. Lib. II. *p.* 19.

[2] N. Burgund. Lib. III. *p.* 371.

[3] Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 72. Hooft. Lib. II. *p.* 112.

At

At *Amſterdam* things were left in *ſtatu quo*, the Magiſtrates ſcrupling to open a new door to Inſurrections. And the *Reformed* in the mean time provided themſelves with Miniſters, and brought their Church into better order. An° Dom. 1566.

In the middle of *Auguſt*, *Reinier Kant* and *Laurence Real*, by the directions of their Church, took a journey to a Village called *St. Martin*, near the *Sijp*, in *North Holland*, in order to call the Paſtor of the ſaid Village, *Nicolas Scheltius*, to be their Miniſter, and to remove him to *Amſterdam*. They found the man ſtill in the habit of a *Popiſh* Eccleſiaſtick, with his Wife, by whom he had ſix children, in the houſe belonging to the Pariſh Prieſt. They acquainted him with their Commiſſion, and his Call; repreſenting to him, *That* John Arents *their Preacher had informed them, that he having acquired a full knowledge of the Truth, had frequently adviſed with him about forſaking* Popery, *but that the great burthen of a Wife and Children ſtood in his way, and kept him back: But that now God had furniſhed him with an opportunity of providing for his family by means of the* Reformed *Church at* Amſterdam; *and that the time was alſo come of doing yet greater ſervice to Religion; that he ought not to hide that Light which was kindled in him, but, in this time of Liberty, to impart it to the publick; otherwiſe he muſt give an account of his neglect.* To this, with expreſſions of great ſorrow and concern for his circumſtances, he gave the following reply: *Since ſuch an occaſion is offered me, and that the Lord ſeems as if he intended to draw me out of the abomination of* Popery, *of which I am alſo ſenſible, I deſign to take a journey to* Embden, *and to conſult with* Cornelius Koltuin *my old acquaintance.* He likewiſe promiſed, that in caſe he took upon him the Office of a Miniſter, he would not engage himſelf in the ſervice of any other Church but that of *Amſterdam*. And he kept his word, embraced the Call, and ſhortly after preached his firſt Sermon upon that Text of St. *Matthew*, about the Grain of Muſtard-Seed, near St. *Antony*'s Gate, in the Leper's Church, where the *Reformed* preached in bad weather, according to the Agreement of the 26th of *Auguſt*; for which purpoſe it had been cleared of Images, *&c.* Together with *Nicolas Scheltius*, the *Reformed* of *Amſterdam* were ſerved by *Peter Gabriel* and *John Arents*, three Miniſters that were very dear to the people: *For they did not aim at any ſcandalous gain, lived very temperately, were hoſpitable, admitted every body that came to aſk their advice or aſſiſtance, did not ſeek the Tables of the rich, but viſited the rich and poor indifferently, deſpiſed all dainties, contenting themſelves during the Perſecution with feeding moſtly upon Whey and Milk with the ſervants; as for their Habit, it was mean but decent.* *Scheltius*, born at *Warmenhuiſen* in *North-Holland*, was well verſed in the *Hebrew* tongue, a perfect Maſter of the *Greek*, and ſpoke the *Latin* in its purity. He had thoroughly ſtudied the Fathers, preached, as the Monks themſelves owned, with great Learning, and taught with no leſs Charity, confuted his adverſaries with much Temper, and led a life of Virtue and Piety. *Peter Gabriel* was tolerably ſkilled in the *Latin* and *Greek* tongues: He had learned almoſt all St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles by heart, read moſt of the Writers of his age, and conſequently was expert in diſputing and convincing. *John Arents* knew little more than his Mother tongue, but on the contrary was endowed with good Senſe and a ſound Judgment; by this means he taught with great method and regularity, being aſſiſted by a wonderful knowledge of the Holy Scripture. His Zeal rendered him bold and free; by his Eloquence he was able to move the hearts of his hearers; he argued very acutely and with great ſtrength of Mind, could ſilence his Antagoniſts of all ſorts, whether they were *Papiſts*, *Arians*, *Anabaptiſts*, or *Enthuſiaſts*. Nevertheleſs, he was moderate in ſuch religious differences as were not fundamental or neceſſary, endeavouring to compoſe them by gentleneſs and yielding. Such Preachers as theſe could not but increaſe the number of their Hearers, and conſequently the number of the Poor too: wherefore it was thought fit about this time, or a little earlier, to chuſe Deacons, according to the pattern of the firſt Apoſtolical Church, in order to collect Alms at the time of their Meetings. This was then done in wooden diſhes. [1] They choſe alſo ſome ancient and virtuous Matrons for Deaconeſſes. Many were induced to bring their ſuperfluous Jewels and Cloaths to the Deacons, or to turn them into money, and depoſit it in their hands. And theſe Deacons behaved themſelves very faithfully in the diſtribution of the publick Charities; *giving to all that were in want*, ſay the

Three Miniſters ſettled at Amſterdam.

Deacons and Deaconeſſes choſen.

[1] *See* G. J. Voſſ. Comment. in Epiſt. Plin. de Chriſtian. *p.* 61, *&c.*

An°Dom. 1566. Memoirs of *Laurence Real, without distinction of persons, whatever Religion they were of.* Whilst these methods were pursued for the edification of the people, they could not however restrain nor bridle the Mob so effectually, as entirely to prevent their committing several extravagancies; indeed, few days passed that did not administer too many occasions of scandal; among others, there happened one which grew at last into a Tumult, and this is the account we have of it: "On the the 22d of "*September*, as the *Reformed* were carrying the Corpse of one of their people, named "*Simon Muts*, to the grave in the New Church, attended with such a certain "number of friends and relations as was allowed by the Magistrates, there were "twenty Watchmen sent thither by the Burgomasters, with order to admit none "within the Church but the dead body. The train of Mourners being come to "the Church door, expected that the Sexton would have opened it, as had been the "custom ever since the 26th of the past month; so that demanding entrance, and "the others, according to their directions, refusing it, the door was kept shut. Then "they deputed two of their number to the Burgomasters, entreating them to suffer "only the Kindred of the deceased to enter the Church; but this too being refused, "they were forced to entreat the Sexton to receive the Corpse alone. Upon which "the outer door being opened, the Mob (who were much increased by this long "waiting and sending of messages to and fro) endeavoured to throng in together with "the Corpse; the Watch on the contrary strove to shut the door, and one of their "company firing his Piece, wounded a certain man in his arm. The Mob hearing "the report of the Piece, rushed in with so much violence, that the Watch losing "courage, threw down their arms, and fled to the Stadthouse, whither their arms "were carried after them without further damage. Then they proceeded to bury the "Dead, and no other disorders were committed, the Mob being perswaded by some "of the Burghers to leave the Church, which was presently shut. But matters did not "end so; the people, once put in motion, went on in their way, steering their "course towards the Convent of the *Franciscans*, crying out to one another, that "there was brave work for them; for fifty men, provided with arms, having been "lodged in the said Convent about three weeks before, in order to protect the Monks, "did not lie so quiet, but that they were heard of; for now and then a Musket was "discharged. This had alarmed the people, who fancied that a great number of "men and arms must needs be concealed in that place. When they came before the "Convent, they could do nothing at first, but the multitude continually increased. "Some of the Chief of the *Reformed*, *viz.* Master *Martin Koster*, *Clement* and "*Francis Volkertson Koornhart*, *Egbert Roelofson*, *Gisbert Boom*, and *Laurence Real*, "walking accidentally about the same time on the *Dam*, were sent for by the Bur-"gomasters then sitting. All of them went, except *Real*; they were entreated to "go and pacify the Mob, and were allowed to promise them on behalf of the Burgo-"masters, that the Monks should leave their Convent that very evening. *Peter Kaers* "who commanded the Night-Watch, was sent along with them, and ordered to give "notice to the Watch in the house of *William du Guardijn*, next to the said Convent, "that as soon as they found that the Mob broke in, they should leave their arms "and make the best of their way over the wall. The Captain of the Watch ful-"filled his Commission; and the aforesaid Burghers, and even *Real* himself, who was "perswaded to go with them, thrust themselves into the mad crowd, and entreated "them, bareheaded, that they would be pleased to depart, promising according to "what they had in commission; but the more they begged and prayed, the less they "were heard. *Laurence Real* endeavouring to hinder the breaking the Gate of the "Convent, had like to have been thrust through his back with a dagger, if some "body had not parryed the thrust. Upon this he went his way home with *Martin* "*Koster*. The rest of the Burghers prevailed so far with the Mob, as to put a stop "to further proceedings till the Magistrates could come and remove the suspicion "of some matters that might be doing in the Convent. This was signified to the "Lords, who immediately dispatched Burgomaster *Cornelius Brouwer* with two or "three of the Senate thither; but before they could arrive, the Convent was broken "open. The Burghers protected the Monks, but their Images and other Ornaments "were demolished by the Mob, and the Glass-windows dashed to pieces. Some of "the people ran into their Cells and tore their books. *Egbert Roelofson* and *Peter* "*Janson Kies* fearing lest they should get by force into the Library, perswaded the

A Tumult at Amsterdam.

"Monks

" Monks to open freely, and then they took moſt of the beſt books, and threw them Anº Domi.
" out of window into a yard near the *Sea-dyke*, by which means they were ſaved. 1566.
" *Henry Simonſon* cauſed their proviſions to be carried to the Hoſpital, and ſo pre-
" ſerved them from the Plunderers. The next day, when *Emma Kaerden*, an ancient
" inhabitant and widow of *Peter Dirkſon*, was to be buried in the New Church,
" the Mob got together again in great numbers: but being quietly admitted with the
" Corpſe, they went away as ſoon as the Body was interred, and marched to the
" Convent of the *Carthuſians* without the *Harlem* Gate, where they broke ſome
" Glaſs-windows and Images in the Chappel, and deſtroyed the Books, and many
" of them ſtaid the whole night, eating and drinking what they found. The next day
" ſome of the Trained-Bands were ſent thither to ſee what was doing, and to pre-
" vail with the people, if they could, to go home; and they might have done it
" with eaſe and order, for the Mob began to diſperſe upon their approach, had not
" the Scout, *Peter Peterſon*, through his indiſcreet zeal, followed at their heels with
" ſome of his Officers to the Convent, where he ſeized upon ſome of the Rioters,
" and tying them together, brought them into the City. But in the mean while the
" Mob gathered about the *Harlem* Gate, which was kept ſhut; and they hearing
" that four of their Fellows were taken, ran immediately to their arms, crying,
" *They would never endure that any one ſhould loſe his life for Image-breaking*. Here-
" upon the whole City was in an alarm, and the Council being met, they were ſo mov-
" ed at what the *Scout* had done, that they entreated *William Martſon Kalf*, Bailiff of
" *Amſterdam*, *James Corneliſon*, one of the Aldermen, and *Clement Koornhert*, a Cap-
" tain with ten or twelve of the Militia, to repair forthwith to the *Harlem* Gate, and
" to require the *Scout* to releaſe the Priſoners. But *Kalf* and *Koornhert* ſcrupled to
" execute this Commiſſion, which was only given them by word of mouth; ſo
" that a promiſe was made them in the name of the whole Aſſembly, that as ſoon
" as they ſhould have delivered theſe Orders, they ſhould receive a Warrant in wri-
" ting, but that the neceſſity of affairs would not then admit of delay. Upon this
" aſſurance, they made all the haſte they could to the ſaid Gate, and meeting the
" *Scout* in the *Engliſh-ſteeg*, or lane, cauſed him to diſcharge the Priſoners, in order
" to pacify the people, who gathered from all parts, and came armed to releaſe their
" friends. However, they were ſo enraged againſt the *Scout*, that he was forced to
" fly and hide himſelf in a Baker's houſe behind the Oven; his Officers went their way
" without injury or moleſtation. [z] There were particular reaſons why the people fell
" thus upon the *Grey Fryers* and the *Carthuſians*, ſparing at the ſame time all the
" other Religious houſes, to the number of eighteen, within the City: the buſineſs
" of perſecuting the Proteſtants had been concerted in the Convent of the *Grey Fryers*,
" or *Franciſcans*, as in a ſecond Stadthouſe; here they uſed to take cognizance of all
" matters of Hereſy, and after the execution of the Sentence, to celebrate their bloody
" Banquets with the temporal Judges; nay, they had no ſmall influence on the
" choice of the Council of XXXVI, by which means no concealed *Lutheran* could
" ſlip into the number of the Magiſtrates. The *Carthuſians* were obnoxious to them
" on account of their revelling and rioting ſo frequently with ſome of the moſt zea-
" lous and violent *Papiſts* among the Magiſtrates, who in their cups uſed to drop
" terrible threats againſt the Proteſtants."

The minds of the people being a little quieted by the releaſe of the Priſoners, there ſtill remained among the Magiſtrates ſuch a dread of being treated by the Mob as they had formerly treated many others on account of Religion, that after conſulting with two Deputies, ſent from the Court to aſſiſt them in theſe difficult times, as likewiſe with the Council of XXXVI, and with all the Captains of the Burghers, they of their own motion and free will, and even without being deſired by the *Reformed*, made an Order and Decree, whereby many privileges were conceded to them. This they deſired the Chief of thoſe who were devoted to the New Religion to ſign, to the end (for this ſeemed to be their view) that it might carry the face of a Treaty, and appear, as it were, to be extorted from them by the laſt Tumults: and thus they thought they ſhould be better able to juſtify it to the Regent, than if it ſhould appear to have been done of their own heads, and out of vain fear. So was it underſtood by ſome of the Citizens, who refuſed to ſubſcribe it, ſaying, that they

[z] Hooft, Lib. III *p.* 113. & Lib. XIII *p.* 571. Real, f. 56. *b.* 57. *a.*

An° Dom. 1566. they were no enemies to the Magiſtrates, nor would engage or enter into any Treaty or Agreement with them as ſuch. To induce them to it, the Burgomaſters made uſe of *Martin Koſter*, a Doctor of Phyſick, who by his Learning, Eloquence and Authority wrought ſo far upon them, that they conſented, on condition the following clauſe ſhould be inſerted or added at the end of the Agreement: *Provided that all thoſe who have ſigned this Inſtrument, ſhall never hereafter be called to account or moleſted for the ſame.* As for the reſt of the Articles, they differed little from thoſe of *Antwerp*. For inſtance: *Thoſe of the Reformed Religion might not preach in any Church or Conſecrated place within the City, nor perform any other kind of Divine Service, ſave only in the Chappel of the* Franciſcans, *which with the Church-yard that belonged to it, they might uſe; and which ſhould to that end be ſeparated from the Convent, though without ſuffering the Convent to be inhabited by the Monks. The ſaid Chappel, with all that belonged to it, ſhould be kept in good repair by them that uſed it; and if they ſhould break or alter any thing, they ſhould be obliged, in caſe his Majeſty, by the advice of the States-General, no longer tolerated their Religion, to reſtore all things in the former ſtate at their proper charge. They might bury their Dead after their own manner, that is to ſay, with ſinging* Low-Dutch *Hymns or Pſalms: but if any of the* Reformed *had a mind to be interred in the Pariſh Churches or Convents, it ſhould be done according to the ancient cuſtom of the* Roman Catholicks, *and the Relations or Friends of the deceaſed be at liberty to depart as ſoon as the Corpſe was committed to the earth, without performing or aſſiſting at any of the publick Ceremonies.*

The Chappel of the Franciſcans *at* Amſterdam *is granted to the* Reformed.

To finiſh this Agreement, all the Burgomaſters, the Council of XXXVI, the two Counſellors of the Court, and the old and new Captains of the Militia, with ſome of the principal Citizens, met together in the Stadthouſe on the laſt day of *September*; as did on the part of the *Reformed*, two of their Miniſters, *John Arents* and *Peter Gabriel*, (as for *Scheltius*, the third, it ſeems he had not yet ſettled in that City, though *Real* makes mention of his preaching his firſt Sermon there) together with ſixteen other Burghers. The *Reformed* met in the *Painted Chamber*, as it was called, where was repreſented the Inſurrection of the *Anabaptiſts*, together with the terrible puniſhments that attended it, in the year 1535, whether it was accidental, or whether they were carried thither deſignedly, in order to their being the more affected with ſuch a ſpectacle. *Egbert Meinertſon*, one of the City Captains, who came ſomewhat later than the reſt, and found none of them there, ſtaid till one of the Burgomaſters, *Cornelius Brouwer*, came out with the reſt of the Lords, to get the Agreement ſigned. They aſked him to ſubſcribe it as the reſt had done, and and ſaid it was only for the ſake of Peace and Tranquility; and indeed the concluſion of that Treaty ſeemed to obviate all the danger that might otherwiſe be comprized in it: On this account he was perſwaded to ſubſcribe. 'We have thought it proper to recite all theſe circumſtances from the Memoirs of *Laurence Real* and the Heer *Hooft*, becauſe of the misfortunes in which this Gentleman was afterwards involved, on account of his ſigning. The abovementioned Treaty was ſubſcribed by order of the Magiſtrates, in the following manner. Firſt, by the two Secretaries, *Francis van Delft* and *Richard Wouterſon*; and then by all the reſt in the enſuing order:

Peter Gabriel, Miniſter of the Church of *Chriſt* at *Amſterdam*.
John Arents, Miniſter of the *Reformed* Church in *Amſterdam*.
Henry Franſſon.
Cornelius van Teijlingen.
Mark Janſon, Schoolmaſter.
Philip du Gardijn.
Francis de Wael.
Mens Peeterſon.
Cornelius Boom.
Clement Coonhert.
Henry van Marken.
Reinier Kant.
Laurence Jacobſon.
John Meurling.
Guillaume du Gardijn.
William Walikſon.
Jacob Janſon Koſter.
Egbert Meinertſon.
Cornelius Janſon.

There

[a] Real, f. 69. *a*. Hooft, Lib. V. *p*. 182.

There were Duplicates made of this Treaty, the one for the uſe of the Magiſtrates, the other for the *Reformed*. The Miniſters ſwore in the hands of the aforeſaid Burgomaſters, that ſo long as they reſided in the City, they would bear true Faith and Allegiance in all Civil matters to the Governours of it, and would exhort the people to the obſervation of the Agreement. On the other ſide, the Burgomaſters received them by the ceremony of ſhaking hands, into the protection and ſecurity of the City: A wonderful change ſince the 8th of *July* laſt, when the reward of ſix hundred Gilders was ſet on their heads by toll of the bell. The *Reformed*, however, according to cuſtom, frequented their Meetings without the Town, till upon a certain *Sunday*, when a great multitude came to the *Franciſcan* Church, finding the place entirely inconvenient, they went out again; hereupon the Burgomaſters apprehending new tumults, intreated *Reinier Simonſon van Nek* to conduct the Miniſter, *John Arents*, to the Pulpit of the Church that had been promiſed them: This happened the ſame afternoon, in the month of *October*. Then the *Reformed* cauſed the ſaid Church to be cleared of all the broken Images and Altars, and furniſhed it with Seats. They appointed *Adrian Leenaerts*, a Carpenter, who had fitted up the Church, to be their Sexton or Grave-digger. They converted the Monks Sacriſty into a Room for the Miniſter and other Church-Officers to meet in. They had indeed petitioned the Burgomaſters, by *Adrian Paeu* and *Reinier van Nek*, that they might have leave to appropriate it to thoſe uſes, but were refuſed; upon which it was h hinted, that if they had occaſion for it, they would take it without leave. h They choſe Elders at the ſame time.

An° Dom. 1566.

The Miniſters take an Oath of Fidelity to the Government, and are by them taken into protection.

After this, the *Reformed* applied to the Magiſtrates, to deſire them to aſſiſt in obtaining of the Prince of *Orange*, his approbation and conſent to the late Treaty; but this their deſire, which had been communicated on the 23d of *October* by *Cornelius Boom*, *Clement Koornhert*, *Reinier van Nek* and *Reinier Kant*, to the Burgomaſters, and reported to the Council the next day, was rejected.

The *Eaſterlings* of the *Lutheran* Perſwaſion, who reſided at *Amſterdam* for the ſake of Trade, being jealous of the great progreſs of the *Calviniſts* (for theſe began now to talk of celebrating the Lord's Supper in the Church of the *Franciſcans*) in order to prevent it, reported about the City, *That they, the* Calviniſts, *were Heterodox in the point of that Sacrament, their opinions being oppoſite to the Confeſſion of* Auſburg, *which had been embraced in* Germany *by ſo many Princes*; adding, *that if the* Calviniſtical *errors ſhould come to be generally received, it would be very prejudicial to the* Proteſtant *intereſt*; *whereas if the aforeſaid* Confeſſion *were maintained, they might rely on the aſſiſtance of thoſe Princes.* To feed this fire, the Magiſtrates gave out by the mouth of *Henry Corneliſon*, formerly one of the *Schepens*, that there would be no peace in the Country, if ſome more favour were not allowed to thoſe of the *Lutheran* Religion. This rumour ſo encouraged the *Eaſterlings* and thoſe of their Party, that on the 25th of *October*, they preſented a Petition to the Burgomaſters, praying, That they might have the uſe of St. *Olave*'s Chappel for the exerciſe of their Religion, and for preaching the pure word of God. This being come to the knowledge of the *Reformed*, was approved by them, and *John Arents* employed to break the blow by gentle and yielding methods, as he did in the following manner: Aſcending the Pulpit one *Sunday* morning in the *Franciſcan* Church, he read to the people the tenth and thirteenth Articles of the Confeſſion of *Auſburg*, relating to the *Lord's Supper*, and the *Uſe* of the *Sacraments*, adviſing them not to ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by any falſe ſtories or calumnies, much leſs to believe that any ſtrange or ill opinions were entertained and propagated by them their Preachers; moſt ſolemnly aſſuring them, that they never taught any thing contrary to the aforeſaid Articles. Thus *Real* tells the ſtory, without expreſſing his own mind any further in the matter. Whether it were that *John Arents* declared, that what was there ſaid concerning the *Lord's Supper* was agreeable to the meaning of Scripture, only as he underſtood it, to wit, *That the Sign was put for the thing ſignified*; or whether taking the words according to the ſenſe of the *Lutherans*, and retaining his own opinion, he was diſpoſed to tolerate them in theirs, as not thinking the diſagreement to be of ſuch importance as to occaſion ſo great offence, ſince people might declare their opinions, without oppoſing, much leſs condemning, thoſe of others. But be this as it will, the *Reformed* of *Antwerp* looked upon Compliance and *Toleration* to be

Differences between the Lutherans *and* Calviniſts *at* Amſterdam.

An° Dom. 1566.

be *intolerable*, the and reupon immediately ſent their Miniſter *Jaſper vander Heiden*, with two Elders, to *Amſterdam*. Theſe Eccleſiaſtical Deputies having opened their Commiſſion in the preſence of three *Amſterdam* Miniſters, and the Elders, and other conſiderable perſons, who were favourers of the *Reformed* Religion, undertook, in a long diſcourſe, very ſharply to reprove thoſe of *Amſterdam* by the mouth of *vander Heiden*, for the Declaration they had made out of complaiſance to the *Lutherans*, who at the end of his Speech deſired them to recant the ſaid Declaration. The others returned a civil anſwer to the Brethren of *Antwerp*, firſt ſetting before their eyes the circumſtances and neceſſity of the time, and next declaring in many words, that they had acted honeſtly and ſincerely in that matter, reading to them the Explanation they had made, and maintaining it to be conſiſtent with the word of God, eſpecially in ſo dangerous a ſituation of times and things: But all this would not ſatisfy thoſe that were ſent to reprove them. The next day the matter was reſumed, and *vander Heiden* ſtood firm to the demand of a Recantation, urging his opinion with great vehemence. The *Amſterdamers*, on the contrary, inſiſted on their innocence: Whereupon he threatened them with Excommunication, uſing very angry expreſſions, which he often repeated. At laſt, for they could come to no agreement, it was reſolved, that thoſe of *Amſterdam* ſhould draw up their Apology or Defence in writing, ſeal it up, and tranſmit it by the aforementioned Deputies to the Church of *Antwerp*, and ſo the matter ended; for ſoon after, the Duke of *Alva* fell upon them both with a *Spaniſh Excommunication*, which gave them ſo much employment, that the luſt of tormenting and teaſing their Brethren was moſt effectually extinguiſhed.

After the departure of the *Antwerpeners*, all things were immediately diſpoſed for the celebration of the *Lord's Supper*, and notice was given from the Pulpit, that ſuch as had an inclination to come to the Sacrament, ſhould attend *John Arents* on a certain day at his houſe. Accordingly the people flocked to him by tens, twenties and thirties at a time. He inſtructed them in the fundamentals of Religion, and regiſtered their names and places of abode. Soon after, Sermons were preached relating to the Sacrament, and exhorting to repentance. In the mean while the Magiſtrates endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of this affair. The 15th of *December* being appointed for this ſolemn Sacrament, the Prince of *Orange*, who was then at *Utrecht*, ſent Letters on the 12th to ſome of the Captains of the Militia, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to get it deferred till his arrival. The Letters were firſt communicated to the Burgomaſters, and then to the Miniſters; but they replied, that the time of the celebration having been appointed and advertiſed for the 15th, could not be adjourned without danger of new troubles. At the appointed time there came above a thouſand perſons to the Sacrament. About twenty of them were placed at each table. *John Arents* whilſt he diſtributed the Bread, uſed the following expreſſions: *Take, eat and believe that the Body of* Jeſus Chriſt *was offered on the Croſs for your ſins.* And when he gave the Cup, he ſaid, *Take, eat and believe that the Blood of* Chriſt *was ſhed for the pardon of your ſins.* During the adminiſtration, another Miniſter (*Scheltius*) read ſome Chapters out of the Goſpel from the Pulpit. The Petition of the *Lutherans*, that they might enjoy the like privilege was, upon hearing what the *Reformed* had declared about the tenth and thirteenth Articles of the *Auſburg Confeſſion*, rejected, or rather the conſideration of it was delayed by the Magiſtrates, till the arrival of the Prince of *Orange*. [1] This Great man, who by his wiſdom and ſagacity could penetrate into the deepeſt myſteries of the Court, and the moſt ſecret counſels of his Enemies, had got into his hands copies of certain Letters ſent by [2] *Franciſco Alava*, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter in *France*, to the Lady *Margaret*, by which it appeared what deſign *Spain* had been ſo long big with; for in thoſe Letters he tells her plainly, *what a fair opportunity the diſturbances in the* Low-Countries *afforded the King, by ſoothing ſome and forcing others, to arrive at abſolute Monarchy, a thing which he and his Anceſtors had ſo long deſired: That for the preſent, to prevent ill conſequences, ſhe would do well to meet the ſmooth countenances of the three Lords* (Orange, Egmont *and* Horn) *with the ſame artifice as themſelves uſed; but that his Majeſty would in due time pay them their wages according to their work, who had been the fomenters of all theſe diſturbances, and were unworthy of any favour: That the King had ſworn to puniſh the* Netherlanders *for their diſobedience*

The Sacrament publickly adminiſtered at Amſterdam *by the Reformed.*

Deſigns of the Government againſt the Liberty of the Subjects, diſcovered.

2

[1] Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 113. Strada Lib. V. *p.* 281. 23[2] Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 77. Meur. Gul. Aur. Lib. II. *p.* 22.

diſobedience to him, and even to God, in ſuch a manner, as that the ears of all Chriſtendom *ſhould tingle at it, though it were with the hazard of the reſt of his Dominions.* An° Dom. 1566.

1 Upon this important diſcovery, the Prince of *Orange*, his Brother, Count *Lewis*, the Counts of *Egmont*, *Horn*, and *Hoogſtraten*, agreed to meet on the 3d of *October* at *Dendermond*, where was likewiſe communicated to them what *Montigny* had written to his Brother concerning the King's diſpleaſure againſt them. But notwithſtanding here was enough to convince thoſe who knew never ſo little of the King's temper, that no pardon was to be hoped or expected; 2 yet they could come to no other reſolution, after five or ſix hours debate, than that they ſhould proceed to give all poſſible proofs of their obedience, and of their endeavours to compoſe all the late differences: theſe were chiefly the Sentiments of *Egmont*.

3 *Strada* ſays, that ſoon after there was a meeting of the chief of the Confederate Nobility at *Amſterdam*, where they conſulted about ſending thirty thouſand *Calviniſtical* Books into *Spain* (*Hooft* ſays three thouſand) together with twelve Miniſters, to give the King ſuch a diverſion in that Kingdom, that he ſhould have no time to paſs into the *Low-Countries*; as alſo about entering into a Treaty with the *Swiſſers*, to prevent his journey over the Mountains.

The Prince of Orange's *Advice to the King.*

4 In the mean time the Prince of *Orange* drew up his Advice in writing, in relation to the whole ſtate of the Land, for the information and ſervice of his Majeſty; in which among other things, he ſays, *None ought to think it ſtrange, that the inhabitants of theſe Provinces are become of another opinion in matters of Religion, and that they frankly declare themſelves to be ſo, even contrary to the Will of the Magiſtrates. How could it be otherwiſe, in a Land not only bordering upon neighbours of different opinions, but intermixed (upon the account of Commerce) with all kinds of people? In a Country where, during the late war,* 5 *the publick preaching of Hereſy was allowed by the Government, in the Camps and in the Garriſons, as they have been ſince obliged to admit it every where? Different Religions have prevailed in many places from the beginning of the world; ſo that it would rather appear ſtrange, if the people ſhould entirely agree with reſpect to Religion in Kingdoms and Provinces of ſuch vaſt extent as thoſe of his Majeſty. The beſt mirrour* (continues he) *is the example of our neighbours: from thence we may learn, that it is much more our intereſt, wiſely to regulate matters at the beginning, than to ſtay till the ſad neceſſity of affairs compels us to it.——The Regent has lately thought it adviſable to ſlacken the reins of Government in matters of Religion; and experience ſhows ſhe was in the right. Arms are laid aſide, the murmurings are abated, and all uneaſineſs would have been at an end, had it not been for the freſh rumours of warlike preparations.—— Neither the ſituation of this Country, nor the circumſtances of the Times will ſuffer men to differ from the reſt of the world, but they muſt live with the living, and adapt themſelves to the Genius of their neighbours, more than in any other Country of* Chriſtendom, *ſince they can neither ſhun their converſation without prejudice, nor engage in it without accommodating themſelves to their humours and cuſtoms; wherefore I am humbly of opinion, that it were better we ſhould conform our ſelves to thoſe of the Empire than of any other Country whatſoever.——But if it ſhould be rather thought expedient to adjuſt matters without the advice or aſſiſtance of our neighbours, there are ſeven different ways of effecting it, which may come under our conſideration:* Viz. Firſt, *By putting a ſtop to the exerciſe of the* New Religion *even by force and violence.* Secondly, *By baniſhing all ſuch as entertain wrong ſentiments of the* Catholick Religion, *and declaring their eſtates confiſcated.* Thirdly, *By granting no other Liberty of Conſcience but only this, that people may keep their opinions in matters of Faith to themſelves, or elſe leave their Country and diſpoſe of their Eſtates.* Fourthly, *By leaving to every man the free exerciſe of his Religion, but confined or limited to a certain place in every Diſtrict.* Fifthly, *By leaving it to the choice of every City, Nobleman, or Gentleman, whether they will have the free exerciſe of Religion eſtabliſhed within their juriſdictions or not.* Sixthly, *By tolerating only the* Auſburg Confeſſion, *provided it be without prejudice to* Roman Catholicks. Seventhly, *By tole-*

1 Bentivog. Lib. III. *p.* 128.
2 Hoft, *p.* 114. Groot. Annal. Lib. I. *p.* 23.
3 Strada, Lib. V. *p.* 282. & Lib. VII. *p.* 380.
4 Bor. Lib III. *p.* 92. Hooft, Lib. III. *p.* 115.
5 Weſenb. *p.* 13.

234-

An° Dom. 1566. *tolerating, together with the* Roman *Church, not only the* Lutheran, *but the* Calvinistical *Sect, till the two last can be reconciled and reunited to the first.* He then proceeded to consider which of these methods was most convenient in that juncture of affairs. *Rigour and Severity,* says he, *can be of no long continuance, neither have foreign Soldiers (for those must be the tools to work with) any other view than their own advantage, to the oppression of the Subject.——— And though a stop may be put for a while to publick Preachings, yet private Conventicles or Meetings can never be hindered, no not by the most violent Persecutions.——— As for Banishments and Confiscations of Goods; 'tis true, the Subject ought to acquiesce in the Laws of the Sovereign, but this Doctrine will not much affect the Common people, who will rather lose their lives than the necessaries of life or their native Country. Wherefore we shall find our selves again obliged to kindle the War, and expel multitudes of people, especially Artificers, and with them the welfare and happiness of the Country. The concession of simple Liberty of Conscience, without tolerating Religious Assemblies, would be indeed more reasonable, but then it would prove a means of inviting into the Country all sorts of Sects and Heresies, and of plunging all others into Atheism and Infidelity, from whence nothing but disobedience and irreverence could proceed; for the* Protestants *being on the one hand shy of* Popery, *and on the other hand deprived of the usual exercise of their own Religion, would in course of time lose all sense of God and Religion, and die without any more concern for their souls than the beasts that perish; and thus instead of remedying the Evil, we should fall into the greatest of all others.———The King (it is well known) had much rather lose a great part of his Dominions, than consent to a publick Toleration of the* Protestant *Religion, or do any thing that may be prejudicial to the* Romish: *Several great Princes, and all his Counsellors both here and in* Spain, *will encourage him in this resolution; partly from particular views and private interests, and partly from their ignorance of the state of this Nation. But what has befallen his neighbours for their stiffness and obstinacy in these matters, who with unexpressible damage, and with the fear of seeing their whole Country ruined, have learned, of two evils to choose the lesser; and to yield a little to the times, rather than to run upon their destruction; being sensible, that the longer such opinions, on which men imagine their salvation depends, continue, the deeper root they take, in spite of all force or oppression? But what if we should chance on a sudden to be engaged in a war; which way should we turn our selves, when Exiles and Refugees, longing to return to their Country and Estates, and hurried on with a desire of revenge, would throw themselves into the service of Foreigners, and make their court to them by betraying the secrets of the Land; when the discontents of those within, having been long fermenting, would burst out at the same time, and we should find one enemy before our face and another in our bosom? To prevent all these evils, there seems to be no better expedient at hand, than to set apart certain places for the free exercise of Religion; and to allow all those who have the right of jurisdiction to do the same in their respective Districts. In this case the King may either tolerate the* Ausburg Confession *only, or that, and the Perswasion of* Calvin *both together, with such limitations and restrictions as he judges most for the interest of the* Roman *Religion, and after such a manner as that the Clergy may be secured in their Churches, Persons and Fortunes. It is objected indeed, that this would be to act against Conscience; but how much more would it be against Conscience to involve our dear Country in blood and desolation, and open a door to all sorts of miseries, without any certainty of a happy issue? How can any man's Conscience much reproach him, who uses such means as these, purely to avoid worse, and in order to set all right again in time? For besides these, no other means can be wanting in order to induce men to acknowledge their errors, but only the good Lives and Doctrines of the Clergy. It was thus, and not by mad force, that the chiefest Heresies were driven out of the world; and thus will all Sects that are not of God's planting, fade and die away. It is thus that the King will most brightly display the Glory of his Mercy and Clemency, Virtues with which his whole life has been hitherto adorned. Thus will he gain immortal praise, together with the hearts of all Subjects, who will obey and reverence him more than ever.*

[1] Some time before this, a certain Remonſtrance to the King was publiſhed by, or on behalf of the *Reformed*, relating to the Petition which the Nobility had delivered on the 5th of *April*; the import of it was: "That the Placards concerning Religion "had been made upon falſe or wrong ſuggeſtions and accuſations. It was alſo proved by "many arguments from the holy Scripture; from the Writings of the primitive Doctors "and Fathers, ſuch as *Auſtin*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Jerom*, and others; from Councils and Ec- "cleſiaſtical Hiſtories; from the Canons of the Church, and Laws of the Land; "and even from the ſo called *joyful Entry*, and the Privileges of theſe Provinces, "that the ſaid Placards, and the proceedings of the *Inquiſition*, by virtue of their "authority, were diametrically oppoſite to the Honour of God, and to the Laws "and Liberties of our native Country; eſpecially as they related to the puniſhing "people for reading and exerciſing themſelves in the word of God: That it was "againſt all Law and Reaſon, to burn or put men to other kinds of death, who did "not only profeſs to believe the Scriptures, but alſo the Creeds of the *Apoſtles*, of "*Nice*, and *Athanaſius*; that owned the *four firſt General Councils*; and in ſhort, who "only differed from the *Romiſh* Church in the Expoſition of certain paſſages in the "Bible, and certain human Doctrines. That the deſign of the Emperor, and the "King himſelf, in the promulgation of thoſe Placards, was to puniſh Inſurrections "and Rebellions, and other acts of hoſtility againſt the Commonwealth, and "that therefore they were unjuſtly levelled againſt ſuch. That if their opinions "were wrong, yet the great numbers of thoſe who profeſſed them, ought much ra- "ther to be winked at than puniſhed. For all which reaſons they prayed, that "the Placards concerning Religion and the *Inquiſition*, erected in the *Netherlands*, "might be entirely abrogated and annulled."

ANNO DOM. 1566.

The Remonſtrance and Petition of the Proteſtants to his Majeſty.

But the Count of *Hoogſtraten*, who had been ſent to *Antwerp*, as Deputy to the Prince of *Orange*, with order to follow the ſteps that he had taken, having on the 17th of *October* ſuppreſſed a new Inſurrection, and the next day hanged up ſome of thoſe that had committed diſorders in the Churches, was addreſſed more at large, on the 27th of the ſaid month, by divers Citizens on behalf of the *Reformed* Congregations in the *Netherlands*, and jointly with thoſe of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion. The perſons who preſented the Petition in the name of the *Reformed* of *Antwerp*, were *Mark Perez* and *Charles* and *Cornelius van Bombergen:* Thoſe who attended on the part of the *Walloons*, *Francis Godin*, *John Karlier*, *Nicolas du Viver*, and *Nicolas Sellin:* And laſtly, for the *Lutherans*, appeared *Giles de Greve*, *Giles vander Banderijn*, *Henry vander Broek*, and *Thomas van Geere*. Theſe humbly requeſted that their written Petition might be forwarded and recommended by the ſaid Count and Magiſtrates of *Antwerp* to the Court. It was directed to the King, and contained matters worthy of our notice. "It recounted the Riſe of publick preaching, and the "breaking of Images, and plundering Churches, which followed it; aſcribing thoſe "diſorders to the immoderate zeal of certain of the common people, to whom others "ſoon joined themſelves, with no other view but that of plundering and ſtealing. "That they were ſuch as theſe who, to their great ſorrow, had begun the attack "upon Images, and committed other diſorders, which they had not been moved "nor excited, to neither at firſt, nor ſince, by their Miniſters; but on the contrary, "the ſaid Miniſters and all others that were ſet over the Church, had always, to "the utmoſt of their power, oppoſed ſuch practices; from whence it was plain, that "they neither commanded, knew, nor approved of them. Notwithſtanding which, "they had been informed, that thoſe two things, *Preaching* and *Image-breaking* "(though widely differing from each other) were repreſented to the King in ſuch "a manner, as had provoked him to reſolve upon coming into theſe Provinces, with "deſign to put a ſtop to both by force of arms, without diſtinction. On this account "they beſought his Majeſty to conſider well, that Religion having once impreſſed "it ſelf on the hearts and minds of men, could not eaſily be eraſed by *Force*, which "was much more likely to make Hypocrites of weak and unſtable minds, who, under "a profeſſion of adhering to the eſtabliſhed Church, would ſoon be brought to have "a loathing and averſion for all Religions, or elſe would indulge themſelves in ſuch an "unlimited freedom of Conſcience, from which, neither honeſty nor ſincerity could be

[1] Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 72.

An° Dom. 1566.

" pected: Beſides, his Majeſty would not do amiſs, to attend to the advice of *Ga-*
" *maliel.* —— They alſo prayed, that thoſe who, through tenderneſs of Conſcience,
" could not entirely approve the Doctrines and Ceremonies of the *Romiſh* Church, and
" yet in all other matters continued true and faithful Subjects to the Government,
" might have a ſecure and perfect liberty of meeting in publick in ſuch places as his
" Majeſty or his Miniſters ſhould appoint for the exerciſe of their Religion, in which
" they themſelves ſolemnly declared their intention was to live and die according to the
" Doctrines of the Prophets and Apoſtles, contained in the Books of the Old and New
" Teſtament; and briefly compriſed in the Apoſtolical Symbol, and in the four
" firſt General Councils. In all other matters they propoſed to ſubmit to what ſhould
" be afterwards decreed in a free and general Council, and till then, to what ſhould be
" ordained and ſettled by the common conſent of the Evangelical Churches of *Ger-*
" *many*, *France*, *England*, and other parts of *Chriſtendom*. They offered the King,
" in conſideration of ſuch a favour, to make him a Preſent of thirty Tons of Gold,
" over and above all Taxes and Contributions; promiſing beſides, not to lay hands
" on any of the *Roman Catholick* Temples, nor to interrupt or diſturb the *Romaniſts*
" by force or otherwiſe, in the exerciſe of their Religion. Neither would it be a
" new thing, *continued they*, for ſuch a favour to be granted to Subjects, as appears
" by the example of that great Emperor *Severus*, who, being a *Pagan*, allowed the
" *Chriſtians*, whom he accounted *Hereticks*, to poſſeſs Temples within *Rome*, the
" Capital of his Empire; and of *Conſtantine*, who acquired the Title of *Great* for
" having, contrary to the Rules of his Prdeceſſors, granted to the *Chriſtians* certain
" places for their Religious Aſſemblies, while the Heathens had alſo their Temples.
" By doing which he ſilenced numberleſs complaints, prevented much bloodſhed,
" reſtored peace to his Empire, and by his Subjects unanimity, became a powerful
" and happy Prince. Now if any one, *added they farther*, ſhould inſinuate
" to your Majeſty, that there is a great deal of difference between allowing
" Chriſtians a Toleration of their Religion, and granting the ſame favour to Here-
" ticks, as we are eſteemed by ſome; we anſwer in the firſt place, that our Ser-
" mons, Prayers, and other parts of our Religion, demonſtrate that we are good
" Chriſtians, and not either Hereticks or Idolaters; and we are ready to prove
" this yet more fully, whenever it ſhall pleaſe the King to grant us a free and fair
" hearing. But farther, [1] admitting, **we were as great Hereticks as the Jews,**
" **Arians, and Novatians**, yet we have the preſent example of the Pope on our
" ſide, who, calling himſelf the Head of the Church, and maintaining that he
" cannot err, not only admits the *Jews*, the ſworn enemies of our Saviour, into
" his Dominions, but likewiſe allows them to have Synagogues, and tolerates the
" exerciſe of their Religion in *Rome*, and other places belonging to him. The
" examples alſo of thoſe Chriſtian and Orthodox Emperors, who have allowed
" Churches to the *Arians* and *Novatians*, may quiet your Conſcience, and eſpecially
" the example of that invincible Prince, *Charles* V. of immortal memory, your
" own Father; who in like manner, by the advice of the States of the Empire, to-
" lerated the *Proteſtants* in *Germany*, though he at the ſame time looked upon them
" to be *Hereticks:* and ſo not long ſince has the King of *France* done with regard
" to his Subjects. All which being duly weighed, may, we hope, give your Ma-
" jeſty full ſatisfaction, and induce you to grant us the like favour."

[1] This Petition, in which the *Lutherans* alſo joined, as we ſhewed above, was drawn up in the houſe of *Mark Perez*, who, tho' a *Spaniard*, was a zealous Proteſtant. [2] *Real* ſays it was done in a Synod where all the Churches of the *Low-Countries* were preſent by their Deputies, he himſelf and *John Janſon* appearing for *Amſterdam*. Poſſibly that was the Meeting of which *Modet* ſpeaks in his Apology. But *Real* affirms, that that was earlier, and he relates how *Peter Dathenus* made the Propoſal, and that it was deſigned that a Copy of ſuch a Petition ſhould be delivered to the Magiſtrates of every City or Town, by the reſpective Churches, and they intreated to render it acceptable to the Ducheſs in the beſt manner. This was approved by the Deputies, on condition that their Principals agreed to it, as

[1] Sleidan. Comment. Lib. VI. f. 101. *b.* P. Servit. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. Lib. I. *p.* 42. Uitenb. *Church Hiſt. p.* 32.
[2] Real. f. 85. *a.*

they afterwards did by Inſtruments, which they tranſmitted to *Antwerp*, where it was likewiſe conſidered how to raiſe the Money offered to the King. [1] But they might have ſpared themſelves that trouble, for their offer was not accepted; on the contrary, it drew on them his Majeſty's diſpleaſure, inſtead of his favour, the *Spaniards* underſtanding it as a token of their inſolence, and a deſign to allure foreign Princes to their aſſiſtance by this bravado of their wealth. The Petition was nevertheleſs preſented to the Magiſtrates of ſeveral Towns; among others, to thoſe of *Amſterdam*, by *Francis de Wael*, *Laurence Real*, and *John Janſon*; but this was ſomething later. *Franciſcus Junius* ſays, in his Journal, that the ſaid Petition was publiſhed in the month of *March* following, after perſons had been ſent to every Diſtrict and Town to collect the thirty Tons of Gold; and that Count *Lewis* of *Naſſau* promiſed 4000, and the *Spaniard*, *Perez*, 6000 Gilders, towards the ſaid Sum, as he had learned from their own Subſcriptions. AN° DOM. 1566.

[1] Hooft, Lib. III. *p.* 118. Bor. f. 27. *b.* Strada, Lib. V. 287. N. Burgund. Lib. III. *p.* 374.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK VIII.

An° Dom. 1566.

The Spaniſh *Party gains ground by means of the Image-breaking.*

AS [1] the violence offered to conſecrated places had obliged the Regent to conſent to the Petition of the Nobility, ſo on the other hand it was obſerved, that the minds of the *Papiſts*, who before agreed with the *Reformed* in the point of oppoſing the *Inquiſition* and *Spaniſh Tyranny*, were now much alienated; for what ſatisfaction could they receive in being joined with the *Proteſtants* in reſiſting foreign ſlavery, when, at the ſame time, they had reaſon to ſuſpect their own Countrymen had deſigned a more intolerable yoke for their necks, and an utter extirpation of their Religion? The Great men, and the moſt conſiderable in the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, and even the Confederates themſelves, did indeed endeavour to remove this ſuſpicion, by puniſhing the deſtroyers of Images; but if by this means they got ground with the *Papiſts*, they loſt it with the Common people; who being partly infected with the guilt of that act, and partly blinded with zeal, ſlow of underſtanding, and inflexible in their reſolutions, would not be convinced that they had committed any crime. [2] Therefore many of the Confederate Nobility being ſick of this diſorderly work, and rather chuſing to procure preſent favour and advantage to themſelves, than to ſeek the future good of the Publick, which was uncertain and not eaſily to be obtained, began to liſten to the invitations of the Regent, who ſeeing what turn matters were like to take, laid hold of the opportunity, and followed her blow, in order to the diſſolving the Confederacy.

A Diviſion among the Confederated Nobility.

To this it did not a little contribute, that almoſt all the Gentry and the Military men depended on *Egmont*, as he did upon her. Thus encouraged, ſhe proceeded to raiſe Troops. The *Reformed*, in the mean time, finding themſelves become the mark of their enemies, ſaw no other nor nearer remedy than to apply to the *German* Princes by Letters or Petitions, to the end, that by their interpoſition with the King, they might obtain ſome tolerable conditions of Safety and Liberty of Conſcience. Poor hopes indeed, and of which, it ſeemed, little was to be expected, unleſs thoſe who were of *Calvin*'s opinion ſhould unite with the *Lutherans*. To this, all ſuch as were governed by the paſſions of their Miniſters, had a very great averſion, as indeed it is altogether natural to be fond of one's own Doctrines, and very hard to give up Opinions that have been long believed, zealouſly propagated, and always recommended as the trueſt. Thoſe however who without prejudice conſidered the preſent exigency of affairs, found nothing more proper than by ſuch a Union to endeavour to

The Reformed ſeek aſſiſtance in Germany;

But are hindered by the difference between them and the Lutherans.

[1] Hooft. Lib. III. *p.* 122. [2] Grot. An. Lib. I. *p.* 24.

to ſecure themſelves from the impending danger, and in ſome meaſure to break the force of the blow. A certain great Prince who had been petitioned by the *Reformed* or *Calviniſts*, to bring the *German* Princes into their intereſt, adviſed them in very ſerious terms, to take upon them the title of thoſe of the *Auſburg Confeſſion*; and Count *Lewis* of *Naſſaw*, with ſome other Deputies of the Nobility, were expreſly ſent to *Antwerp*, *Amſterdam*, *Tournay* and *Valenciennes*, where were the greateſt numbers of the *Calviniſtical Reformed*, in order to adviſe the Deputies of the Churches to come into ſuch an union. The firſt thing however which he propoſed to them was, to be obedient to the Government, and to fulfil the Agreement made with the Nobility: And having obſerved, that in the Petition delivered to the King, the ſum of thirty Ton of Gold was offered as an acknowledgement, he hinted his deſire that ſome aſſurance ſhould be given of their readineſs to raiſe that ſum at a proper time. Their anſwer was: [1] *That the Conditions of the Agreement had been obſerved on their part: That the collecting of money was forbidden, but might however be put in execution, if the reſpective Governours of Provinces and Places would indemnify their Congregations from whatever inconveniences might reſult from it.* Laſtly, *That they were willing to ſubſcribe to the* Auſburg Confeſſion *in all matters conformable to the Holy Writings left us by the Prophets and Apoſtles; but that ſince the Article of the Lord's Supper, in which they differed from the* Lutherans, *was of very great importance, and required farther conſideration, they ſhould be obliged ſeriouſly to conſult with their Miniſters, and with the graveſt of their Members, before they could come to any reſolution.*

ANNO DOM. 1566.

Count Lewis *of* Naſſaw *adviſes to Union.*

The anſwer of the Reformed.

In the mean time ſeveral things happened in the Country of *Limburg* and thereabouts, upon account of introducing the new Religion, which we ſhall now relate.

Franciſcus Junius being returned, as has been ſaid, to *Antwerp*, and being out of employment, was ſoon tired with that idle life which they would ſtill have obliged him to lead. He therefore departed on the 14th of *October* for *Limburg*, leaving all his Furniture, Books and Cloaths, at the deſire of the Brethren of *Antwerp*, in their cuſtody, for the people were apprehenſive that he would have gone out of the *Netherlands*, which was the occaſion that he afterwards loſt them all. The next day he arrived in the Country of *Limburg*, where great troubles befel him. He had no ſooner ſet his foot in the Village of *Herve*, but there aroſe a tumult; however he kept himſelf and all that were in the houſe with him from being any way concerned in it. The next day he was conducted to *Limburg*. Here the Magiſtrates refuſed to let him exerciſe the office of Miniſter; but the good people being offended at it, he went away to a Village named *Summan*. On *Friday*, which was the 18th of *October*, he preached his firſt Sermon before the *Limburgers* in a field not far from *Herve*, in the way that leads to *Liege*, and there was a pretty conſiderable aſſembly; but there ſtood a man at a little diſtance behind him, who being armed with a Javelin, had vowed his death if he could but come within the reach of him; but God ſo ſoftened the mind of this man, that he quietly liſten'd to him all the time he preached. Sermon being done, they all returned to *Herve*, about one hundred and thirty ſtrong, to dine there; when an Officer who came with ſome Soldiers from *Limburg* to ſeize upon the Miniſter, ordered the Church Bell to be rung, to call the people of that and the neighbouring Villages to Arms.

Junius *goes into the Province of* Limburg.

Thereupon the *Reformed*, being ſcarce ſet down to table, marched out with their Arms to defend the Miniſter and the houſe where he was againſt all violence; but he adviſed certain good people who came to him, to uſe their utmoſt diligence for preventing any acts of hoſtility, which, as he repreſented to them, might be of very ill conſequence; and rather to conſider how they might make an honourable retreat, than how they ſhould defend themſelves by Arms. This pleaſed ſeveral, who immediately retiring by the back door, went over the hedges; and as ſoon as *Junius* with others of his Company had ſaved themſelves by the ſame way, notice was given to the reſt that ſtood to their Arms, that the Miniſter was gone, and that it was moſt adviſeable that all of them ſhould follow him, which they accordingly did, and conveyed him ſafe to *Limburg*. The *Sunday* following he preached in the Church, at which the Papiſts were ſurprized, and the Anabaptiſts (who, as *Junius* ſays, had been very troubleſome in thoſe parts) were offended. After he had

[1] Meur. Sul. Aur. Lib. II. *p.* 23. Bor. Lib. III. *p.* 88. *a.*

AN DOM. 1566. preached the morning Sermon, he immediately went away to a place about two leagues diſtance, which was called *the High Mountain of God*, in the way to *Liege*, with deſign to preach there: That place had been appointed for that end, but unadviſedly and without conſulting the Miniſter, who diſapproved of the deſign; but being told, that the people were come together in great numbers from all parts of the Country, he, though informed of the approaching danger, would not neglect his duty, nor ſuffer himſelf to be reproached with lazineſs or cowardice in the adminiſtration of the Goſpel that was committed to him. Whilſt he was preaching, the people fled twice, though he earneſtly called them back, and twice prevailed with them to return. The firſt time was upon the idle report of a young man; the ſecond time they were alarmed at the approach of a good number of armed Horſemen, who were about eighty ſtrong, and having been raiſed by the Biſhop of *Liege*, in order to ſeize *Junius*, were actually croſſing a Valley with that deſign; but God was pleaſed ſo to ſtrengthen the hearts of the Miniſter and the People, that upon the approach of the Horſemen, the others placed themſelves behind a hedge, and ſtood to their Arms, as being reſolved to oppoſe force to force; nay, the very women threatened to ſtone them, and would have done it, if their reſpect for two Gentlemen who rid in that Troop had not with-held them. The Horſemen perceiving what a warm reception they were like to meet with, and the way they were to paſs being very narrow and difficult, retired without attempting any thing; and ſo *Junius* returned ſafe to *Limburg*, where he, for about half a year, continued to inſtruct the people to their ſatisfaction; but about two weeks after, God was pleaſed to ſet another Seal to his Miniſtry by the following wonderful event. In a certain Village, as *Junius* thinks of the Country of *Liege*, which took its name from the Valley of *St. Denis*, there lived an old woman that had a great many children, who falling into deſpair, gave out, that ſhe and her children were condemned by God to everlaſting puniſhment. She had continued in this deſpairing ſtate above thirteen years, inſomuch that the Maſs-Prieſts had made uſe of Exorciſms and other charms to caſt out the Devil, as if ſhe had been bewitched, and her neighbours of rougher means for the ſame purpoſe. She wandred with the wild beaſts in the Woods, avoiding all humane ſociety, and behaved herſelf in ſuch a manner, that it was generally thought her diſtemper was occaſioned by ſome Evil ſpirit: but upon a certain evening ſome people that were travelling from the Village of *Verviers* to *Limburg*, ſeeing the poor woman lurking in a Wood, called to her, and prevailed upon her with good words, to go along with them to *Junius*. Being brought to him, ſhe muttered at firſt without anſwering to any of his queſtions, but ſilently caſt her eyes round about upon thoſe that were preſent; which he obſerving, whiſpered two or three of them, acquainting them, that he could not make the woman ſpeak in the preſence of ſo many witneſſes, and therefore deſired them to withdraw one after another, and return in an hour or two. This being done, and the woman growing bolder in the abſence of the people, ſhe informed him, that ſhe had been thus tormented for above thirteen years, and that the diſcourſes of ſome neighbouring women had been the occaſion of it, who had threatened her that ſhe ſhould be damned, becauſe having loſt her Huſband not long before, ſhe had been ſo taken up with the care of nine ſmall Children that ſhe could find no time to ſerve God, that is, ſaid ſhe, to go to Maſs as they call it: That ſhe had paſſed the ſame judgment upon her Children as they had done upon her, for (ſaid ſhe) a bad Egg produces a bad Chick, and that therefore ſhe abhorred the ſight of them. *Junius* being thus come to the bottom of the matter, and having carefully enquired into all circumſtances, told her in a few words: *That the neglect with which her neighbours reproached her was no neglect of the ſervice of God, as they called it; but that (according to the Doctrine of St.* James) *ſhe then truly ſerved God with a holy ſervice, agreeably to his will, when ſhe did her duty as a Mother.* Being thus inſtructed, ſhe was entirely convinced, and returned home the ſame evening with a compoſed mind, to the admiration and edification of all that heard it. From this very time the word of God was received with greater reverence, and the Fame of the Church encreaſed, inſomuch, that many of the people (whatever *Junius* taught them to the contrary, and how ſeverely ſoever he reproved their ignorance) to his trouble, brought to him diſeaſed perſons in order to be cured. He tells us further, that he met with two obſtacles at this time which hindered the progreſs of the Goſpel, *viz.* the *Anabaptiſts* on the one hand, and the *Papiſts* on the other. He viſited

A ſtrange accident which promoted the Reformation *in that Country.*

viſited the imprudent *Anabaptiſts* ſeveral times, and dealt friendly with them, by which means their progreſs was ſtopped, and their number, power and intereſt leſſened. An° Dom. 1566.

The *Papiſts* at firſt made many vain cavils, and endeavoured to ſtir up the people againſt him. The Churches of *Liege* rung with their invectives; but this rather encreaſed than leſſened the attention to his Sermons. A *Franciſcan* Fryer, that preached at *Verviers*, being urged by the *Reformed*, accepted of a challenge to come to a certain place and to diſpute with *Junius* in publick; but his heart failing him by the way, he excuſed himſelf with ſaying, he had forgot ſomething, and ſo returned home. What *Junius* tells us upon this occaſion, is ſufficiently ridiculous; but from thence we may judge of the ignorance of the people, and the ſcandalous fictions of the Monks. While the people were waiting in the field for the coming of the abovementioned *Franciſcan*, a certain old man ruſhed through the crowd, and deſired that he might ſee the Miniſter. *Junius* being informed of it, bad them make room for the man and let him come up to him. The old man viewing him very carefully and reſpectfully from head to foot, burſt out at laſt into theſe words: *O! now I ſee what I have been told of you was not true.* *Junius* aſking him what it was they had told him? he replied, *That you had cloven feet.* The people being obliged to leave the place without hearing any diſpute, there happened another ridiculous thing; a certain ſuperſtitious perſon, on the contrary, cut up the turff upon which the feet of *Junius* ſtood, whilſt he waited for the *Franciſcan*, and carried it away, as if it had been holy earth. *The Simplicity of the People, and Impudence of the Monks.*

In the mean time the Prince of *Orange*, upon the urgent and repeated deſires of the people of *Holland* and *Utrecht*, that he would come and reſide in his Government, in order to appeaſe the troubles upon the account of Religion, was at laſt ſent thither by the Regent. Immediately upon his arrival in *Holland*, he aſſembled the States at *Scoonhoven*, and earneſtly recommended to them, as they valued his Majeſty's diſpleaſure, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in order to the compoſing the preſent differences; and he was anſwered by them, that they would ſet about this matter with the utmoſt zeal. He writ ſeveral Letters, and ſent ſome Gentlemen ſeveral times to *Amſterdam*, but in vain, to perſwade the *Reformed* to reſtore their Church to the *Franciſcans*, and to preach out of the Town, as formerly, ſince otherwiſe they could expect nothing but the King's diſpleaſure, who would never conſent that they ſhould keep poſſeſſion of ſuch a Church. But he could not prevail upon them, for they abſolutely refuſed to hold their meetings out of Town. His diligence met with little better ſucceſs at *Utrecht*, where the Magiſtrates complained that the *Reformed* again attempted to poſſeſs themſelves of a Church, uſing many threats for that purpoſe, and that the Clergy were at great trouble and charge to guard and keep it out of their hands. The Prince thereupon projected an Accommodation, which, in the principal points agreed with that of *Antwerp*, excepting that in this the preaching in Towns was forbidden. But the States, the men of the long Robe, and the Magiſtrates of the City, were ſo obſtinately bent againſt it, that he was obliged to draw up an account of their proceedings, and to declare that he would juſtifie himſelf by it to the King and the Regent, with reſpect to all the evils that might reſult from their refuſal. The *Reformed* interpreting this his moderation to their advantage, had the boldneſs to meet in the field near the Gate of St. *Katharine*, without regarding any prohibition, till the Governour of the Caſtle forced them to ſeparate by the fire of his Cannon. The Prince having ſent the abovementioned Articles of Accommodation to the Ducheſs, and obtained her approbation, publiſhed them by way of Placard in his own name, as Stadtholder of that Diſtrict, on the 25th of *November*, by toll of the great Bell. He then appointed a certain place without the Town, where the *Reformed* were to preach till further order. *The Prince of* Orange's *Actions in* Holland, *And at* Utrecht.

The States of *Brabant* being ſoon after aſſembled, with the conſent and by order of the Regent, in the month of *December*, it was there propoſed to ſuſpend the preaching till the King's arrival. Next they conſidered of an Act of indemnity, in which all ſorts of Hereticks were to be included. *This they thought might eaſily be brought about with the approbation of the States-General, provided that her Highneſs ſecured the Votes of thoſe of* Brabant, Flanders *and* Holland, *and ſtipulated with them, that nothing ſhould be treated in their Aſſembly but the publiſhing a Placard upon this* *An Aſſembly of the States of* Brabant.

[x] Bor. Lib. II. *p.* 74. *b.* Hooft, Lib. III. *p.* 118.

An° Dom. 1566.

this matter. But it would be neceſſary to uſe expedition, in order to get the ſtart of the Reformed, *who could not be more mortified than by ſupending the liberty of preaching in publick.* The Ducheſs drew up a Placard accordingly, and required the conſent of thoſe of *Brabant*.

As for the aſſembling the States of all the Provinces, ſhe declared that it was not in her power: yet finding the reaſons for it were cogent, ſhe reſolved to try what might be expected from thoſe of *Flanders* and *Holland*. The *Brabanters* in their conſiderations on the Placard delivered to the Regent in writing, gave it as their opinion, *that the Indemnity was ſo limited, that it was to be feared it might drive many people, through deſpair, to worſe practices; as alſo that the forfeiture of goods was liable to many exceptions, which might give great offence.* During this Aſſembly, the *Reformed* and the *Lutherans* of *Antwerp* drew up a Petition to the States of *Brabant*, beſeeching them that they would be pleaſed to abſtain from doing any thing which might prepoſſeſs the States-General againſt the Accomodation made with them on the 2d of *September*. This Petition they would have perſwaded the Count of *Hoogſtraeten* and the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* to deliver to the States in their name, but it was refuſed them. They had before, upon the 1ſt of *December*, againſt the conſent of the ſaid Count and Magiſtrates, cauſed a *Spaniſh* Miniſter to preach in the *Walloon* Pulpit; his name was *Antonius Coranus*, commonly called *Belle rive*, whom the *Reformed* had invited from *France*, where he was in the ſervice of the Ducheſs of *Ferrara* as her Chaplain. The Court was very much offended at this action. And though it was a caſe of neceſſity, and during the ſickneſs of *Taffin*, another Miniſter, the Regent required that he ſhould not only be forbidden, but puniſhed for this preſumption; tho' it does not appear why he was ſo obnoxious to her, unleſs it was becauſe he was a *Spaniard* of great parts, and behaved himſelf very diſcreetly with reſpect to the differences of Religion, of which he ſhortly after gave remarkable proofs.

A Petition of the Reformed *in Conjunction with the* Lutherans.

During the riſe of the *Gueuſery*, the holding armed Aſſemblies or Conventicles, the Image-breaking, and the tumults that attended it, the *Anabaptiſts* aſſumed to themſelves a greater liberty in the exerciſe of their Religion: but at the ſame time, that party of them which had divided from the *Waterlanders*, and fancied that they had fortified themſelves by a partition-wall of *Excommunications* and *Divorces*, fell into new diviſions and horrible confuſions. This gave birth to the names of *Flemings* and *Freeſlanders*, by which the different Sects of them were afterward diſtinguiſhed. But it may be worth while to trace this matter a little higher, and to repreſent ſome of the cauſes and circumſtances of thoſe diſputes which in time produced many bitter fruits (the taſte of which ſtill remains with us) to the end that our Contemporaries may view themſelves in the glaſſes of their Anceſtors. The ſum of that which ſeems to me the moſt probable account, as I have collected it from the various writings which the Anabaptiſts themſelves and others of thoſe times have handed down to us, in relation to the abovementioned diviſions, is as follows: [1] *Leonard Bouwens*, of whoſe furious zeal againſt his *Waterland* brethren, mention has already been made, dwelling at *Embden*, maintained ſo great a friendſhip with thoſe of his own Perſwaſion in *Freeſland*, and with many refugee *Brabanters* and *Flemings*, who frequently invited him to teach and baptize among them, and ſometimes treated him with a good glaſs of wine (to which he had no averſion,) that his Congregation began to conceive an ill opinion of him, and at laſt to be much offended. They gave him to underſtand, that he ſhould not always ſo eaſily obtain leave to make ſuch journeys as uſual. He, who was not accuſtomed to be thus bridled or curbed by others, ſoon after told his fellow Miniſters, that if he were invited, he would go to *Freeſland* whether they liked it or not.

A new Schiſm among the Anabaptiſts.

Thus there aroſe between thoſe who had been at unity for a while in the buſineſs of *Excommunications* and *Divorces*, great diviſions. Seven Teachers that were invited from the Eaſt and Weſt, met at *Embden* to judge of and decide this matter, where it was concluded, that the ſaid *Leonard Bouwens* ſhould be depoſed from his office of teaching and baptizing, but that the reaſons of his deprivation ſhould be kept ſecret. This ſilence occaſioned much talk for and againſt him; ſome thought he was too hardly uſed, others, too gently: Accordingly, ſettling afterwards near *Harlingen*, he met with many friends,

[1] J. H. V. P. N. *in his Account of the Beginning of the Schiſm among the* Anabaptiſts, *p.* 20, &c.

friends, and not a few enemies among the *Freeſlanders*. *I. H. V. P. N.* who publiſhed an account of the beginning of the Schiſm among the *Anabaptiſts*, relates, that ſome of the *Freeſland* Congregations ſhewed their diſſatisfaction at the condemnation of the ſaid *Leonard*, and preſſed to know the reaſons of the judgment againſt him; but *Richard Philips*, one of the principal Judges, writes, that the Miniſters of the four *Freeſland* Towns, who were with him at *Embden* upon that occaſion, had entirely referred and intruſted that Judgment to him, excepting only *Ubbo Peterſon*, who indeed made ſome little objections againſt it, but promiſed however, to acquieſce, and give them no further trouble; alſo that *Huyte Renix* himſelf joined in the condemnation of *Leonard*, and afterwards frequently juſtified the Sentence, though he ſince recanted, and owned that he was in the wrong. An° Dom. 1566.

On another occaſion, in courſe of time more ſeeds of diſcontent were ſcattered, and more fewel was added to the fire of diſcord. Among the ſtrangers who had ſheltered themſelves in *Freeſland* on account of the Liberty of Conſcience which was there allowed, there were found, beſides thoſe plain and innocent people, whoſe only views were Truth and Righteouſneſs, ſome hot-headed, turbulent perſons, fond of novelty and change, moſt of them *Flemings*, who took upon them ſtrictly to inquire into, boldly to cenſure, and magiſterially to reform the manners and cuſtoms of the *Freeſlanders*. Theſe latter were very modeſt in their apparel, but neat and cleanly in their linnen and furniture of their houſes; the others on the contrary, more pompous in their cloathes, but mean in their houſes. The differences in the furniture of their houſes, and of their tables, joyned with a different dreſs, produced difference of humours. To this ſomething elſe was added, which afforded a yet greater handle to their diſagreements. Upon occaſion of a certain diſpute between the Congregations of *Harlingen* and *Franeker* about the chooſing of *Jerom Tinnegieter* to the Miniſtry (which was afterwards compoſed by their Teachers, *Richard Philips*, *Huyte Renix*, *Nette Lipſon*, and *Hans Bowenſon*) it was come to the knowledge of many, that the *Anabaptiſts* of *Leeuwarden*, *Dockum*, *Franeker*, and *Harlingen*, had drawn up and practiſed certain Orders and Obligations, conſiſting of XIX Articles, for the uſe and ſervice of their Congregations, and thoſe of ſome neighbouring Villages. Some of thoſe Congregations, by reaſon of the great number of Refugees who had been obliged to leave moſt of their goods behind them, were burthened with many poor, inſomuch that they could not ſubſiſt them without the help of their neighbours. Beſides, ſome of the Members took too much upon themſelves, pretending to decide all matters of moment by their own authority, and to put in and put out Teachers, without calling to their aſſiſtance any of the Elders or other Church-Officers. People were ſuffered to paſs from one Congregation to another without Teſtimonials or Certificates of the reaſons of their departure, which was the cauſe of many irregularities. There were a great many abuſes too committed in their forming of companies or ſocieties, either through ſuperſtition on the one ſide, or by drinking and rioting on the other. To obviate theſe and other diſorders, the aforeſaid Orders or Obligations ſeemed to have been introduced. But ſome of the foreign Brethren were offended at them, and the manner of their Eſtabliſhment. Among other reaſons of their diſcontent, the following was alledged; *The Holy Scriptures*, ſaid they, *are a ſufficient obligation; why ſhould we ſubmit to any other?* The abovementioned *Jerom Tinnegieter*, a Miniſter of *Franeker*, is repreſented by the perſon who has drawn up an account of the principal miſmanagements of the *Flemings* and *Freeſlanders* (which he collected out of the Writings of both parties, and which has been peruſed and approved by the cheifeſt among them) as the Leader and Bell-weather of this quarrel. There was likewiſe at *Harlingen* a young *Fleming*, named *Peter Piſeron*, a fair ſpoken man, and one who wanted not courage either to ſpeak or act: This man joyned himſelf to the diſcontented party, and talked loudly every where in their favour. One *Job Johnſon*, a good and ſimple man, increaſed the number.

A certain Covenant entered into by the Anabaptiſts of Leeuwarden, Dockum, Franeker, and Harlingen.

Others of them oppoſe it.

Thoſe that were moſt zealous among them finding themſelves too weak to do any thing alone, ran about day and night, both at *Franeker* and *Harlingen*, to procure aſſiſtance. They repreſented the Cauſes of their diſcontents in the moſt plauſible manner; whereby they drew a great many into their Party. They talked continually of their differences, and what they had to object againſt their Adverſaries. Conſultations were held how thoſe evils, which they fancied they had diſcovered, and which they found fault with, might be reformed, and ſuch as were guilty of them avoided.

An° Dom. 1566. In the mean time, the Rules and Obligations of the four Towns were rejected by ſome of the *Frenekerians*; the manner of which is thus related: *Jerom Tinnegieter* and *Laurence Verniers*, came one day to *Ubbo Peterſon*, a Miniſter at *Harlingen*, acquainting him, that being now freed from *Leonard Bouwens*, they intended to chuſe another Teacher, and deſired his advice how they ſhould proceed in that matter, and whether they ſhould keep to the regulations of the four Towns, or not. Upon this propoſition, it was agreed among them three, that the Brethren of the four Towns ſhould be conſulted about it, and that the reſpective Congregations ſhould be deſired to tranſmit their advice within a certain time, to *Harlingen*; but when thoſe of *Leeuwarden* and *Dokkum* were come to *Harlingen* for that purpoſe, the Miniſters of *Franeker* had not yet diſcourſed with their Brethren, however, they appointed the Meeting againſt the evening, when there met, beſides the Miniſters, between thirty and forty of the Brethren. Theſe latter would not agree to the rejecting of the *Order* or *Covenant* (as it was likewiſe called) ſo that they referred it to the Miniſters, who the next day came to *Harlingen*. Then *Ubbo Peterſon*, on the behalf of the *Harlingers*, delivered it as their opinion, that every one ſhould be left to his liberty, whether he would obſerve the ſaid *Order* or *Covenant* or not: Thoſe of *Leeuwarden* and *Dokkum* declared, that they had agreed to obſerve the Order: They of *Franeker*, that they did not like the word *Covenant*; but that however for the ſake of Peace and Charity, they would obſerve its Contents: Thoſe of *Leeuwarden* and *Dokkum*, underſtanding what they meant, aſked the *Franekerians*, whether the rejecting of the *Covenant* was unanimouſly approved by all their Brethren? to which they anſwered, That the whole Congregation approved the rejection, excepting one or two. Such as rejected it were then deſired to declare, whether they looked upon the aforeſaid *Covenant* to be a good or an evil thing? to this they made no reply. However, in this variety of ſentiments, the moſt moderate ſeemed to prevail: On the one ſide, people were contented that the *Franekerians* ſhould not be obliged to follow the *Covenant* or *Order* of the XIX Articles: On the other ſide, the *Franekerians* agreed, that the three other Towns ſhould act in it according to their own pleaſure. One ſide declared, that people were not obliged to the obſervation of it; the other, that they might if they would. But there was not ſo good a temper to be found in the Congregation at *Franeker*, which it was pretended had unanimouſly agreed to reject the *Covenant*; for the obſtinacy but of a few that perſiſted in the reſolution of rejecting it, occaſioned great diſorders. Some of that Congregation being informed of what had paſſed at *Harlingen*, looked upon the rejection to be of no value, and deſired, that what their Teachers had agreed to in their names, ſhould be revoked. *Jerom Tinnegieter*, and his fellow Miniſters maintained on the other hand, that the rejection was juſt, ſcriptural and chriſtian. The others deſired, that the whole Congregation ſhould be called together about it, and that due notice ſhould be given to every body; but this could not be agreed to. Thereupon, thoſe who were afterwards called the *Freeſlanders* (becauſe they were moſt of them Natives of that Country) aſſembled themſelves by their own authority, and choſe four perſons to diſpute with *Tinnegieter* and his Followers, who after that were called *Flemings*, being moſt of them born in or near *Flanders*. They likewiſe required, that thoſe who had rejected the *Covenant* ſhould convince ſuch as were for obſerving it, that the rejection was conformable to the Holy Scriptures, and acquainted them further, that in caſe they refuſed to do it, they would break communion with them, declaring nevertheleſs, that they would look upon them as Brethren, but not as Miniſters.

Some of Franeker *reject the* Covenant, *which occaſions great diſorders.*

Beginning of the Schiſm between the Parties known by the names of Freeſlanders *and* Flemings.

Thus the *Freeſlanders* made a Schiſm about a matter which a little before they had referred to the opinion of the Teachers, but whoſe advice they would not then ſo much as hear: ſince that time they have acted, with reſpect to the *Covenant* of the four Towns, after a different manner than before, according as either party was influenced by the paſſion of favour or hatred. The *Freeſlanders* for a while aſſerted, that the ſaid *Covenant* was of equal force with the Word of God; declaring, that what the Miniſters and Teachers ordered and practiſed, ought to be looked upon as Scripture, or ſcriptural at leaſt, and that the tranſgreſſors ought to be puniſhed as diſobedient and fomenters of diſturbances: yet the uſe of it has not been continued even in their own Congregations, though the diviſion which proceeded from it is ſtill continued. The *Flemings*, at the rejecting of the ſaid *Covenant* pretended, that they would however obſerve the ſubſtance of it, and leave other Congregations entirely at liberty

liberty either to obſerve it or not: but afterwards, as diviſions increaſed, ſo did their diſlike and averſion to it; ſome of them comparing it to Idols, and to thoſe human inſtitutions mentioned in the fifteenth Chapter of St. *Matthew*'s goſpel, which are anathematized in the firſt Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*; yet when it ſerved their ends, they allowed it to be an indifferent matter. An° Dom. 1566.

Thus, in the opinion of ſome, the rays of Truth pierced now and then through the clouds of Paſſion, yet ſtill the Evil remained incurable; ſeveral cauſes of diſtaſte and diſſatisfaction meeting like ſeveral paths, concurred to widen the way to Schiſm. Even the means that were uſed to produce Peace, tended to Diviſion. Many, not only among the *Freeſlanders* but *Flemings*, thought it neceſſary to call ſome of the foreign Teachers to aſſiſt in the deciſion of their difference; but then a new diſpute aroſe, whom they ſhould chuſe for Judges. The *Brabant* Teachers being arrived in *Freeſland*, were at firſt very agreeable to *Huyte Renix*; but when they joined, at their invitation, with the *Flemings* in an opinion, that the Miniſters of the Towns, *viz. Ubbo Peters* and *Jacob Vreriks* were not proper perſons to aſſiſt in deciding the differences, thoſe Peace-makers fell out among themſelves: every one endeavoured to introduce Umpires in favour of himſelf, excluding the majority of the people, whoſe ſuffrages, as others thought, were chiefly neceſſary in this matter. *Other Cauſes of Diviſions.* *Strange Confuſions among the* Anabaptiſts.

Several propoſals were made for the choice of Judges and the procuring of peace, but in vain: the diſcord proved fertile, and *Huyte*, with the Miniſters of the mentioned Towns, began at laſt to bring in their accuſations againſt the foreign (or *Brabant*) Teachers themſelves, which cauſed them to return diſſatisfied. *Ubbo Peters* met with ſtill more trouble: He had been deſired by *Jerom Tinnegieter*, (who was come to *Franeker* with *Jacob Vreriks*, in order to compoſe the differences) firſt to open his Caſe before five or ſix of the Brethren; but if that were rejected, then before the whole Congregation. *Ubbo* aſked, whether there was any accuſation againſt him? to which when no reply was made, he agreed to what was propoſed, provided that he might bring ſome Brethren with him. Accordingly, he did not appear before the whole Congregation, which conſiſted of about three hundred perſons, but before thirty two *Flemings*. Here was he charged with ſeveral Articles, without any previous notice. *Jerom* was his Accuſer, but owned at the ſame time, that what he charged him with, was the common cauſe of them all, but nevertheleſs deſired that *Ubbo* ſhould acknowledge them for Judges, To this *Ubbo* replied, *That they being all of them his Accuſers, ought not at the ſame time to be Judges and Witneſſes: That they themſelves were at variance with their Brethren, and therefore could not judge him or others, who were involved in the ſame diviſions: That he dwelling at* Harlingen, *ought to be judged by the Congregation of that place, where he ſhould be always ready to anſwer to any Charge brought againſt him.* He was particularly accuſed of *Lying* and *raiſing Diſturbances*. It was pretended he had ſaid at *Leeuwarden*, that *Tinnegieter* and his Followers had reſolved to diſcharge or excommunicate ſome of the Miniſters: That he had likewiſe given advice to the *Franeker-Freeſlanders*; had often been in their Meetings; had kept a correſpondence with them, and thereby increaſed the differences.

As to the firſt point, for which they produced but one Witneſs, *Ubbo* proved, by the evidence of ſeven or eight Miniſters of *Leeuwarden*, that he had only ſaid, on occaſion of the rumour which had been ſpread there four or five days before his coming, *That he was afraid that the different parties at* Franeker *would come to blows*. As for the ſecond, he utterly denied it, having been but once at the meeting of the *Freeſlanders*, and having refuſed to give them any advice, though preſſed to do it very often, but ſaid he offered them (according to the counſel of *Huyte Renix*, Teacher at *Bolſwaert*) together with the Miniſters of the Towns, to do his utmoſt to heal the diviſions that were riſen among them. The offer which *Ubbo* had made as to the juſtifying himſelf before the Congregation at *Harlingen*, was ſeconded by the ſaid Congregation, who made it their requeſt, that *Tinnegieter* and his people ſhould bring their accuſations thither: But inſtead of that, his Accuſers ſignified that he might go on in the ſervice of the Congregation. But this not ſatisfying thoſe of *Harlingen*, the Accuſers appeared accordingly in that City on *Whitſunday*: They propoſed, that the whole Congregation ſhould be aſſembled on that occaſion. Others did not oppoſe this, but aſked in their turn, whether they would ſubmit the affair to the whole Congregation, in caſe they were brought together? This they took

An° Dom. 1566. time to conſider of, but *Tinnegieter* ſignified afterwards, *that a* Timothy (meaning a Teacher or Miniſter) *ought to be preſent.* Thereupon the others replied to the *Flemings*, that it ought not to ſtick there; but ſince *Ubbo* had been thus accuſed, and the Accuſers would not allow the Congregation of *Harlingen* to have any authority, the matter muſt be brought before other Judges, who were not partial, or on one ſide only. In the mean time the *Franeker-Flemings* had reſolved that five Miniſters ſhould ceaſe from their Miniſtry, and be turned over to the other party; which ſeemed as if they would impoſe them upon the *Franeker-Freeſlanders*, who at that time had no Miniſters. What thoſe five were charged with, conſiſted herein; That they had obſtinately inſiſted, that the matters in diſpute ſhould be referred to *Huyte Renix* and *Henry van Roſevelt*, one of the *Brabant* Teachers, to which purpoſe they had privately invited *Huyte* to *Franeker*, whither he afterwards went with ſome of his Aſſiſtants, but it was at the requeſt of the *Harlingers*, in ſpight of the *Flemings*, and againſt the advice of his fellow Miniſters; nor was he ſent by his Congregation at *Bolſwaert*, but only by four perſons, with whom he was allowed by his Congregation to treat of all occurrences that were not within the verge of his own Miniſtry, in the ſeveral Congregations where they might happen. Depending upon this, he let drop from him (when it was propoſed, whether the Brethren ſhould be conſulted concerning his journey) the following expreſſion: *I am reſolved to go to* Franeker, *though all the Brethren of the Congregation ſhould order me to ſtay at home.* Accordingly he and his Party have been ſince looked upon as the moſt zealous Champions for the *Freeſlanders*, in this quarrel. Timely notice had been given before to *Jerom Tinnegieter* of *Huyte*'s coming to require an account of what they had to ſay againſt *Ubbo Peters* and *Jacob Vreriks*, for this latter was likewiſe accuſed; thereupon *Jerom* made an agreement with his followers, whereby they promiſed each other, that they would not appear in the aſſembly, but only ſend three or four of their company to obſerve what happened. He himſelf departed for *Hainalt*. All the Brethren of the *Fleming* Congregations, as well as others, having been ſummoned by the Miniſters of the Town, thoſe three or four who, according to their mutual promiſe appeared, would not produce their accuſation, but referring themſelves to *Tinnegieter*, cried out, *Our Mouth (or Spokeſman) is abſent.* Whereupon they were aſked, whether upon the return of their Spokeſman, they would conſent that the differences ſhould be judged by that aſſembly? If ſo, then *Huyte* and his company would be content to go from whence they came: but no poſitive anſwer being given, *Renix* and *Roſevelt*, &c. proceeded on their buſineſs.

Having entered upon the work, without admitting the ſuffrages or opinions of the Congregations of *Harlingen* and *Franeker*, whom this quarrel properly concerned, they went on upon the ſame foot, hearing *Ubbo Peters* and *Jacob Vreriks*, and acquitting them both; though by reaſon of the abſence of the greateſt part of their Accuſers, and the ſilence of others, they could not enquire into ſuch matters as were laid to their charge. The Accuſers therefore were adjudged by this company, conſiſting of about twenty five perſons, to be themſelves in fault, and ſentenced accordingly to confeſs it before *Ubbo* and *Jacob*. As to the Miniſters, it was ordered, that they ſhould conform themſelves to the ſaid ſentence, or otherwiſe be diſcharged from their ſervice, as it likewiſe happened. When *Jerom* was returned from *Hainalt*, this was ſignified to him, but he refuſing to acknowledge his fault, was likewiſe diſmiſſed.

Some *Freeſlanders* who had been diſpleaſed on account of giving up the *Covenant*, or *Ordinance*, abovementioned, were at the ſame time pacified: And the *Franeker-Flemings* wholly diſcharged from their ſervice the five Miniſters whom they had before required to ceaſe from their Miniſtry. Afterwards they turned their zeal againſt *Ubbo Peters* and *Jacob Vreriks*; they cauſed them to be ſummoned by three men, before the Brethren at *Franeker*; but they inſiſted upon their having been declared innocent by *Huyte*; however, *Ubbo* let them know, that if they had any thing to ſay againſt him, they might come to him, and he hoped to give them ſatisfaction. The *Flemings* rejected this offer, but came upon St. *James* day, with fifteen of their people, among whom *Jerom* was one, to *Harlingen*. Here they declared themſelves ready to make good their complaints againſt *Ubbo* before the whole Congregation, which they deſired might be called together. They were aſked, whether they would put the diſpute upon that iſſue? what was anſwered thereupon is variouſly related. One ſide affirms, they conſented; the other, that they deſired that four more

Teachers, *viz. Henry van Roſevelt*, *Nette Lipps*, *Hans Boſſchardt*, and *Henry van Arnhem*, might be added to them. It was offered, that *Huyte* and his fellow Judges ſhould be ſummoned together again to hear them. The *Flemings* preſſed on the contrary, for the aſſembling the Congregation, threatening otherwiſe that they would divulge what they had to ſay; they even told the *Freeſlanders*, that they were reſolved to aſſemble the Congregation whether they would or no. The others replied, that if they did it, they would look upon them as *Schiſmaticks*. Thereupon the *Flemings* imparted their complaints to ſome of the Brethren at *Harlingen*, and from among fifteen of the Miniſters, they drew over one, called *Michael Johnſon*, to their ſide. This man ſummoned a meeting of the Brethren againſt the will of the other Miniſters. *Ubbo* thought he was not obliged to juſtifie himſelf before the *Franeker-Flemings*, his Accuſers, becauſe he had been pronounced innocent, and they guilty: but he declared, that if the *Harlingers* would draw up the Articles of Accuſation in writing, he would make his defence before them in their abſence. The *Franeker-Flemings* propoſed other Judges; *Ubbo* deſired that *Huyte* with his Aſſiſtants might be joined to them: to which the *Flemings* conſented, upon condition that the other Teachers that were accuſed as well as *Huyte*, might likewiſe be of the number. This would not go down. Afterwards the Tryal began, and the Accuſations were laid before a part of the Brethren; but the Accuſers being gone home before it could be brought to a concluſion, *Ubbo* deſired once more, that he might juſtifie himſelf in their abſence. It was then propoſed to him, whether he would put his caſe into the hands of theſe Judges, as his Adverſaries of *Franeker* had done? if ſo, he ſhould be heard in their abſence, otherwiſe not: To this he would by no means conſent. An° Dom° 1566.

In the mean time *Michael Johnſon* was deprived of his Miniſtry by the *Freeſlanders*; but the *Flemings* would not allow that deprivation to be juſt, and required that *Huyte Renix* and his fellow Judges ſhould be cited to give an account of their proceedings. They demanded ſuch an account of *Huyte* no leſs than twice, but he refuſed it.

At laſt the *Flemings* reſolved how ſmall ſoever their number was (for of about four hundred Members, they had not brought over above thirty to their ſide) to proceed to extremities. Thereupon *Ubbo* was again ſummoned before them, who perſiſted in his refuſal, but intreated that they would vouchſafe to hear him alone (or in the abſence of his Accuſers) urging that if he could ſatisfie them, it was well, if not, it ſhould be no prejudice to them. This was communicated to the Aſſembly by the Meſſengers, but his requeſt was not granted.

Others relate, that *Ubbo* went of himſelf to the Aſſembly, in hopes to lay the ſtorm with good words, and that being come thither, he ſaid to the Brethren, with many tears; *That he had now been long their Miniſter: that he had watched many nights for their ſakes, without having ever deſired, as they themſelves very well knew, either gold or ſilver, or other preſents of them.* And ſeeing ſome in the company who had ſuffered themſelves to be robbed of their goods for the ſake of God and a good Conſcience, he expreſſed his ſorrow, *that they eſpecially ſhould thus violently perſecute him who was their Brother.* He then renewed his offer of ſubmitting this difference to the determination of foreign Brethren, provided that thoſe who had already acquitted him might be added to their number. The ſame night it was reſolved to exclude *Ubbo* from the Brotherhood, and to depoſe *Jacob Vreriks* from his Miniſtry. This deſign was accordingly put in execution. *Job Johnſon* was one of the ſix Meſſengers who attended *Ubbo* the next day at his houſe, to acquaint him with his being diſcharged from the Fraternity, as a Liar and a Cauſer of diſturbance, but he would not tell him, at that time, the reaſon of ſuch a ſentence againſt him, though he earneſtly deſired it. Upon which he appealed from them to the Congregation. *Huyte Renix* came again to *Harlingen*, and deſired that an account might be given of the proceedings againſt *Ubbo* and *Jacob Vreriks*. But ſince he had refuſed to give the *Harlingen-Flemings* an account of his actions at *Franeker*, they likewiſe refuſed him on account of what had been done at *Harlingen*. Hereupon the *Freeſlanders* proceeded to excommunicate the *Flemings*. This (notwithſtanding all endeavours to prevent it) was done firſt at *Harlingen*, and afterwards at *Franeker*, chiefly for their having condemned *Ubbo*, which ſome called revenge; they firſt excommunicated the ſix perſons who had publiſhed the Excommunication againſt *Ubbo*; and in the next place, all that had conſented to the ſaid Excommunication; as alſo all ſuch as had any converſation with them. At laſt they proceeded farther: The *Excommunication*, and *Exciſion*, or cutting off, was executed

The Freeſlanders *excommunicate ſome of the* Flemings.

An° Dom. 1566. cuted after a terrible manner, with contumelious expreſſions, anddeclarations of Hereſy, and by purſuing the excommunicated with curſes, from houſe to houſe, in the ſtreets, in the highways, in waggons, and boats, whether Huſband or Wife, Manſervant or Maid-ſervant. But before they proceeded thus far, a Treaty of Peace was ſet on foot, which had a very unhappy iſſue, and was the occaſion of much greater diviſions. The *Brabant* Teachers being ſent with ſome other perſons, the ſecond time into *Freeſland* by their Congregations, in order to compoſe the differences, required that both parties ſhould be confronted, or give an account of the matter in each other's preſence; but to this the *Freeſlanders* would not hearken. Theſe *Brabanters* had by letter requeſted *John Williamſon* and *Lubbert Gerritſon*, *North Holland* Teachers at *Horn*, to go with them to *Freeſland*; but the Miniſters of the other *North-Holland* Congregations having been conſulted thereupon, ſcrupled to conſent to their journey, unleſs thoſe of *Huyte*'s ſide ſhould likewiſe deſire it of them, as had been already done on the behalf of the *Flemings*. But when the *Freeſlanders* ſoon after invited them thither, they laid the matter before their people, by whom they were ſent with order to return home, in caſe their preſence ſhould not be agreeable to the other Teachers. It was likewiſe given them in charge, as ſome affirm, not to make uſe of rigour. After ſome diſcourſes with both parties, the deciſion of the difference was at laſt referred to theſe perſons, and a promiſe of acquieſcence drawn up in writing, and ſigned by the principal *Fleming* and *Freeſland* Teachers. By the Sentence, which after ſome deliberation and enquiry was pronounced by the Judges, the *Flemings* appeared to have been the more guilty; they then ordained, that both ſides ſhould upon their knees confeſs their faults; that the *Freeſlanders* ſhould riſe up of themſelves, but that the *Flemings* ſhould be raiſed by the hand: the conſequence of which was, that, according to their cuſtom, none of thoſe, who as fallen perſons were raiſed up, might be again employed in any Office belonging to their Congregations. Others relate, that the *Flemings* underſtood at firſt that the confeſſion of guilt was to be made upon the ſame foot by both parties, and therefore thought they were to riſe up of themſelves as well as the *Freeſlanders*; but that *John Williamſon*, who pronounced the Sentence, explained to them the meaning of the Judges, at which they being diſſatisfied, ſtood up of their own accord, revoked their confeſſion, and trampled the agreement under their feet, excepting ſome few of them, who ſuffered themſelves to be raiſed up: It was likewiſe required of *Job Johnſon* and the other five, that had pronounced *Ubbo* excommunicate, that they ſhould particularly aſk him forgiveneſs.

The differences decided in favour of the Freeſlanders.

Thus the Diviſion remained as it was, nay the Schiſm became greater; and *Job* ſeeing how matters were like to end, cried out, with much concern in the preſence of the perſon who drew up the account of the riſe and progreſs of theſe differences: *O God, how have we poor creatures ſuffered our ſelves to be miſled whilſt we ſearched the Scriptures out of a ſpirit of diviſion and hatred, not out of love to peace and unity. O Lord, grant me thy grace, that I being freed from this madneſs and confuſion, may dwell but half a year in ſome quiet and ſolitary place; then will I be ready to ſacrifice my body for my faith.* And the poor man had his wiſh; for retiring from *Harlingen* to a Village near the *Brill*, he remained there one Summer in private, till being apprehended in *Autumn*, he was carried to the *Hague*, and at laſt put to death.

The Sentence pronounced againſt the Flemings, *occaſions new Diputes.*

Both Parties have recourſe to Richard Philips, *a Man of great repute among them.*

After the abovementioned Sentence had produced more of Diviſion than Peace, both parties turned their eyes upon *Richard Philips*, who at this time reſided at *Dantzick* in *Pruſſia*; to the end, that by his Mediation they might be brought nearer together, or at leaſt that one ſide might fortifie it ſelf againſt the other under his authority, for he was in very great repute among the *Anabaptiſts*, and he was alſo eſteemed by others, who were men of Letters, more than any of his fellow Teachers. The impartial *Caſſander* gives the following account of him: Richard Philips, *the Brother of* Ubbo, *embraced the Cauſe of* Menno *after his death, being not inferior to him in Zeal, as he was ſuperiour in Eloquence, Learning, and Knowledge of Sciences, which, certain Books, lately written by him, ſufficiently teſtifie; inſomuch that it is to be lamented, that ſo great a Genius, and one furniſhed with ſuch excellent gifts, ſhould rather ſuffer himſelf to be employed in promoting Hereſie and Schiſm, than to the re-eſtabliſhment of the true Church, though indeed he was more moderate than others of his Sect, and had reformed ſome of their ridiculous errors.*

The *Brabant* and *Flemiſh* Teachers had before invited him this way, when the diſputes were not yet riſen to ſuch a height, but the *Freeſlanders* oppoſed it. However, after the laſt Sentence was pronounced againſt the *Flemings*, he was likewiſe invited by the *Freeſlanders*, but upon certain conditions. *Huyte* writ to him to the following purpoſe: *That he and all his Family ſhould come to him, as* Jacob *went down to* Egypt; *that they would take care of him there, as their dear Father, and ſerve him as long as he lived: But if he ſhould be troubled upon the account of the Turbulent and Seditious,* (meaning the *Flemings*) *who had been defeated with* Abſolom, *and diſſatisfied with the faithful Miniſters* (meaning the Judges) *who had behaved couragiouſly in the Cities of their God, then would his coming be unprofitable to them, then would he drive away all true hearts, and all good men from him, which would be more grievous than all the evils that had ever befallen him all the days of his life.* An° Dom. 1566.

Richard Philips together with *Hans Sikken* and others, arriving afterwards at *Embden*, with a power from the Congregations in *Pruſſia*, to hear both ſides, to enquire which was in the right, and to ſupport the juſt cauſe, immediately returned an Anſwer to *Huyte Renix*, in which he ſpoke to him after the following manner: *Now ſince you are ſo perverſe, and, as it appears, do not value us, but ſcatter your Excommunications ſo raſhly, that many true hearts ſigh and lament upon that occaſion; the preſent emergency of affairs obliges us, firſt, to beſeech you, as friends and brethren, through the bowels of God, and love of the Spirit, that you continue quiet in your Miniſtry, for the avoiding all ſcandal and trouble. But in caſe our prayer and requeſt is of no weight with you, nor can be heard; we charge you in the name of the Lord, and by the power which he has beſtowed upon the Church, and upon me, to forbear all exerciſe of your Miniſtry, till you have juſtified and purged your ſelf before the Lord, before us, and others in the preſence of your accuſers. We hope likewiſe (if the Lord pleaſes, and if we live) to appoint a time aud place for the hearing of you, and to give you notice when and where we ſhall meet. But in caſe you do not conſent to this, and, without any regard to us, proceed in the exerciſe of your function; take notice, that we ſhall not look upon it to be of any validity, nor acknowledge you to be our Brother, but deprive you of all the advantages of the Brotherhood, upon the conditions aforeſaid. In the like manner we diſapprove of the regulations of* Egbert Kuiper, *and hold them for irregular and invalid* (thoſe regulations ſeem to have been ſubſtituted to the former of the four Towns) *neither do we acknowledge him as an Aſſociate in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel: Wherefore, in caſe any perſon ſhould encourage you to ſlight what we have here ordered, and to proceed in the work of the Miniſtry, we likewiſe require and command him, as well as you, whoever he be, whether he dwell among you, or in any other place, to ceaſe from his function: neither ſhall we allow him or you to have any thing to do in the Congregation, till you have purged your ſelves, and he in particular; inaſmuch as he has not cauſed you to be quiet, but has rather confirmed and ſtrengthened you in your diſobedience. But as for the well-meaning people, that are honeſt and innocent, that fear God and eſchew evil, they are excepted out of this caſe.* *His Letter on that occaſion, in which he declares againſt the* Freeſlanders, *makes the Breach wider.*

This Letter was ſigned by *Richard Philips*, *Hans Sikken*, and *Geert H——:* he likewiſe wrote Letters of the ſame tenour to *John Williams* and *Lubbert Gerritſon*, to which he added, *We command all you Miniſters, Elders, and Brethren, to be quiet, and not preſume to exclude or admit any perſons into your Congregation, till they as well as you, and you as well as they, have all purged your ſelves reſpectively.* The ſame thing did he likewiſe ſignifie to thoſe of *Horn*, deſiring and requiring them, by the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, to cauſe his Letter to be read to all the Congregations in *North-Holland*. *Huyte* ſhewed ſo much reſpect and obedience to his Letter, that he ſuſpended himſelf for a while; but having twice deſired him by Meſſengers, to bring what charge he had againſt him, before his people, he was (upon *Philips*'s rejecting his requeſt, and perſevering in his firſt reſolution) by them declared free, and confirmed in his Miniſtry. The Congregations of *North-Holland* would not conſent that *John Williams* and *Lubbert Gerritſon* ſhould ceaſe from their Miniſtry, or go to *Embden*, as was required of them; but intreated *Richard Philips*, together with his Colleagues, to come to *Horn*, in order to treat of the buſineſs before thoſe of that place. Thus they oppoſed each other, each ſide ſupporting their requeſt with arguments. Many blamed *Philips*, that, without any order of his people which had ſent him, he ſhould take upon him to depoſe or ſuſpend Miniſters and Teachers from their Office, and

An° Dom. 1566. diſcharge them from the Brotherhood, without the knowledge and conſent of their own Congregations, to whom it properly belonged to judge of their miſdemeanours. But he himſelf was ſentenced much after the ſame manner, and the meaſure he meted was meaſured to him again.

At *Horn*, there met a certain Convention on behalf of the *Freeſlanders*; the Members of this Convention agreed to depute certain perſons to viſit *Richard Philips* at *Embden*; ſome Teachers were accordingly ſent thither, as well from *Holland* as *Freeſland*, and ordered to diſcourſe with *Richard* in a friendly and peaceable manner, and (as they phraſed it) according to Truth and Righteouſneſs. Being arrived at *Embden*, they deſired to enter into a conference with him, ſaying, that they had a meſſage to deliver to him. But he would not hearken to them, but cauſed them to be aſked, whether the *Freeſlanders*, to wit, *Huyte* and his people, and the Judges, would ſpeak with their adverſaries in his preſence, and be content to be charged, to make their defence, and to anſwer all objections? In ſuch caſe he was ready to hear them, but if they refuſed it, they might go their ways. After many words on one ſide and the other, *Egbert Kuiper*, one of the *Freeſlanders*, let fall theſe words, ſpeaking to the aſſociates of *Richard Philips: Since you behave your ſelves ſo unchriſtianly, unſcripturally, and indiſcreetly; and ſince* Richard, *by his irregular and ſeditious Letters, has excited ſuch troubles and uproars in* Freeſland, *we can no longer entertain any Communion with him, or his.*

Theſe words, which ſeem to have been ſpoken in the tranſport of his paſſion, were taken as coming from the whole party of the *Freeſlanders*; and *Hans Sikken* replied, *that they looked upon this meſſage as proceeding from none but Apoſtates, who had been Renegadoes before*, as *Richard* had written to *Huyte* and his followers, and alſo to thoſe of *Holland*.

He is excommunicated by the Freeſlanders.

This rendered the Breach yet wider; the *Freeſland* Plenipotentiaries ſeeing, that by virtue of the mentioned Letters, they were excommunicated, drew up a ſentence in writing againſt *Richard Philips* and his people, and gave it to ſome of their party, charging them to inſiſt once more upon a Conference with him; but in caſe of denial, to publiſh the ſentence againſt him, contained in the ſaid Writing. He ſtood firm in his reſolution, and the ſentence had its courſe. In the ſentence he had the character given him of a Peace-breaker, a Supporter and Defender of the excommunicated party, a Deceiver, and an Impoſtor: *For which reaſon*, added they, *we as Teachers and Miniſters, who are come in the name of the Lord, and of the divine Truth, to* Embden, *being deputed by the Congregations of* Holland *and* Freeſland, *do excommunicate by this Writing, or publick Inſtrument, the aforeſaid* Richard Philips, *with his Aſſociates, as alſo all thoſe that have ſtood by and encouraged him, ſuch at leaſt as will not ſubmit to inſtruction.*

Thus the zeal of one party adminiſtred fewel to that of the other. Many thought that this venerable Father of ſo many *Anabaptiſt* Churches, ought not to have been condemned in ſo irregular a manner; that he ſhould have been firſt accuſed before his own people in *Pruſſia*, whoſe Miniſter and Meſſenger he was; that he ſhould have been convicted of ſome miſdemeanour worthy of puniſhment, and that there the proper cenſure ſhould have paſſed upon him; whereas, on the contrary, he was condemned by perſons who had neither Power nor Commiſſion, and who afterwards acknowledged, that there was no mention made in the Congregations, by whom they were deputed, of pronouncing any ſuch ſentence againſt him, which yet was pronounced in their names. But afterwards many of thoſe who had ſigned or agreed to the ſaid ſentence, teſtified their ſorrow for ſuch ſchiſmatical proceedings, and lamented their own imprudence. One of the perſons that ſigned it, wiſhed that he could have attoned for his fault, by the loſs of thoſe fingers with which he held his pen. Even *John Williamſon* himſelf, one of the principal Arbitrators, or Judges, ſent from *Holland*, as I have had it from the mouth of his Great-grandſon, ſpeaking of this unhappy quarrel, did afterwards freely declare: *That he would much rather be torn to pieces upon the Red-pavement* (for ſo they called the Market-place at *Horn*) *than be again concerned, either by word or deed, in any ſuch diviſions.*

After *Richard Philips* had been treated in the manner abovementioned, the *Brabant* or *Flemiſh* Teachers, *viz. Hans Boſchaert, Henry van Arnhem*, and *Henry van Roſevelt*, ſeparated likewiſe from the *Freeſlanders*, as from Apoſtates who had cut themſelves off from God's people. *Richard Philips*, who the year before had publiſhed a ſerious Exhortation to the four Towns, to recommend to them Chriſtian peace, publiſhed,

liſhed about this time, at *Embden*, a ſhort relation of the late diſputes, levelled directly againſt the *Freeſlanders*. Theſe deſired to have a Conference with him upon that ſubject, but he rejected it, giving his reaſons in a certain Apology or Defence, which he likewiſe printed: In this Apology he ſhewed, that *the Conference they lately deſired, had been refuſed him when he deſired it. That it was not regular to treat with him whom they themſelves had condemned. To diſcourſe with Apoſtates, or relapſed perſons, and to admoniſh them as Brethren, provided they would hearken to his admonition, was indeed lawful for him; but it was not only unprofitable and in vain to meet Apoſtates, who came meerly to juſtifie their faults, to ſpeak againſt the Truth, to grieve the Godly, and to pervert the Hearers; but it was likewiſe directly againſt the Word of God. He would therefore have nothing to do with ſuch people, till they had firſt revoked the condemnation paſſed upon him and other innocent perſons, and undergone ſuch penance as ſhould be acceptable to God and his Church. Then might both parties treat with each other according to his former deſire, and then would he be ready to defend himſelf.* In the mean time, his Letter to *Huyte Renix*, *John Williamſon*, and *Lubbert Gerritſon*, whereby they were diſcharged from the Brotherhood, acquired the force of a Law among the *Flemings*.

An° Dom. 1566.

His Apology.

From thence there reſulted an *Avoidance* only, as they called it, without Excommunication, though the latter was ſufficiently included in ſuch Avoidance, and at laſt reſulted from it in its full force; for even then this general *Excommunication*, or *Avoidance*, (which ſome think had been only reſolved on by the contrivance of the *Flemiſh* Teachers) was extended to all the *Freeſlanders*: Though to go from houſe to houſe, and to pronounce the Excommunication in form, againſt every individual perſon, was thought too much trouble. It was for this reaſon judged more adviſeable to cut off by one ſentence, the whole party, and all their adherents, without any previous admonition, and without any diſcrimination. Thus they were to be ſhunned by all the Brethren, though many of them had little or no knowledge of what was laid to their charge. But almoſt all the Congregations in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, in *Groningen*, in the *Ommelands*, and in *Eaſt-Freeſland*, together with many in *Holland*, declared themſelves for the *Flemings*, though the Congregation at *Sierixzee*, without leaning to either ſide, kept themſelves in the middle, exhorting both parties, by a printed Letter, to union and friendſhip: for which reaſon both parties thundered out Excommunications againſt them; for ſaid they, *We have read and heard of good and bad Men, but never of Neuters, or Indifferents.* Some other Congregations in *Overyſſel* kept themſelves neutral too, till at laſt, after having examined into the matters, they choſe the ſide of the *Flemings*; others could not exerciſe mutual forbearance in this quarrel, but ſeparated on account of this Schiſm.

A general Excommunication of the Freeſlanders *by the* Flemings.

There were indeed ſome Conferences ſet on foot, at the deſire of the *Anabaptiſts*, in the Province of *Utrecht*, but with little effect. The people of *Utrecht* propoſed to both parties, whether they would acknowledge them for impartial Judges? To which the *Flemings* conſented; but the *Freeſlanders* looked upon them to be partial, becauſe they had not for a while avoided the converſations of the *Flemings*. The *Flemings* endeavoured to charge *Ubbo Peterſon*, as a principal Author of all the diviſions, and accuſed him of things which had not been ſo much as hinted againſt him in all the foregoing diſputes. This new Accuſation in writing, together with the others (which were moſtly old ones) as alſo the Apologies and Explanations, were put into the hands of the *Utrecht* Arbitrators by both parties, and at laſt the *Freeſlanders* were declared to be in the wrong.

Thoſe of *Utrecht*, in a certain Letter of Excommunication, ſignified to the *Holland* and *Freeſland* Teachers, particularly to *Huyte Renix*, *John Williams*, *Lubbert Gerrits*, *Egbert Kuiper*, *Ubbo Peters*, and *Leonard Bouwens* (for this laſt had likewiſe joined with the *Freeſlanders*) and to all others who had wittingly and willingly concurred and conſented to all their miſbehaviours: *That from thenceforwards they would not look upon them as Brothers in the Communion, but as ſuch as they had been eſteemed before by many of the godly*, viz. *by* Richard Philips *and his people, and all the* Flemings: thus runs the written ſentence: But they added further, by word of mouth, *Herewith all of you have the unanimous diſmiſſion of the Churches of* Utrecht: This was a Seal or Confirmation added to the Sentence or Excommunication of *Richard Philips*; yet theſe very people of *Utrecht* declared in a certain Repreſentation, *That as for the unjuſt ſentence pronounced by* Richard Philips *againſt*

The Freeſlanders *are condemned and excommunicated by thoſe of* Utrecht.

An° Dom. 1566. *the* Hollanders *and* Freeſlanders, *they referred it to their heavenly Father; forasmuch, as he being now dead, could make no ſatisfaction for it:* adding further, *that it could not conſiſt, as they thought, either with the Scripture or his own Commiſſion; and that it ought to be looked upon no otherwiſe than as a bare threatning.* Afterwards thoſe of *Utrecht* communicated their ſentence by meſſengers ſent on purpoſe to the *North-Holland* Brethren at *Horn*; but on a ſudden they went to *Freeſland*, before the Auditory could be informed of what *John Williamſon* and *Lubbert Gerrits* had to ſay in their own defence, and without taking any leave, or giving notice of their journey: yet by a certain Writing which they left behind them at an Inn, they promiſed to return, if deſired, within a certain time. After their departure, the condemned Teachers juſtified themſelves in a full Aſſembly, which cauſed the averſion to the *Flemings* to become yet greater: And afterwards they went even to *Utrecht*, to inſtruct the people in this affair, but were refuſed acceſs. All theſe things produced new differences from time to time, and the Sect of the *Anabaptiſts* was rent in pieces by endleſs diviſions.

The Effects of theſe Excommunications.

A certain man at *Harlingen*, being ejected by the *Freeſlanders*, becauſe he durſt not ſay with them, that they were the only Church of God, betook himſelf to the *Flemings*. This man was asked by ſome Teachers, how it ſtood with the Baptiſm of his Wife, that had been baptized ſome time before by *Huyte Renix*, whether it had happened before *Richard Philips* excluded him from the Brotherhood, or whether it was afterwards? He told them the day. They ſearched the Almanack, and found that the woman had been baptized ſome days before his Excluſion; upon which they allowed it to be lawful. Thus the being baptized ten or twelve days, ſooner or later, rendered Baptiſm either valid or invalid. Several married people, ſome of whom, after the Schiſm, adhered to the *Freeſlanders*, and others to the *Flemings*, and who conſequently were obliged to ſhun one another's company, divided their goods, and even their children, abandoning each other, the Huſband going one way, and the Wife another; inſomuch, that ſome never returned to their Huſbands or Wives ſo long as they lived. But this Excommunication had not the ſame force or weight with every body: Two Inhabitants of *Harlingen*, the one adhering to the *Flemiſh*, the other to the *Freeſland* faction, dealt with each other in the way of Trade; and another *Fleming* diſcourſing with one of them, who was his Brother, about this matter, he owned that he had dealt with *Freeſlanders*, but added, that he had not imagined that ſuch a thing could have given offence to any one: whereupon, begging pardon of him that reproved him, he promiſed he would forbear any further dealing with the excommunicated perſon. The man who was ſcandalized, not being ſatisfied with this, ſpoke to him again, in the preſence of one or two witneſſes, agreeably, as he fancied, to the Rule of *Chriſt:* he again confeſſed his fault as before; yet neither would that avail him, but he was accuſed before the Brethren, and excommunicated, though he acknowledged his fault the third time, and begged pardon, and his Wife was ordered to avoid her Apoſtate, or rather ejected Huſband: But the woman (whoſe fidelity deſerves that her name ſhould be recorded) the daughter of *Doede Dirks*, valued neither the Excommunication, nor the Order of avoiding her Huſband's converſation, but continued to live with him as before. The Excommunicators were at a loſs what to do; they did not think it proper to puniſh the woman, nor did they give the huſband any further trouble, but at the expiration of nine months, he was re-admitted to their Communion.

Thus low did they ſometimes deſcend with their lofty cenſures, and ſo ſtrongly have they been ſeen to pull the cord of preciſeneſs among that people upon ſome occaſions, that at laſt it would break to pieces in their hands: [1] But at other times and places, this obſtinate temper prevailed ſo powerfully over ſome, that in order to render the avoiding of the excommunicated perſons more effectual, whether they were married people, or kindred, or ſtrangers, it was not only prohibited to maintain chriſtian friendſhip, ſpiritual, or other Communion, and any civil Converſation, but even to exerciſe any kind of duties of mutual Service and Aſſiſtance, though in the extremeſt neceſſities. Such an *Avoidance*, the Writer of the beginning of theſe diviſions was himſelf obliged to experience and undergo. The Truth of theſe Events renders more credible what has been related of two others of this Sect. The perſon

[1] *Againſt ſuch Rigour,* Menno, *who calls it a heatheniſh Cruelty, ſet himſelf ſo early as the year* 1550. Vide *his Summary,* &c. *p.* 423.

that wrote the life of the late King of the *Anabaptiſts*, ſays, that he ſaw two *Anabaptiſts* at *Antwerp*, who having been both condemned to death, had ſome victuals ſet before them, according to cuſtom, before they were carried to the place of execution; and that one of them did eat and drink, whilſt the other would not touch any thing, ſaying to the Officers, *I will neither eat nor drink here upon earth with the perſon with whom I deſire to have no part in Heaven.* An° Dom. 1567.

To continue the thread of ſo many grievous confuſions and diviſions as far as it was poſſible, I have gone a little beyond the ſeries of time; I ſhall therefore reſume my diſcourſe. The ſame day that the *Reformed* at *Amſterdam* celebrated the Lord's Supper, to wit the 15th of *December*, 1567, the Prince of *Orange* haſtened thither, arriving in the evening and ſtaying about ſix weeks, to ſettle matters in that City. Two days after his arrival, they endeavoured to ſet him againſt the *Reformed*, by a ridiculous accident. At the corner of the long Bridge there ſtood a little Chappel or Oratory, with the Virgin *Mary*'s Image in it; there ſat the Wife of a certain Sand-carrier, with a table before her, upon which ſhe ſold Wax-candles that were to be offered before the Image: in the mean time her Huſband ſitting in an Alehouſe, was jeered by his companions about it: *You may very well*, ſaid they, *rave againſt us, your Wife being in partnerſhip with* Our Lady, *for they divide the Candle-money between them.* Thereupon he, being drunk, ran to his Wife, fell a beating her, and threw her goods about; ſhe ran out of the Chappel, pulled the Door after her, and ſhut him in. Then being frighted, and not knowing what he did, he began to ring the little Bell: this brought the neighbours and a great number of people together, which frightened him yet more: at laſt he got out of the window, and ran towards that Gate of the Town, which is called the *Reguliers-Poort*, where the Watch ſtopped him; but upon the application of ſome other people, let him go again. This Story was carried by the Burgomaſters to the Prince, and repreſented as a deſign of the *Reformed*, in order to encourage the Image-breaking again, even in his preſence. But he obſerving that they were influenced by the report of the Count of *Egmont*'s zeal againſt the Image-breakers, and bearing a good will to the Inhabitants, endeavoured to ſecure the Peace of the City by ſome new Agreement, and deſired the Magiſtrates to propoſe to him ſome method for reſtoring the publick tranquility. They refuſed it; whereupon he objected to them, that they themſelves, without any compulſion or neceſſity, had framed the agreement of the laſt of *September*. They on the contrary, endeavoured to ſhow that they had been compelled to it. To this he replied, that if they would make him no Propoſals, he would however execute his Commiſſion, and command thoſe of the new Religion to preach without the Town. This the Magiſtrates did not like, being of opinion that it would not end without troubles. Wherefore it was agreed by them in Council, to draw up ſome Propoſals in writing, but with a proteſtation that it was done at his requeſt, and to avoid falling under his diſpleaſure. He likewiſe cauſed ſomething to be offered for the ſame purpoſe to the Council, by the Officers of the Militia, and deſired their anſwer. But this was rejected; and it was reſolved that the Prince himſelf ſhould be requeſted to make ſuch regulations as he thought moſt conducive to the Peace of the City. Thereupon he drew up a certain Ordinance, and cauſed it to be delivered to the Council on the 1ſt of *January* 1567; but it was very unworthily and irregularly obſerved by them, as he himſelf afterwards declared, in the preſence of *Laurence Real*. The ſame day the *Reformed* preſented to the Burgomaſters a certain Petition by *Reinier Kant*, *Hans Benning*, and two others, in which they prayed, that they might continue to enjoy Liberty of Conſcience, and the Exerciſe of their Religion till further order ſhould be taken by the King, and the States General: This Petition they deſired might be delivered by them to the Prince: but after the Burgomaſters had conſulted with the Council for two days together, they refuſed to comply with what they deſired. The *Lutherans* too renewed their former requeſt to the Prince, of having a Church for the exerciſe of their Religion; and his Highneſs ſent their Petition by the Counſellor *Reinier Verduin* to the Burgomaſters; but they replied, that this was not in their power, it being contrary to the will of the Regent. He likewiſe deſired them by the ſame perſon, to give him a liſt of the names of thoſe whom they intended to chuſe in the room of the deceaſed Members of the Council of XXXVI; but they ſignified to him that the Election was to be upon the 28th of *January*, and that then each Member muſt follow the dictates of his own Conſcience.

The Prince of Orange's *Conduct at* Amſterdam.

1567.

An° Dom. 1567.

ſcience. In the mean while the *Papiſts* had given out, that the *Gueuſes*, as they called them, had been making Muſter-Rolls, in order to know their own number and power: wherefore they deſired, both by word of mouth and writing, that the Government would appoint them ſome place where they might aſſemble and take an account of their own numbers. Their requeſt was debated ſeveral days, but we do not learn that any thing more was done in it. After this the Prince, by virtue of the Regulation he had made, and which was ſigned the 18th of *January*, cauſed the *Franciſcan* Church and the *Leper*'s Chappel to be ſurrendred to thoſe of the new Religion; but they were likewiſe allowed the uſe of a Barn out of the Town, and ſome other places within the Fortifications, to be fitted up at their own charges, where they might preach in the Winter Seaſon, till they could build a Meeting-houſe for themſelves.

According to this Agreement, the Preſident *Cornelius Suis* ſhewed to *Reinier Kant* and *Laurence Real* the places that were allowed them for their Religious Worſhip, the Stadtholder himſelf being preſent. They requeſted the Prince, that the names of the places might be delivered them in writing. This the Preſident was ordered to do, but he ſeemed very unwilling, tearing a little piece of paper off from a ſheet that lay before them on a table, and writing their names upon it; which the Prince obſerving, ordered him to do it more handſomely. Then he took half a ſheet of paper, which I have ſeen among the Memoirs of *Real*, and writ upon it as follows: *Without the Town*, John Williamſon Wiingaert's *Barn*; *within the Town, the Barn, or Warehouſe, of* Gerert Dirkſon *upon the* Rockin; Herman Hermanſon's *Warehouſe, and the Alms-houſe for poor Houſe-keepers: Theſe are the places where they may preach after this day.* But all theſe places were too ſmall for the great concourſe of Hearers.

An Agreement is ſigned by his means, whereby Meeting-places are allowed the Proteſtants *both within and without the City.*

By the aforeſaid regulation there were allowed to the *Scout* fifteen more Serjeants, and to the Burgomaſters ſeven or eight Footmen; and a Company was ordered to be inliſted of two hundred of the moſt able-bodied Inhabitants, both of the old and new Religion, under the command of *William Paulſon van Theneſte*, a good and rich Burgher, who had learned Moderation in matters of Faith from the Writings of *Eraſmus*. There were likewiſe choſen four more Deputies, *viz. Cornelius Jacobſon Brouwer* and *John Pyle* by the Magiſtrates, and *John Williamſon Wiingaerd* and *Cornelius Wiinantſon* by the *Reformed*, to go together with *Reiner Verduin*, a Counſellor of the Court of *Holland*, to *Bruſſels*, and jointly to ſollicit the conſent of the Regent to the above-mentioned Regulations; and on their way home, to wait upon the Prince, whom they would then find at *Antwerp*, with an account of what they had done. But they being afterwards arrived at *Bruſſels*, the Deputies of the Magiſtrates, and of the Court of *Holland*, having conferred with the Preſident *Viglius*, without the privity of the Deputies of the *Reformed*, returned privately through *Antwerp*, without waiting upon the Prince, in order to put in execution a certain Project which they had agreed upon, but which afterwards was turned upon themſelves.

At *Leyden*, on the 25th of *January*, there was a Convention made in the preſence of the Prince of *Orange* as Stadtholder of *Holland*, and of *Cornelius Suis*, Lord of *Riiſwick* and Preſident of the Court, till further order, and as long as preaching ſhould be tolerated: The Contents of it were; *That for avoiding all further differences about Religious matters, and thereby the better to prevent the growth of all other condemned Sects and Hereſies which might be ſown under the cover of* Reformation, *and whereof ſome beginnings had already been ſeen, ſuch as* Menonites, Adamites, *and the like*; *the* Reformed *ſhould make a Declaration of their pretended Religion and Doctrines, without ſcreening any others under ſuch pretence, and ſhew whether they followed the Confeſſion of* Auſburg, *the Religion of* Calvin, *or others that were then profeſſed.* Thereupon the *Reformed* declared by the mouth of *Jurian Epeſon*, their Miniſter, *That they owned no other Religion but the true Confeſſion of* Auſburg, *as it had been owned by* Melancthon, *and declared in his Letter to the Prince* Palatine: *That accordingly, they of the* Reformed *Religion would aſſiſt in oppoſing and preventing the growth of all other Sects and Hereſies, and join with the Government in ſo doing. That in burying their Dead they would not uſe any new Ceremonies or Hymns. That neither would they be obliged to the practice of the uſual Church Ceremonies. That they would hold no Meetings, either publick or private, either within or without the City, ſave only for Religious Worſhip. If there ſhould*

An Agreement with the Reformed *at* Leyden.

be occaſion for any other Meeting for Conſultation, they would give an account of it, with the Reaſons, to thoſe of the Magiſtracy, who might alſo be then and there preſent, if they thought fit. That neither they nor their Preachers would erect or open any Schools. That they would not admit, receive, or maintain any Preachers who were Foreigners, or of evil Report or Converſation, or convicted of any open Crime, &c. *That they would not allure or inveigle into their Religion any perſons by means of Preſents, diſtributions of Alms, Promiſes, or the like. That they would obey the Magiſtrates of the City in all Civil Affairs. That they would freely and willingly bear their ſhare in all Taxes with the reſt of the Citizens and Inhabitants. That neither in their Sermons nor otherwiſe would they revile or ridicule people of different Religions, which thing the juſtice of the City might prohibit to both Parties by an Ordinance made for that purpoſe, and to which a proper puniſhment ought to be annexed.* The Deputies of the *Reformed* promiſed to execute theſe Articles, and as far as in them lay, to induce their Aſſociates to do the ſame, without any Contravention. In teſtimony whereof, they ſigned the above Agreement in the following order: *Georgius Apponis, Miniſter Eccleſiæ Chriſti apud Leydenſes*; *John Korſon Koperſlager*, *Henry Vanzile*, *Arent Gelliſon*, *Hugh Dirkſon van Banken*, for my ſelf; *Richard Barentſon*, for my ſelf. An° Dom. 1567.

About this time there was a certain diſpute holden at *Harlem* at the *Golden-Fleece*, being a publick Inn, between Maſter *John High and Low*, a Prieſt ſo called, Maſter *Nicolas Peterſon*, Chaplain at the Great Church, and Maſter *John Lapp*, Provoſt of the *White Friers*, on the one part; and *John Arentſon*, *Reiner Kant*, and a third perſon, on the other part. The Diſpute laſted from nine in the morning till eleven, and in the afternoon from two till four, with ſo great a concourſe of people, that the Burgomaſters being apprehenſive of tumults, forbad them to proceed any further.

In the mean time there was a Book printed at *Vianen*, in which the Conformity of the *Lutheran* and *Calviniſt* Doctrine was maintained. The conſequences of this Book were judged likely to be of great moment, and its Publication was taken very ill by the Regent. She ſent a very earneſt Letter to all the Towns, ordering them to take great care that the ſaid Book might not be ſpread: To which end, whereever any Copies of it could be found, they were to be immediately burnt, and thoſe in whoſe poſſeſſion they were, puniſhed as it ſhould be thought proper. This ſeverity ſprung, as ſome thought, from the apprehenſion that the Union of theſe two different Sects might render their Party too ſtrong, and extort from the King a Toleration of Religion: But it was yet much too ſoon to apprehend any ſuch Peace and Agreement between them; for upon ſeveral occaſions, the fire of Diſcord that lay ſmothering in both Parties, threw out frequent ſparks, which afterwards, through the indiſcreet zeal of ſome of the *Lutheran* Doctors, who had been invited from *Germany* to *Antwerp* by certain *Eaſterlings* who reſided there, were blown into a flame. But the cunning Preſident *Viglius* was the firſt contriver of this matter, as ſome think. Thoſe *Lutheran* Doctors, the principal of whom were *Matthias Flaccius Illyricus*, *John Spangenburg*, *John Felix* and *Hennan Hamelman*, challenged the *Reformed*, and engaged them in a diſpute about the different opinions with reſpect to the Lord's Supper, and the Preſence of *Chriſt*'s body: When they were at the end of their Arguments, then began railings and revilings; but then it was likewiſe, that *Antonius Coranus* (who at that time reſided at *Antwerp* among the *Reformed*) ſhewed how much he had at heart the Chriſtian Brotherhood and the love of Peace. This man wrote a Letter to the Paſtors of the *German* Church of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion at *Antwerp*, in which he calls them his dearly beloved Brethren; *lamenting, that the Chair of Truth was transformed into a Chair of Diſcord. That whereas nothing ought to be there preached but the word of God, in order to our knowing and gaining Chriſt, our obtaining Unity and Brotherly Love, and mortifying the old* Adam *with his ſinful luſts*; *yet the ſame Chair or Pulpit was made uſe of for ſlandering, reviling, unjuſt reproaching, and for uncharitable diſputes, tending to ſtir up one another to envy and hatred. Had this been done,* ſays he, *by any impudent Monks, the tools of* Antichriſt, *or the* Pope, *then would we have born it with patience, as knowing that that kind of Prophets are the Diſciples of* Balaam, *who ſell their tongues to curſe the people of God, and that the mouths of ſuch Hypocrites can produce nothing but impure and noiſom words. But as for you, my very honoured and beloved Brethren, any ſuch words dropping from your mouths, occaſion great ſorrow to us; fearing leſt the*

A Diſpute between the Lutherans *and* Reformed *at* Antwerp.

A Letter of Ant. Coranus *to the* Lutherans.

An° Dom. 1567.

flock of Christ *should be scandalized.* Then he proceeds to show, *That the means of composing the differences of Religion, consisted rather in admonishing each other of their mistakes after a friendly manner, and in charitable exhortations and treatment, than in assaulting one another with the Artillery of their Pens. That* Luther, Melancthon, *and such like persons, were true Servants of God, to whom the Holy Ghost had communicated many Gifts and Graces. That they had likewise carefully laboured to extirpate the abuses and corruptions which had crept into the Christian Religion, and to disclose the truth of the Gospel; but that they were no more than men, and consequently liable to the ignorance of many things. That God was pleased to communicate his Gifts to these men, but in such a manner as that the remains of their ignorant nature might shew they were not Gods upon earth. Besides, it often happened that the servants of God thought fit to make use of a certain prudential caution, and therefore did not at once disclose whatever they knew, justly apprehending that their Hearers might not, as yet, be entirely capable of understanding some particular Doctrines. This was the case of the Apostle* Peter, *who, though he had visibly received the Holy Ghost, yet thought the time was not then proper to discover to the* Jews *the abolition of the Law, fearing, lest thereby he should render the preaching of the Gospel odious, and put a stop to its promulgation. On the contrary,* Paul *thought that in matters of so great importance, no danger was to be feared, but rather that he was obliged openly to declare the liberty which the Lord* Jesus *had obtained for his Church. It is reasonable to believe, that* Luther *and* Melancthon, *observing how the whole world set it self against the Doctrine of the* Reformation, *might think it most adviseable to yeild a little to that general madness, and so to win the hearts of men by gentleness and moderation, without frighting them at first with the true notion of the Sacrament of the* Lord's Supper, *waiting in the mean time till a proper occasion might occur for restoring the true use and knowledge of so holy a Ceremony to the primitive perfection. We are confirmed in this opinion by the gradual progress of those Doctrines which we find in their Books. It cannot be denied, but that* Luther *was ignorant of many things at the beginning of his preaching, which the Lord vouchsafed afterwards to reveal to him; and he himself says very well, that God had not sent him so much to build up and restore the Church of* Christ, *as to pull down and destroy the Kingdom of* Antichrist: *To which end, something was to be concealed in one case, which was to be revealed in another. Now then,* continues he, *if other men, excited by the Spirit of God at the same time as* Luther *and* Melancthon, *with a zeal like that of the holy Apostle* Paul, *had opposed such a kind of dissimulation (which nevertheless was meant for the honour of God) and had withstood them to the face; ought we however always to have rested in the observation of such Ceremonies as these thought fit to comply with, and have always defended them by the authority of* Peter? *God forbid! Rather let* Peter *continue to be* Peter, *and* Martin, Martin; *that is to say, men that are capable of being mistaken: But let the Spirit of God be received by the means of such Instruments as he shall stir up, whether* Paul, *or* Zwinglius, *or* OEcolampadius, *or even any other of less authority. As for us, we shall receive, honour, and hold in singular esteem, such Instruments of God; but we will not maintain, that they are infallible; that is to say, that they can neither commit sin nor error, or that they know and understand all things; but we rather believe, that the Lord will raise up such Instruments, from day to day, to increase the light of his holy truth, if our own unthankfulness do not hinder it. The aforesaid persons lived at an unhappy time, and were more busied in removing the dung and filth of* Popery, *than in the discovery, observation and introduction of the pure Truth. They were chiefly employed in withstanding the rage of* Antichrist; *in answering and confuting Calumnies and Reproaches; in writing Apologies; in disputing with Monks and Priests; so that they had but little opportunity for study and serious meditation on the truths of the Christian Doctrine revealed in the word of God. This was the cause that their Works abounded with satyrical and reviling expressions, reproachful names, and other improper arguments, such as did not become the true Ministers of God, and Preachers of the Gospel of Peace. Nevertheless,* says he, *we bear with these infirmities with a regard to the unhappiness of the times; but now that God has disclosed to us so many bright rays of his Truth, ought we to have any more regard to the Light that proceeded from Thunder, and which soon gave place to a more clear and constant light? I say all this to shew how little reason we have on*

either

k *either ſide to make Gods or (to ſpeak more properly)* k *Idols of our Teachers, and for their ſakes to propagate animoſities, diviſions, and quarrels, on account of our Doctrines, to the ſcandal of weak minds and the viſible obſtruction of the increaſe of the Church of* Chriſt. *If the people of* Corinth *were reproved on account of their Diviſions, for the ſake and name of St.* Paul, *that choſen Veſſel of God, that Apoſtle of the Lord* Jeſus, *and Inſtructor of the* Gentiles, *a perſon endowed with ſo many excellent gifts; how greatly then will God puniſh us, who for the ſake of ſome mens particular opinions, contend and make war without ceaſing, ſnarling and barking (if I may ſo ſay) at each other, and in ſo doing diſſolve the bands of Charity, which our Saviour* Chriſt *has ſo earneſtly recommended to us to preſerve. When the Lord* Jeſus *would give a mark of diſtinction to his Diſciples, and the Children of his Father, he did not require them to follow the Confeſſion of* Auſburg, *nor the Catechiſm of* Martin *or* John, *but he ſaid to them,* John xiij. 35. By this ſhall all men know that ye are my Diſciples, if ye have love one to another. *Alas! what blind and miſerable creatures are we! who by our diſputing about the true and falſe interpretation of the words of the Sacrament of Union, break and diſſolve the Union it ſelf; who by cavilling and too curiouſly ſearching, whether the* Unworthy *receive* Chriſt's *body in the Sacrament as well as the* Children *of* God, *run the riſque of not receiving it at all: who by enquiring whether* Jeſus Chriſt *is carnally or ſpiritually preſent in the Sacrament, deprive our ſelves of the true Communion of* Chriſt, *who does not dwell in him that hates his Brother: who by too nice enquiry whether the body of* Chriſt *is given us* in, under, *or* with *the Bread, cut our ſelves off from the true body of* Chriſt, *and make our ſelves Members of* Satan, *the Father of ſtrife, diſcord, and contention?* Then he declares his opinion of the Lord's Supper, leaving to every one the liberty of following what *Chriſt* ſhall teach him: and having ſhown that it was very hard to know whom we ſhould follow, by reaſon of the diviſions among the *Lutherans*, and yet that all perſons appealed to the Confeſſion of *Auſburg*, even as if it were a *fifth Goſpel*, he aſks thereupon: *How the Author of that Confeſſion came to have ſuch authority, as to pronounce the ſentence of Damnation againſt all thoſe who would not admit of his Interpretation concerning certain paſſages in Scripture? what wiſe man,* ſays he, *hearing of this, will not be afraid to paſs from the tyranny of Popery to another which is in a manner as great? I would fain ſay to the Author of your Confeſſion, what the Apoſtle ſaid:* My Brother, my Friend, who art thou that judgeſt another man's ſervant? who is it that has given you ſuch power? are you his Redeemer? are you his Judge? was he baptized in your name? has he not a Maſter? if he falls, his Maſter will raiſe him up again. *The Churches of the* Palatinate, *the Divines of the Landgrave of* Heſſen, *and the Duke of* Wirtenberg, Johannes Pincerus, Paulus Eberus, *and others, did indeed embrace this Confeſſion, yet without admitting all the Interpretations and Explanations that were made of it.* He likewiſe relates ſeveral matters wherewith the *Reformed* or *Calviniſts* were charged, relating to the buſineſs of the Lord's Supper; declaring at the ſame time, *that he would not once anſwer them, being unwilling to employ his time ſo ill, in cavilling about ſuch matters; wherefore inſtead of anſwering and of falling into the ſame fault that others were guilty of, who all their lifetime did nothing but diſpute and quarrel, he contents himſelf with beſeeching the good and gracious God, that he would vouchſafe to communicate to all of them, that Light which alone can diſſipate the Darkneſs of Error and Ignorance. Let us,* continues he, *forſake theſe ways of cavilling, in defence of our own Interpretations. Let us aim at the edification of the* Church of Chriſt, *but not at our own vain-glory. Let us do our utmoſt to bring men by our preaching to* Chriſt *our ſupreme Paſtor; but not to follow the Confeſſion of* Martin, *nor the Expoſition of* John *or* Peter.——He concludes, *with entreating theſe his dear Brethren, that they would take his Letter in good part, ſince it proceeded from a heart diſpoſed to do them all poſſible ſervice; proteſting that it was not his deſign to enter the Liſts, or wage war againſt them with his Pen, ſince both he and they were obliged to make a better uſe of their time. And oh!* ſays he, *that we did but know what we ſtill want, in order to qualifie us for true Miniſters of the Goſpel! For the knowledge of our own ignorance would much rather excite us to endeavour to learn what we are ſtill ignorant of, than to ſet up for Inquiſitors and Judges of other mens Faith, and to ſpend all our time in blotting and blurring ſo many leaves of paper with diſputes that do not tend to edification.* And then he again beſeeches them, *to look upon this Letter as proceeding only from him in his*

An° Dom. 1567.

An° Dom. 1567.

private capacity, to the end, that if they received any benefit by it, they might return thanks to God, the Author of all good; but on the contrary, if they found any faults in it, they might aſcribe them to him alone, as a man that was capable of many frailties and infirmities.

This Letter, which was dated the 22d of *January*, was publiſhed in the the *French* and *Low-Dutch* Languages. The Ducheſs of *Parma* had in the mean time declared the people of *Valenciennes* publick enemies, for having refuſed to receive a Garriſon, and cauſed the Heer *van Noirkarmes* to beſiege the ſaid Town; nor did the confederate Nobility, whoſe aſſiſtance was deſired and expected, attempt any thing to ſave it. All that they did, was the ſending a Deputation to the Counts of *Egmont* and *Mansfelt*, to entreat their favour, but it had no effect. There came indeed a great number of the Common people from *Weſt Flanders*, but being provided of no proper Head or Leader, and going to work without the requiſite Order and Conduct, they forgat themſelves ſo far in harraſſing the Monks and Prieſts, and plundering Churches and Convents, that at laſt the Heer *van Raſſingen*, falling upon them with ſome regular Troops, knocked ſeveral of them on the head, and put the reſt to flight; the people of *Tournay*, to the number of three thouſand men, marching to their aſſiſtance, under the command of one *John Soreau*, were defeated at *Lanoy* by *Noirkarmes*, who purſuing the enemy, got into *Tournay* through the Caſtle, which was garriſoned with the King's Troops, put nine companies of Foot into it, diſarmed the Inhabitants, carried all their arms into the Caſtle, hung up as many of the foreign Teachers and Heads of the *Reformed* as he could meet with, and ſuppreſſed their Conſiſtories and ſuch like Aſſemblies. Thereupon the Biſhop and his Clergy were reſtored, and an Order publiſhed, whereby all the Soldiers that lay there in Garriſon, were required, upon pain of death, not to hinder in any manner thoſe of the Sect of *Calvin* (thus runs the ſecond Article) from going to the place appointed for their preaching, nor to affront or injure them, but on the contrary to permit them to repair thither peaceably or without moleſtation, according to the agreement made with the Nobility. The Soldiers were forbidden upon the ſame penalty to frequent the meetings of the *Reformed*. In *Flanders*, where the Count of *Egmont* endeavoured to do all things according to the mind of the Regent, the affairs of the *Reformed* went backwards every day, and the liberty of preaching was leſſened and infringed. *Mailgaert de Hungere* being brought priſoner to *Ypres*, for having preached at certain places in the country that were not licenſed, was condemned to the Gallows. But whilſt he was upon the ladder, taking his leave of the people, there aroſe a great clamour; the Soldiers that ſurrounded the place of execution, fearing a Tumult, diſcharged their Muſquets among the people; many were wounded, and about twenty five killed, among whom were ſeveral zealous *Papiſts*. The Miniſter in the mean time earneſtly exhorting every body to be quiet, recommended his Spirit to God in Prayer, and ſuffered death with great patience.

Valenciennes *beſieged.*

A Party of the Reformed *defeated.*

This happened at the beginning of the year 1567. On the 2d of *February*, the Magiſtrates of *Mechlen* ſummoned before them *Martin Smetius*, the Miniſter of the *Reformed*, together with ſome of the Elders, deſiring they would adjourn their preaching for a while: They anſwered, that they could not do it with a ſafe conſcience; but in caſe their Lordſhips ſhould publickly and abſolutely prohibit the exerciſe of the *Reformed* Religion by a Placard in writing, then would they yield obedience to it. But nothing of this being done, they went after dinner to the Sermon, in a certain meadow out of the juriſdiction of the City, in the Country of *Brabant*, where they had formerly been allowed to meet; but this meeting was diſturbed by *John Spel* with about twenty Horſemen; *Smetius* the Miniſter was taken Priſoner, carried to *Vilvorden*, and from thence, upon the eighth of the ſaid month, through *Mechelen* to the Hoſpital at *Walem*, and there hanged upon an Oak.

The Magiſtrates of Mechlen *endeavour to hinder the preaching of the* Reformed.

Frier *Peter Lupus*, or *Wolf*, of the Order of the *Carmelites*, went from *Mechelen* to *Vilvorden*, in order to bring back the Priſoner to the *Romiſh* Faith, he having been one of the four Paſtors in the Biſhoprick of *Gant*, who had formerly made a joint Renunciation of *Popery*: but when he found that his Arguments had no weight, he had recourſe to fraud, forging in the name of *Smetius* a certain Recantation, as if it had been written by himſelf, and cauſing it to be publickly ſhewn by a woman whom he uſed to confeſs. But *Cornelius Speks*, an Elder of the Church, cauſed the

ſaid

ſaid Writing to be compared with the Miniſter's own hand, in the preſence of ſome perſons of Honour, and ſo diſcovered the cheat. An° Dom. 1567.

In *Over-Yſſel* and *Freeſland*, the Count of *Arenberg*, with the help of four Companies of Foot and ſixty light Horſemen, made a kind of agreement with the *Reformed*, by virtue of which, the preaching was put down, and the damage done to the Churches made good. Whether this ſucceſs was owing to the reputation he had of being a good and merciful man, or to his extraordinary diligence, is uncertain; for he got his Soldiers together in the middle of Winter, marching through Snow and Ice ſo ſwiftly to *Leeuwarden*, that he was diſcovered to be at *Bergum*, which is not above a League from that Town, before they knew of his ſetting out. Upon this Revolution, about twenty of the *Freeſland* Nobility, who had engaged in the Confederacy, were obliged to leave the Country; nor were they allowed any more than three weeks ſafeguard by the Stadtholder, who promiſed notwithſtanding, that the *Inquiſition*, and the rigorous Placards about Religion, ſhould be ſuſpended, according to the Convention of the month of *Auguſt*. The Count *van Megen*, about the ſame time, baniſhed all the Preachers and the exerciſe of the *Reformed Religion*, out of *Elburg*, *Nimeguen*, *Harderwijk*, and other Towns of *Gelderland*.

Preaching aboliſhed in Freeſland *by the Count of* Arenberg.

The Count of Megen *chaſes the Preachers out of* Gelderland.

The Heer *van Brederode* arriving on this occaſion at *Antwerp*, ſent, by the advice of ſome of the Confederate Nobility, *Yonker William van Blois Treſlong* to *Bruſſels*, to deſire an audience of the Ducheſs, who refuſed it him, returning for anſwer, that if he had any thing to ſay, it ſhould be delivered to her in writing. Upon which he and his People diſpatched the ſaid *Treſlong* with a Petition to her, of the following import: "That as far as it concerned themſelves, they had faithfully performed the "Agreement, and that if any thing had remained imperfect, it ought to be "aſcribed only to the want of power to do all thoſe things at once. That notwith- "ſtanding the Preaching was allowed, yet the exerciſe of the *Reformed Religion* "in other reſpects had been diſturbed and hindered by the other party, contrary to "the aſſurance given by themſelves (the Nobility) to the Commons, who on that "account had reproached them with non-performance, as the Repreſentation an- "nexed, which had been delivered to them, made appear. That they had been "informed that Preaching it ſelf was intended to be ſuppreſſed, and that the Mi- "niſters had been already diſturbed, and the Nobility treated with ſcorn and con- "tempt. That the great preparations for War, both within and without the Country, "ſeemed to bode nothing but deſtruction to the Nation, to the Nobility, and to the "*Reformed*. Therefore they prayed that the Agreement might be confirmed, that "together with Preaching, the exerciſe of Religion (which was inſeparable from it) "might be allowed according to the aſſurances which had been given them; that "there might be a ſtop put to the raiſing of Soldiers, and that thoſe who had been "already liſted, might be diſbanded; and laſtly, that the Placards made ſince the "Agreement, might be abrogated and annulled. Theſe favours, if granted, would "confirm them in their Fidelity and Obedience to the Government, and prevent the "effuſion of blood and other miſeries which would unavoidably befal the people, "who entirely depended upon their protection."

A Petition of Brederode *and others of the Nobility.*

The Ducheſs, by the advice of the Preſident *Viglius*, returned an Anſwer to *Brederode*, of the following tenour: "That ſhe greatly wondered who theſe Noblemen, "and who thoſe Commons were, that were concerned in this Petition; ſince the "greateſt part of the Nobility, who in *April* of the laſt year, had delivered her a Re- "monſtrance, having been ſatisfied with the King's Declaration concerning the *Inqui- "ſition* and *Placards*, were returned to their obedience. That ſhe never intended to "tolerate the exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion, having on the contrary promiſed "the Nobility to put a ſtop to Preaching in all ſuch places where it had never "been uſed before the ſigning of the Agreement. That it never once entered into "her thoughts, to give way to ſuch a diſorder, as the eſtabliſhing *Conſiſtories*, or "new Magiſtrates, who ſhould make collections of money amounting to ſome mil- "lions, to raiſe an Army againſt their Sovereign (as they had boaſted) as well as "to confound the whole Doctrine and Government of the Church; to ſay nothing of "the extraordinary manner of their Marriages, tending to embroil the Laws of Suc- "ceſſion and Inheritance, beſides a thouſand other things which they themſelves "knew no end of, which if ſhe had conſented to, ſhe muſt have much forgotten her

The Anſwer of the Governeſs.

An° Dom. 1567. "ſelf and her duty. For theſe Reaſon ſhe had ſignified to the Cities and Towns, that "ſhe would not tolerate the exerciſe of the *Reformed* Religion: That the Agreement "to which they referred, mentioned nothing but Preaching, which indeed ſhe had "conſented to in ſome places, out of meer neceſſity, provided it were done without "arms and without ſcandal. That the ſecurity ſhe then gave, was not deſigned to "encourage Preaching, but was granted to the Nobility on account of their Confe-"deracy and Petition. But that they, contrary to that duty and reſpect which was "owing to the King, to herſelf as Regent, and to the Magiſtrates, had againſt their "own Conſciences, ſuffered the introduction of ſo many curſed practices of Hereſy, "perverting and miſinterpreting the ſincerity of her intentions, and rendering her "odious to the people. That ſhe took no notice of what the chief of the Nobility "had ſince done contrary to the Agreement; how Altars and Images had been de-"moliſhed, and Churches and Convents plundered; how Preaching, which had "been before confined to the Country, was ſince brought into Cities and Towns; "how Churches had been ſeized upon, and the Clergy driven away; how foreign "Preachers had been invited in, and ſome ſent out, in order to put ſuch Provinces "into a combuſtion where theſe Novelties had not yet got footing; how the afore-"ſaid Nobility had taken Rebels into their protection; how they had laid hands "on the Royal Authority and Arms; how they had formed themſelves into mili-"tary bodies, encouraged foreign enemies, and committed acts of hoſtility them-"ſelves, in prejudice to the King's Sovereignty, and with deſign to caſt off "his authority. She therefore adviſed them to return to their duty, and their "reſpective habitations, and for the future to addreſs her no more in a threaten-"ing ſtyle; otherwiſe their names ſhould be declared for ever infamous, and ſhe "herſelf ſhould be compelled to take other meaſures for the ſecurity of the publick "peace. Neither would ſhe give any other Anſwer to their Petition, till ſhe knew "who they were among the Nobility and Commonalty to whom he referred, and by "whoſe order he acted."

This Anſwer occaſioned ſuch a conſternation among the remaining Confederates, that the chiefeſt of them thought of nothing elſe but how they might moſt conveniently ſlip their necks out of the collar. Some of them ſubmitted themſelves to the pleaſure of the King. The Ducheſs had before drawn up a new form of an Oath, in order to diſtinguiſh between the friends and enemies of the Government: This was to be taken by all the Stadtholders, Magiſtrates, and perſons in employment, who were thereby to oblige themſelves to ſupport the *Romiſh* Religion, to puniſh the Violaters of Churches, and to extirpate *Hereticks*. She likewiſe required, that all the King's Feudatories, or ſuch as held Lands of him, ſhould ſwear, That they would look upon all thoſe as enemies who ſhould be declared for ſuch by the King, without any exception. The Counts of *Mansfelt*, *Egmont*, *Megen*, and *Barlemondt*, took the ſaid Oath; but the Prince of *Orange*, the Count of *Hoogſtraeten*, and the Heer *van Brederode* refuſed it, alledging, That they having once ſworn Allegiance, no new Oath ought to be exacted from them. People of a lower degree had likewiſe an Oath offered them, with deſign either to diſcover, or to bind them; which Oath, as tranſmitted to me in the language of thoſe times, is as follows:

A new Oath impoſed.

I Swear that I will pay obedience to our Lord the King, to our Lady the Regent, and thoſe that are in authority under his Majeſty; and that I will do and ſubmit to whatever ſhall be required and commanded by him or them, without any exception or contradiction, either under pretence or covering of Conſcience, or otherwiſe: And that I will oppoſe, and help to withſtand all Murders, Violences, Robberies, ſtorming and plundering of Churches, Convents, Alms-houſes, Eccleſiaſtical places, Spiritual perſons, Miniſters or Servants of his Majeſty or her Highneſs, or any other Magiſtrates, or Officers of Juſtice, and in general, of all the Burghers and Inhabitants of this City; and that I will not give any help or aſſiſtance, or cauſe the ſame to be given, directly or indirectly, whether it be by Arms, Men, Contributions of Money, Counſel, Favour or Countenance, or in any other manner whatever, to any Aſſemblies or Meetings that may be holden upon pretence of the new Religion, or for any other cauſes which are not permitted or authorized on the part of his ſaid Majeſty: And likewiſe, that I will not be aſſiſting at, nor conſenting to Preachings or Sermons whether they be publick or private,

vate, or any other exercises of the aforesaid new Religion, but will behave my self hence forward peaceably and respectfully, without attempting any novelties, in expectation of what shall be ordained by his Majesty, with the advice of the Lords of his Council, the States of the Land, or otherwise. Anno Dom. 1567.

They who could not, or would not take this Oath, were obliged either to fly or suffer for it. *John Beck Michaelson*, a Schoolmaster at *Lier*, refused to take the said Oath, because no Christian, as he thought, ought to swear, that he would obey the Powers in all things, without exception or contradiction, even when it should be against his Conscience; appealing to the example of the Apostles, who had said to the *Jewish* Magistrates: *Judge ye, whether it be righteous in the sight of God to obey you rather than him. Wherefore*, said he, *I am resolved neither to swear nor to submit upon such terms.* Upon this Answer he was thrown into prison the 24th of *April*; but how it fared with him afterwards, I do not find. The Prince of *Orange* having quieted the Provinces of *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Utrecht*, and for the most part reduced the Preachings to the open Country, and refused a Present of fifty five thousand Gilders, which the States had offered him for his great Services, returned to *Antwerp*, where, at the instigation of the Regent, the Magistrates held a Conference to induce the *Reformed* and *Lutherans* to desist from their preaching, and to prevent an Invasion from a foreign Army in their favour, which was likely to be attended with the loss of Trade and the Publick Welfare and Liberty. Hereupon the Deputies of the *Protestants* having consulted with their Principals, declared, *That they would do nothing more as yet, than conform themselves to the Agreements which had been made with them; and desired therefore to be informed, whether the said Agreements were intended to be observed or not?* The Magistrates declared, that this question was unseasonable; but that they would do well to consider of their Warning and Advice, and for that time take their leave.

Great Services done the Government by the Prince of Orange.

He returns to Antwerp, *where the Magistrates endeavour to cause preaching to be suspended.*

Whilst matters were in this state, a terrible fire suddenly broke out in the Convent of the *Franciscans*, on the 16th of *February*, late at night, beginning in the Bellfrey of the said Convent. As soon as ever it was discovered, a great number of people ran thither, where they found the Monks eating and drinking, and making good cheer; at which many were much scandalized, for the first *Sunday* of *Lent* was just then began; and as it happened, one of their Fraternity had the very day before, zealously inveighed against the *Gueuxes* from the Pulpit; and to show the abomination of their Heresies, told his Auditors, *That those wretches did not scruple to eat flesh in* Lent. The Heer *van Brederode* having endeavoured, by the mediation of *Egmont*, who little thought how he himself stood at Court, to make his peace, received such a kind of Answer from the Duchess, as drove him and the rest of the Nobility who yet stood firm to the Confederacy, into the utmost desparation. They attempted in several places to raise Troops, both publickly and privately, as also to seize upon some strong Towns, and especially Sea Ports.

A pleasant Accident.

Brederode *having in vain endeavoured to make his peace at Court, hat recourse to Arms.*

For this purpose, a great sum of money was collected among the *Reformed*, and the Heer *van Aldegonde* was made their Receiver-General. *Strada* pretends, that upon the same account, and to consult about the means of carrying on the War, there were assembled at this time, many more and greater Consistories and Church Meetings than formerly: that there were likewise many Letters carried backwards and forwards from the Merchants to the Confederates, and to the people of the Consistories, by one *Giles de Klerk*, Lawyer of *Tournay*, and a sworn Servant of Count *Lewis* of *Nassau*. Besides, the *Reformed* at *Amsterdam* lent the Heer *van Brederode*, for the strengthning and securing his Town of *Vianen*, at one time twenty two thousand four hundred Gilders, by the hands of *Reiner Simons van Nek* and *Laurence Real*, for which he mortgaged to them the seven Villages of the Country of *Vianen*; but the money, by reason of the following disturbances, was never repaid: and at another time, five thousand thirty nine Gilders were collected in the *Reformed* Meetings, and paid to him by *Floris Rodenburg*, who the year after happening to be surrounded by some *Spanish* Soldiers, and having the Heer *van Brederode*'s Receipt for the said money, swallowed it down into his stomach, lest it should have cost him his neck.

He is assisted with money by the Reformed *of* Amsterdam.

The *Reformed* at *Bois le Duc* found themselves, about this time, in great distress, they having returned to the work of Image-breaking, and put a stop to the exercise of the

A Tumult at Bois le Duc,

Anno Dom. 1567. the *Romish* Religion, instead of submitting to the new Oath which the Regent had sent two Deputies to administer to them. The said Deputies apprehending worse treatment, were likewise retired from thence: Nor would they hearken to the Chancellor of *Brabant*, who, together with the Baron *van Meroode Petersheim*, was afterwards sent to them. The Count of *Megen* therefore endeavoured, by the means of those two Lords, to get into the Town with some Soldiers; but the project, which was artfully contrived, having been discovered by the Count's Mistress, who was a native of that Town, the people immediately sent to the Heer *van Brederode* for his advice and assistance: He dispatched to them one *Anthony van Bombergen*, an experienced Officer, who being made Governour of the Town, secured the Gates, the Magazines, with all the Artillery and Ammunition, and even the persons of the Deputies themselves. Hereupon the Regent declared by a Placard, **That their Liberties and Privileges were forfeited**; ordering, **That those Gentlemen whom she had sent should be set at liberty, and the Estates of the Burghers, where-ever they could be found, should be confiscated to the King, and seized upon for his use.**

The Reformed *of that City desire assistance from* Brederode.

Megen *secures* Utrecht. But *Megen* not being strong enough to deal with the people of *Bois le Duc*, secured the City of *Utrecht*, and obliged all the Preachers to quit it. He likewise cut off all manner of Provisions that might come out of the Provinces of *Holland* and *Utrecht* to *Brederode*'s Army, consisting of three thousand men, which he had assembled about *Vianen*, who on the other hand gave vent to their fury, by plundering the Convent at *Marie-wiert* and imprisoning the Abbot. Among these Seeds of War the Clergy did not fail to sow their share.

Upon the 11th of *March* there preached at *Gant* the first Jesuit that ever had been heard there. The Churches he preached in were every where thronged; for as on the one hand, fresh zeal (if possible) always over-does its duty, so, on the other hand, the people are ever greedy after novelties, especially those of *Flanders*. He expounded the Principles of the Christian Faith, and drew many of the people back again to *Popery*; insomuch, that the *Romanists* themselves acknowledged, that the change of Religion proceeded rather from those who had the care of Souls than from the people themselves. This awakened the *Calvinistical* Teachers, who, to repair their losses, were obliged to preach more zealously, and by charitable Contributions, to strengthen their interest among the Poor: But the Magistrates were not idle neither, who obviated the design, by forbidding that money should be gathered upon any such account.

The Lord of Thoulouse *defeated.* Near *Antwerp*, the contending Parties proceeded to hostilities. A number of people brought together from different parts, armed and commanded by *John de Marnix*, Lord of *Thoulouse* and Brother to *Aldegonde*, and other Noblemen, having failed in their attempt upon *Flushing*, turning back, encamped at *Oosterisle* upon the *Schelde* near *Antwerp*; where that body of men, more accustomed to storming Churches and plundering the Country, than to the necessary discipline of an Army, was surprized on the 13th of *March* by some of the Regents Troops, defeated almost without fighting, and like a flock of Sheep, scattered, killed, taken Prisoners, or driven into the River. *Thoulouse* himself, who was otherwise a brave and a learned Gentleman, was burnt, as it is thought, in one of the Barns that was full of the Runaways, and which was set on fire by the Conquerors. This news of assaulting and destroying the aforesaid Army, put the people of *Antwerp* into a ferment, and immediately excited a terrible Insurrection. The *Reformed* arming themselves, marched immediately to the *Meere*, and from thence, in order under their Commanders, to the *Red-Gate*; and being moved by the dismal lamentations of the sorrowful Wife or Widow of *Thoulouse* (as some think,) or as others, being instigated by the Preacher *Herman Modet*, resolved to go out either to assist their Brethren, or to revenge their disgrace. The Prince of *Orange* and Count of *Hoogstraeten* used all possible arguments to dissuade them, but were answered with curses and reproaches, and with threats of firing, as some likewise did; nay, a certain Handicraft's man had the impudence to set a loaded Pistol to the Prince's breast, crying, *You, vile Traytor, are the cause of this Tragedy, and of the defeat and slaughter of our Brethren there without.* The Cannon was fetched out of the City Magazine, called the *Eekkof*, and the chains were fastened to the ends of all the streets opening towards the *Meere*. Upon this a Convention or Agreement was made with the Deputies of the *Reformed*,

A Tumult at Antwerp.

but rejected by the body of the people, who reſolved to march to the Market-place, to drive the Soldiers from thence by force, and to ſeize upon the Stadthouſe. The Town was obliged to deliver them two barrels of powder and ſome ſhot, to prevent their going to fetch it themſelves. As the night approached, the cry grew louder, *Away with the Prieſts*; *Away with the Prieſts*. It was repreſented to them, that this was contrary to the Agreement of *September*. However, one part of them was reſolved to go on with the work; ſo ſome of them fell upon the Monaſteries, others broke open the *Steen*, or City Priſon, and let out the Priſoners. The next day was ſpent in finding out expedients to pacify them; but the people that were aſſembled upon the *Meere*, hearkning to no terms, continued the next night under Arms, threatning not only to drive the Clergy out of the Town, but the *Lutherans* too, if they refuſed to join them. The Prince being in a manner at a loſs what to do further, applied himſelf to thoſe of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, and prevailed with them ſo far, that they offered to join with the *Romaniſts* and the Foreigners, in caſe they could not bring the Male-contents to reaſon, and oblige them to lay down their Arms. Thereupon, on the 15th of the month, they attacked a great number of the *Reformed* on the *Strand*, and drove them from it. The *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *Portugueſe* were drawn together in the *Kipdorp*, and the *Engliſh* were ordered to be ready armed in their houſes. The *Reformed*, on the contrary, proclaimed by beat of Drum, that the *Lutherans* had made an agreement with them, and were to rendezvous upon the *Meere*, to the end that they might ſeparate them from the *Papiſts*. But this ſtratagem was immediately diſcovered by the Magiſtrates, and obviated by another Proclamation, in which the *Romaniſts*, *Lutherans* and Foreigners were informed, *That this was not a buſineſs of Religion, but that the deſign was only to rob and plunder.* Upon which they all declared, that they would hazard their Lives and Fortunes for the King, and for the ſecurity of the City, their Wives and Children. An° Dom. 1567.

Thus were matters diſpoſed for a bloody Battle, and like to end in the mutual Maſſacre of Fellow-Citizens. The *Papiſts* gave out, that they were going to bring Boats filled with Powder under the *Meere* (which is a great arched Bridge) and that they would blow up all that were upon it. But the *Reformed* finding themſelves ſurrounded, and unable to deal with ſuch great numbers of enemies, loſt their courage and laid down their Arms, contenting themſelves with that Treaty they had before rejected; in which, among other things, the following Conditions were granted them: *That no Garriſon ſhould be received into the City, but with the conſent of all the trading Bodies or Companies, without excluding any upon account of Religion. That all Agreements made concerning Religion ſhould remain in full force, and that what had happened ſhould be looked upon as done for the ſecurity of the City.* Thus m did *Antwerp* at this time owe its preſervation to the *Lutherans* and *Papiſts*; m *a plain proof that many Sects may be better managed by the Government than two only.*

A few days before, the *Reformed* took up Arms at *Amſterdam* with greater reaſon and leſs inſolence. The occaſion was this: The Magiſtrates, contrary to the Agreement of the 18th of *January*, had privately liſted Soldiers, and by order of the Regent, endeavoured to bring Troops into the City; a Project that had been concerted not long before with the Deputies of *Amſterdam* at *Bruſſels*, which now by the means of the Prince of *Orange*, was diſcovered to the *Reformed:* but this Inſurrection was likewiſe compoſed without bloodſhed, by way of agreement, through the diſcretion and mediation of ſome of the principal Burghers among the *Reformed*; though it was come to that height, that they were ready for ſome hours together, to fall upon the Magiſtrates. The diſmal proſpect of a Civil War begun here to open it ſelf. The Father embraced one ſide, and the Son another; Brother oppoſed Brother, and the ſtricteſt bands of affinity were broken. *John* and *Cornelius*, both of them the Sons of one *Peter van Deventer*, aſſiſted each other in arming themſelves; which, whilſt they were doing, one asked the other, what he meant, and where he was going? *John* ſaid, *To the Market, to join the ancient Catholicks.* The other, *To the Street, to join the moſt ancient* (meaning the *Reformed*;) adding, *If it comes to a battle, don't ſpare me, neither will I ſpare thee.* The day after the Accommodation was publiſhed between the Magiſtrates and the armed Burghers by ſound of Trumpet, the Heer *van Brederode* threw himſelf into *Amſterdam.* The Magiſtrates hearing that *Brederode*, whom they ſtiled the Head of the *Gueuxes*, was got into the City, found themſelves embarraſſed

An Inſurrection at Amſterdam.

A remarkable ſtory of two Brothers.

Brederode *throws himſelf into* Amſterdam.

An° Dom. 1567. raſſed in all their deſigns, and did not doubt but he was come by invitation of the *Reformed:* However *Laurence Real* declares, that nothing of that was true; but that the information they had received from the Prince of *Orange*, importing, that the Count of *Megen* had projected a deſign of rendering himſelf Maſter of the City, and the tumult that followed thereupon, were the occaſion that they ſent to deſire him to be at hand for the ſervice of the Burghers.

The Regent ſent the Secretary of the Privy Council, *James de la Torre*, who was then at *Utrecht*, with Letters to the Magiſtrates, ordering them to endeavour to perſwade him (if poſſible) by arguments, or elſe to oblige him to leave the City by expreſs command; which if he ſhould refuſe to obey, they might make uſe of the Count of *Megen* and his Forces. But *Brederode* deſired firſt to ſee the Orders of the Ducheſs; upon which the Burgomaſters preſſed ſome of the *Reformed* to perſwade him to comply, but they declined it. The people being in pain for his perſon, guarded the Inn where he lodged with one hundred men, and which was more, ſome of his own Gentlemen, who were of *Weſt-Freeſland*, ſurpriſed *la Torre* at his Inn, where they kept him till next day by way of Hoſtage, examining his papers in the mean time, and taking away from him the moſt important of them (and among others the Relation of what he had done) which they delivered to *Brederode*. At the ſame time *Reinier Kant*, *John Johnſon*, *Francis de Wael*, and *Laurence Real*, preſented a Petition on behalf of *thoſe of the Religion*, praying that the Ordinance of the 18th of *January* might be put in execution; and that four hundred Soldiers might be raiſed, and (ſince there was no other perſon ſo well experienced in military affairs or of ſufficient authority) that *Brederode* might have the command of them. The perſons who delivered this Petition were kept waiting two hours, whilſt much diſcourſe paſſed concerning Religion. Among other matters, *Simon Kops*, one of the Burgomaſters, turning himſelf to *Laurence Real*, ſaid, *I could not have imagined that you would have engaged your ſelf ſo far in theſe matters, though before you married, I knew you leaned towards* Lutheraniſm; *but I am ſurprized that your Mother-in-law ſhould permit it*; *and I am very ſorry on her account, we having been good neighbours for many years.* To this *Laurence* replied, *My Mother-in-law, who does nothing towards hindering my ſalvation, is a wiſe woman*; *and in caſe your Son* John Kops, *inſtead of running to drink* Delft's *Beer, would come to our Sermons and lead an honeſt and ſober life, as is his duty, and would thus ſhew his zeal for his eternal ſalvation, I ſhould hope that you, Sir, would not hinder him.* The Burgomaſter anſwered, *I had rather ſtand up to my neck in water.* To which *Real* replied, *Softly Maſter Burgomaſter, I hope to ſee things take ſuch a turn, that all the Burgomaſters ſhall come to our Meetings.* This moved the Burgomaſter to that degree, that he burſt out in theſe words; *I had rather ſit with ſeven whores in a Brothel-houſe.* So odious were the Sermons of the *Reformed*. However, the Burgomaſters having heard what had happened to *la Torre*, durſt not reject their Petition, but agreed to thoſe Articles which had been propoſed concerning the ſecurity of the City, upon condition, that ſome Deputies on both ſides, together with ſome Officers of the Militia, might attend the Prince of *Orange*, to learn his pleaſure; to which, without any further diſpute, they would all conform themſelves. That Prince agreed to all the Articles, excepting that which gave the Command to the Heer *van Brederode*.

A new Petition of the Reformed *at* Amſterdam

Upon the 14th of *March* the Burgomaſters held a Conſultation about chuſing nine perſons with whom they might treat, upon occaſion, on behalf of all the Trained-bands; That which was agreed upon concerning this propoſition is *verbatim* as follows: "The Old Council having been adviſed with touching the choice that "may be made of certain perſons out of three Companies of the Militia, with whom "my Lords the Burgomaſters may be impowered to treat, without calling them all "together, and thereby prevent the diſagreements that might reſult from the aſſem-"bling ſuch a number of people at once; 'tis hereby declared, That the aforeſaid "Council has reſolved, the Lords the Burgomaſters ſhall ſummon the Officers of "the three Companies, and direct them to depute three perſons out of each Company, "ſuch as they ſhall judge the fitteſt and diſcreeteſt, taking care that they be "choſen indifferently of both Religions, in order to treat with them as often as it "ſhall be neceſſary, in the name of the whole Militia, about matters relating to the "defence and ſecurity of the City." By virtue of this reſolution, theſe nine perſons

were afterwards choſen, *viz. Adrian Paeuw*, *Henry van Marken*, *Egbert Roeloſon*, *John Betſon Rodenburg*, *Arent Cornelinſon Kool*, *Reinier van Nek Simonſon*, *Herman Rodenburg*, *Nicholas Reyers* and *Egbert Meynertſon*. Upon the ſame day the Deputies of the Militia, who were choſen on the 27th of *Auguſt* in the foregoing year, were diſcharged by an Inſtrument under the Seal of the City, whereby thanks were returned them for their paſt ſervices, and aſſurances given, that they ſhould be protected from all troubles that might befall them upon that occaſion. AN° DOM. 1567.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK IX.

An° Dom. 1567. Valenciennes *submits to the King's Troops, and receives a Garriſon.* *The Governour* Michel Herlin, *his Son, and ſeveral Citizens are put to death.*

IN the mean while the affairs of the *Reformed* in the *Netherlands* loſt ground more and more. [1] *Valenciennes* was obliged by *Noirkarmes* to receive a Garriſon, and ſubmit to the King's mercy, upon a verbal promiſe only of being favourably treated. But as ſoon as he was Maſter of it, he put to death the Governour, *Michel Herlin*, his Son, and ſeveral of the principal inhabitants. The old man, ſome time before the Siege, being informed by the Count of *Horn*, of the King's intention never to tolerate the new Religion; and being aſked what he propoſed to do in caſe the people of that Town ſhould, as it was ſuſpected, yield to the *French?* anſwered, *If I can, I will eſcape to* Germany *with all my effects; or if I cannot ſave them, then with my perſon only; but I will never go to* France, *nor ſuffer the* French *to ſet a foot in* Valenciennes. *I will rather ſee my bowels fall out of my body on the Ramparts, than be falſe to my Prince.* Whilſt he was in priſon, his Brother-in-law, a Counſellor, drew up a certain Petition to be delivered at *Bruſſels*, in his name, praying, that ſome regard might be had to his age; and ſetting forth, that he had lived in the boſom of his Mother, the Church of *Rome*, as all his Anceſtors had done, and intended to die in her Communion; but the Priſoner interrupting the perſon who read thoſe expreſſions, ſaid: [2] *Write, that I was formerly of the* Romiſh *Church, but will never more join in that Communion, tho' it ſhould coſt me my Life and Eſtate.*

Beſides him, there were put to death *John Mabieu*, and *John Tieville*; as alſo *Matthew de la Hay*, and *Peter de la Rue*, Elders; together with *Roland le Bouc* and *Francis Pattou*, Deacons of the Church at *Valenciennes*. It is even ſaid, that above two hundred perſons were hanged in this Town only, and in this year, for Religion and the troubles which were raiſed on that account. The two Miniſters, *Guido de Bres* and *Peregrine de la Grange*, with ſome others, got away after the ſurrender of the Town, but fell into the hands of the Maior of *Amand*, from whence they were removed to *Tournay*, and at laſt to *Valenciennes*, where, after many temptations and diſputes, they were condemned to be hanged, *becauſe*, as the ſentence runs, *they had tranſgreſſed the Orders of the Court of* Bruſſels, *by adminiſtring the Sacrament within the Town, in contempt of the Governeſs.* They rejoiced in their Dungeon, which was dark and dreadful. *Guido* being aſked by the Counteſs of *Reux*, who went out of curioſity to viſit him, how he that was faſtened to ſuch a heavy chain, could eat,

[1] Strada, Lib. VI. *p.* 314, &c. [2] Hiſt. Mart. f. 678, &c.

drink, or ſleep? made anſwer: *The good Cauſe which I have eſpouſed, and the good Conſcience that God has given me, make me ſleep, eat and drink with more tranquillity than all my enemies can; and as for my bands and chains, they are far from terrifying or rendring me uneaſy; I rejoice in them, they are my glory; I eſteem them more than golden chains, rings, and precious jewels, for they are much more beneficial to me. When I hear the clinking of my chains, I even fancy my ſelf preſent at ſome moſt agreeable muſical Concert; not that this proceeds from the nature of theſe bands, but from that of the cauſe for which I am thus treated, namely, for the Word of God.* An° Dom. 1567.

When the ſentence of death was notified to them, they received it as glad tidings, and prepared as chearfully to meet it, as if they had been going to a wedding-feaſt; exhorting, admoniſhing, exciting, corroborating, and comforting every body with the hope of a better life: *Take care*, ſaid *Guido* to his fellow-priſoners, *that you do nothing againſt your conſcience, for I perceive the enemies of the Goſpel will put in practice both force and fraud to turn you out of the right way, to make you ſtumble, to ſeduce you, and cauſe you to act againſt conſcience. Beware of that, for then you will have a Tormentor and Executioner always attending you, you will feel a perpetual hell in your hearts. Ah! my Brethren, how happy a thing is it, to maintain a good conſcience!* When *Peregrine de la Grange* mounted the Ladder, he declared with a loud voice, that *he ſuffered for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had maintained and taught the pure Truth of God; to which he called heaven and earth to witneſs. Guido de Bres* intended to have firſt prayed; for which purpoſe he kneeled down upon the Scaffold, but they obliged him to riſe up and to ſtep upon the Ladder, from whence, fixing his feet on one of the Rounds, he exhorted the people, *to behave themſelves with reverence toward the Magiſtrate, repreſenting to them that ſome had not acquitted themſelves as they ought to have done in that matter. Then he intreated them to adhere to the Doctrine he had preached, at the ſame time ſolemnly proteſting, that he had never taught them any thing but the pure word of God.*——But before he had ended his Speech, a ſign was given to the Executioner to turn him off. Upon this there aroſe a great tumult among the Soldiers that guarded the Market-place. They ran about the Town in great diſorder, no body knowing what ailed them, and fired their Pieces at *Papiſts* and others, without diſtinction. Many were wounded, and ſome killed.

Thus Perſecution for matters of conſcience began to exert it ſelf again. Preaching and the exerciſe of the *Reformed* Religion were prohibited at *Valenciennes*. The courage of its Profeſſors ſunk likewiſe in other parts; ſo that it became a Proverb, that *the Governeſs had found the keys of all the reſt of the Cities at* Valenciennes.

The Reformed *are obliged to quit* Cambray, Haſſelt *and* Maſeik.

[1] The *Reformed* of *Cambray* had driven away the Archbiſhop; but about this time the chief actors were forced to fly in their turn. The Archbiſhop being attended with a party of Soldiers, was honourably received by the Magiſtracy and the reſt of the inhabitants, and matters civilly accommodated, without any proſecutions but againſt the eſtates of thoſe that fled.

[2] Thoſe of *Maeſtricht*, *Maſeik* and *Haſſelt*, had not long before broken down the images, at the inſtigation of *Herman Modet*, as the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians tell us; but *Gerard van Grooſbeek*, Biſhop of *Liege*, having raiſed a Body of 3000 Foot, and 300 Horſe, in order to reſtore the *Romiſh* Religion in thoſe Towns, and expel that of the *Proteſtants*, the people of *Haſſelt* were forced, after a ſhort ſiege, to promiſe *to conform to the* Roman *Catholick Faith*; *to baniſh the Sectaries* (as they called them;) *to make good the damage done the Churches*; *to deliver up the Miniſters, and the ring-leaders of the tumults*; *to bear the charge of the war*; *and to demoliſh the walls of the Town. Modet* eſcaped in the diſguiſe of a *Franciſcan* Frier.

Thoſe of Maeſtricht *chaſe away their Preachers.*

As for *Maeſtricht*, the Biſhop found himſelf too weak to beſiege it; but the ſurrender of *Valenciennes*, and the expeditions of *Noirkarmes*, had ſo terrified the inhabitants, that they obliged the Miniſters to quit the Town, and ſuffered themſelves, almoſt all of them, to be perverted again to the *Popiſh* Religion, by a Jeſuit whom the Biſhop had ſent for from *Cologn*: they likewiſe ſent Deputies to *Bruſſels*, to make their ſubmiſſion to the Governeſs, but ſhe referred them to *Noirkarmes*, from whom ſhe ſaid they ſhould know her pleaſure. At the ſame time the Biſhop of *Liege*, who

[1] Strada, Lib. VI. *p.* 316. Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 129.

[2] N. Burgund Lib. III. *p.* 466, *&c.*

Anº Dom. 1567. who was Sovereign of one part of this Town, ſent a Meſſenger to the Ducheſs of *Parma*, to repreſent to her, *that thoſe of the Town had been converted, and that he had pardoned them ſo far as depended on him, and had alſo promiſed his beſt offices to procure her Forgiveneſs too, conſidering that he was not only their Prince, but their Father.* The Governeſs told him, they muſt be left to the King's mercy; and ſo they ſurrendered without any Capitulation. *Noirkarmes* diſarmed the Burghers, cauſing one of them, whom he looked upon to have been the chief fomenter of their Rebellion, to be hanged, and putting a ſtrong Garriſon into the City, from whence he marched to *Turnhout*, filling the whole Province of *Brabant* with terror, eſpecially *Bois le Duc*, which *Antony van Bombergen* abandoned upon the 11th of *April*, after having given the *Reformed* a good opportunity of eſcaping, for which he was well paid. After this the Town received a Garriſon.

Bois le Duc *is deſerted by the* Reformed.

1 In the mean while the Ducheſs cloſely purſued *Herman Modet* and *Peter Dathenus*, ſetting a large reward on their heads. 2 *Franciſcus Junius* reſided ſtill at *Limburg*: and the Popiſh Clergy finding they could not hurt him by their clamours at a diſtance, reſolved to bring their attack nearer, by means of two of their profeſſion, the one a *Franciſcan*, the other a *Jeſuit*, at the time of his celebrating the Lord's Supper in the Church of that Town, which they heard was to be in a few days. Thoſe two men having laid their heads together, arriv'd at *Limburg* at the appointed time, in the evening, in order to challenge the Miniſter the next day to a Diſpute upon their own terms. Accordingly, the following day there was a meſſage delivered to the Governour of the Fort, and to the Council, that two Eccleſiaſticks were arrived, to hold a conference about Religion. The Council talkt of ſending for *Junius* to them, but the Governour oppoſed it; deſiring rather, that one of their Members might be deputed to him. Accordingly, the *Scout* went, and acquainted him with the propoſal: He replied, he was contented, and would not ſhun the combat; and as for the place, time and manner, he left that to them. The two Champions ſignified by the Governour, that they were alſo ready, provided the Diſpute might be in the Caſtle. The Magiſtrates communicated this to the Miniſter, deſiring to know his mind: He anſwered, that what he had taught, was delivered publickly; and therefore he could wiſh, as every body likewiſe expected, that what had been publickly taught, might be publickly defended. The Magiſtrates conſidering the matter, declared at laſt, that they could not approve of his diſputing in the Caſtle. And it being objected on the part of the two *Romaniſts*, that they were afraid of the People, *Junius* promiſed, that in caſe any thing were attempted againſt them, he would expoſe his body for theirs, to cover them againſt any violence. At laſt they prayed, that the Conference might be in the Country, about five leagues from the City: to which this ſhort anſwer was given; That ſince they were now in a place that was no leſs convenient for them than for him, it was wrong in them to labour for another and more inconvenient one. Thus ended this affair. But the *Jeſuit* and *Franciſcan*, being returned home, boaſted that they had confuted *Junius*, and that he was fled to ſave his neck, which he had too raſhly pawn'd for the victory. But when this news was every where ſpread, for each of them went a different way, the Sermons were much more frequented at *Limburg* than before; and people convinced of the falſhood of this report, were excited to embrace the Divine Truth with greater zeal. But when in the beginning of *April*, and the week before *Eaſter*, ſome Troops of Horſe were ſent by order of the Ducheſs of *Parma*, on this ſide *Maeſtricht*, to apprehend *Junius*, and to tame the people of *Limburg*, the Magiſtrates judged, that it would be beſt for him and all the inhabitants, timely to withdraw, rather than ſtay there obſtinately and unſeaſonably. Conſulting therefore ſome of his friends, a certain *Schepen* who walked with him one evening, acquainted him in confidence with the whole State of their affairs; which, as ſoon as he knew, he left the Town the ſame night, about Eleven o'clock, and in a violent ſtorm of Rain, was conveyed out of the Juriſdiction of the Duchy of *Limburg*, to the end that he might ſafely retire to *Germany*, or where elſe he deſired. Before we take our leave of *Limburg*, I cannot forbear mentioning an Event that deſerves to be recorded, and may ſerve for a Mirrour to cruel Judges. 3 The Relation is taken from the teſtimony of a popiſh Lawyer and Writer of Trials. A certain Father Confeſſor, ſentenced to be burnt for turning *Proteſtant*,

Franciſcus Junius *is challenged to diſpute.*

[1] Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 126. Strada, *p.* 328. Burgund. Lib. III. *p.* 454.

[2] Fr. Junius. in vita ſua, *p.* 20.

[3] *See the Works of* J. Hall, Vol. II. *p.* 732.

Proteſtant, was led to the Stake; who, as he went, ſang Hymns and Pſalms with wonderful courage. The Officer of the place, perhaps becauſe he obſerved greater chearfulneſs in his countenance than in thoſe of his enemies, commanded him to hold his peace. The condemned man proceeded however in his ſinging, and joyfully made a confeſſion of his Faith. Upon this, the *Scout* in a great rage, cauſed his tongue to be cut out, cloſe to the root, and the Martyr reſign'd his life in ſilence and tranquility. Not long after, the above-mentioned Officer, or Judge of the place, had a Son born, whoſe tongue hung out of his mouth down to his chin, like that of a hunted Deer; which could never be drawn back within his lips. This, though we ſhould aſcribe it to the ſtrength of the Mother's Imagination, or to her Averſion cauſed by ſo cruel an action, may nevertheleſs be conſidered as an effect of Divine vengeance.

Anno Dom. 1567.

A certain Judge remarkably puniſhed.

1 Soon after the pacification of the troubles at *Antwerp*, the Prince of *Orange* made a requeſt to the Governeſs, to confer his Stadtholderſhip upon ſome other perſon; alledging, that he found himſelf obliged to look after his private concerns in *Germany*. But ſhe on the contrary, adviſed him by her Secretary, *John Bertie*, to continue in the King's ſervice till the new Oath ſhould be regulated. But he perſiſting in his reſolution, gave the following reaſons among other; *viz.* That *having been ſworn to maintain the Rights and Privileges of thoſe Provinces that were under his Government, he could not act in conſiſtence with that Oath, either by defending thoſe Privileges, or by oppoſing any attempts againſt them, in caſe he, by virtue of the new Oath, ſhould be obliged to obey every command which ſhould be given in the King's name, without reſerve.* 2 To which he added, *That Placards were daily iſſued, with Capital puniſhments againſt ſuch as forſook the Church of* Rome, *with which, he who did not approve of ſuch ſeverities on account of conſcience and matters of faith, could by no means comply; and that he might even be preſs'd, by virtue of this Oath, to the Murder of his own Conſort, ſhe being a favourer of* Luther's *Doctrine.* 3 There was at this time a rumour, that the Governeſs was raiſing a great Army, and that ſhe had appointed the Duke of *Alva* for General: This made the Prince ſuſpect, that neither rigour nor blood would be ſpared, knowing what cruelty (the vileſt of all human, and even of infernal qualities) had poſſeſs'd the heart of this man. 4 For which reaſon, having in vain attempted to bring *Egmont* into a ſtricter union with him, he reſolved not to wait his arrival. The *Reformed* found themſelves in the utmoſt diſtreſs, by the ill ſucceſs of their affairs. The Prince of *Orange* ſeemed to be their only refuge, though ſome of them were offended at the advice he had often given them, of uniting themſelves to the *Lutherans*. But he well knowing not only himſelf but the King, the inconſtancy of the people, and the ſlowneſs and uncertainty of foreign aſſiſtance, was not leſs ſenſible that much had been loſt by the defection of *Egmont*; and that not above a third part of the Nobility continued firm to the Confederacy: He knew that the Clergy who had been ſo unworthily treated, ſo baſely wronged, and ſo imprudently made their adverſaries, could not admit into their breaſt any thing but apprehenſions of yet worſe uſage, and an implacable reſentment of what had paſs'd; and that feeling the ſmart of their freſh wounds, they would employ all their intereſt to revenge themſelves, and hazard 5 every thing, rather than lie at the mercy of a wild and untractable Mob. Yet, taking compaſſion of ſo many innocent ſouls, and brave people, who meant no harm, he ſaid to the Deputies of the *Reformed* one time at a private conference; *Do what you have been ſo often adviſed to; unite with the* Lutherans; *the Difference is too ſmall, for you to keep up ſeparate Intereſts: In that caſe, I hope I ſhall be able to defend you, with the help of the* German *Princes.* But they anſwered, that their conſciences would not ſuffer it; and ſo this wholſome counſel was rejected by the management of three or four hot-headed Miniſters, as the Prince afterwards complained. Beſides, he hinted to them, that they might ſtill hope for a happy event, if they could but immediately raiſe five or ſix hundred thouſand Gilders. The Deputies of the Churches were of opinion that ſuch a ſum might be found, but deſired to know how it was to be employed. The Prince replied, that they ought to truſt him for that; for if his Scheme was diſcovered, it would certainly miſcarry: They inſiſted nevertheleſs to know the ſecret, ſince otherwiſe they could not undertake to raiſe the money. Only *Reinier Kant*, the Repreſentative of the Churches of *Holland*, appeared ſatisfied with the Prince's anſwer: But nothing more was done in this matter.

The Prince of Orange *offers to lay down his Offices.*

He adviſes the Reformed *to unite with the* Lutherans.

On

[1] Strada, Lib. VI. *p.* 318. Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 129.
[2] Grot. And. Lib *p.* 24. Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 134.
[3] Strada, Lib. VI. *p* 321. Thuan. Lib. XLI. *p.* 527. [4] Bor. Lib. III. *p.* 117. [5] Bor. ibid.

An° Dom. 1567. On the 10th of *April* the Magiſtrates of *Antwerp* called together the *Reformed* and *Lutheran* Miniſters of that City, repreſenting to them with ſoft, and hard words too, the neceſſity they lay under of avoiding the King's diſpleaſure, and exhorting them to forbear preaching till further order. Upon this account they intimated, that it would be proper for the Miniſters to leave the Town with a ſafe Conduct, which ſhould be procured them. This was hard indeed; but it was no leſs dangerous to abide the extremity. The Prince adviſed the ſame thing; upon which, they complied; and ſome of them went the ſame day, as did the reſt the next day, and the Prince of *Orange* himſelf, being attended by a great *Eſcorte* of Gentlemen, Merchants and others. When he came to *Breda*, the Miniſters and Deputies of thoſe of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion deſired him to grant them under his hand and ſeal, *a Teſtimonial of their regular Vocation, Life and Converſation, according to the Convention between the Magiſtrates and them on the 2d of* September *laſt*; *and to ſignifie, that they had no otherwiſe behaved themſelves than as dutiful Subjects to the Magiſtrates and his Majeſty.* The Prince conſented to it, and added, That *they had indeed behaved themſelves dutifully, and had ſtood by the Magiſtrates againſt thoſe who had been the occaſions of the late troubles.* [1] In this turn of affairs, the *Lutherans* were not a little miſtaken, ſince for the ſervice they had done in the former diſturbances, and in weakning the *Proteſtant* Intereſt by their diſcord with the *Reformed*, they had expected a thankful reception, and a place of ſhelter. After this the Prince took his journey to *Germany*, declaring, when he left the *Low-Countries*, that he would never attempt any thing againſt the King, unleſs he were attacked by him in his Fortune and Honour; as for Religion he had little reliſh of it at that time.

The Preachers leave Antwerp.

The Prince of Orange *retires to* Germany.

Thouſands of people who were conſcious to themſelves of having had any hand in the introducing or countenancing the *Reformation*, or in *pillaging Churches*, or promoting *Tumults*, took this opportunity in imitation of him, and in conſequence of his advice, to haſten their flight and quit the Land. Thoſe of *Antwerp*, even the great Council it ſelf, agreed to receive a Garriſon, without ſo much as adjuſting the number of the Soldiers or ſtipulating any other terms. On the 27th of *April* the Troops were admitted, and two days after the Ducheſs herſelf followed them, who, the firſt thing ſhe did, eſtabliſhed the *Romiſh* Church in its former ſplendor. She alſo cauſed the Inhabitants, together with all their Arms, to be regiſtered, and then ſhe made ſtrict ſearch for the Church-plunderers, and hanged as many as could be found: She renewed the Placards about Religion, much upon the ſame foot as had been projected the year before: [n] She cauſed the Children to be re-baptized, and the Churches of all kinds of *Proteſtants* demoliſhed. Some of the Princes of *Germany* ſent about this time to the Ducheſs, to diſſwade her from uſing rigour in matters of Faith; but did not pretend to excuſe either the tumults or the violations of Churches. [2] The Emperor himſelf offered his arbitration of theſe differences; but ſhe made anſwer, That *it did not belong to her but to the King, who would not like to receive Laws in theſe matters, from others who did what they thought fit about Religion in their own Dominions.* [3] *Nicolas Burgundius* ſays, That ſhe returned this anſwer to the *Saxon* Envoy: *You muſt know that in the buſineſs of Religion I have done nothing of my own head, but by the King's command, with which I am obliged to comply. You muſt therefore ask a reaſon of him. And yet it would be more prudent in you to ſuffer his Majeſty to enjoy the ſame right that your Maſter does. Why will you meddle with our authority? Why will you preſcribe Rules of Government to others, which you would not receive from others? The King does not trouble himſelf with what you do in* Germany. [o] *Chuſe you ſuch a Religion as you like beſt. Take care of the Publick according to your mind. No body demands of you an account of your Adminiſtration. I beg you therefore to leave the King at liberty in his own Dominions, where no man has a right to controul him.*

The Regent's Anſwer to the Emperor's offer of his Mediation.

[4] After this there was a very ſevere Order and Scheme projected, to which all Courts of Juſtice and Magiſtrates were to conform in Proſecutions of thoſe who had offended the King or the Church.

[5] *Brederode* continued ſtill at *Amſterdam*, though the Prince of *Orange* had ſent a Gentleman on purpoſe to inform him how ill their affairs went. He was beſides admoniſhed not only by rumours, which were the forerunners of the approaching diſtreſs,

n

o

[1] Apol. Pr. d'Or. *p.* 93. Reid. *p.* 4.
[2] Strada Lib. VI. *p.* 389——37.
[3] Lib. III *p.* 487.
[4] Bor. III. *p.* 121.
[5] Hooft. Lib. IV. *p.* 129. Real. *p.* 86.

ſtreſs, but alſo by the flight of multitudes of people from all parts, who after having waited long at the Gates for admittance, were refuſed it, and required by the Magiſtrates immediately to depart. A diſmal ſpectacle it was to ſee ſo many poor creatures, with their Wives and Children ſtanding on the Dikes, driven from their own homes and denied entrance, without ſupport, without hope, falling from one diſtreſs into another. Pitied they were indeed both by *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, and by ſome of the moſt tender hearted Burghers, ſheltered in Houſes and Gardens in the Suburbs, but the Magiſtrates would not allow them ſo much time as was requiſite to provide them with neceſſaries for a longer journey; upon which there was a haſty collection of victuals, cloaths and money made for them, and a good number of Ships were hired to carry them to *Embden* and other places. The very *Roman Catholicks* themſelves were not backward in aſſiſting them; but the Burgomaſters were extreamly diſpleaſed, eſpecially with the *Papiſts*, who had exerted their charity and liberality in favour of thoſe miſerable Refugees.

An° Dom. 1567.

Multitudes of people obliged to leave their Habitations.

Moſt of the Miniſters, together with ſeveral Deputies of the *Reformed* in *Holland*, aſſembled on a certain day at *Amſterdam*, to conſider how to behave themſelves under theſe difficulties, and whether they ſhould proceed in the exerciſe of their Religion, or whether they ſhould put a ſtop to it; and at laſt agreed, *That they ought not to forbear for fear of men, but to go on as they had done, at leaſt till they ſhould be forbidden by a new Placard:* For now the Burgomaſters preſt the *Reformed* to ceaſe preaching, ſince thoſe of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and other Countries under the King's obedience, had in a manner all forborn it: however, the conſideration of this requeſt of theirs was civilly waved or put off, till they ſhould be obliged to it by the Higher Powers. After this, thoſe of *the Religion* betook themſelves to faſting and prayer, in which they ſpent the 20th of *April*. The *Eaſterlings* of the *Lutheran* Communion, that they might timely ingratiate themſelves with the Government, acquainted the Magiſtrates, that they were willing to exerciſe their Religion in ſuch place as ſhould be allotted them; which was well taken of them, it being known what good ſervice they had done the King at *Antwerp*. But the *Reformed* obſerving how the fire of Perſecution, which was broken out in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, daily increaſed and came nearer to them, did, on their own accord, the ſame day propoſe to the Magiſtrates, that they would ceaſe their Meetings, on condition that it might be mutually agreed to admit no foreign Soldiers into the Town, or at leaſt that they might have a ſufficient time allowed them (as had been ſtipulated in former Treaties) to diſpoſe of all their real Eſtates, and to remove, with their Goods, out of the Country. On the 26th of the ſame month this was granted; and upon the 27th, about eleven o' clock at night, the Heer *Brederode* ſet out for *Embden*.

An Aſſembly of the Reformed *in* Holland.

Preaching diſcontinued in Holland *on certain Conditions.*

The Heer van Brederode *leaves* Amſterdam.

[1] About a few weeks before, ſeveral of thoſe who had aſſerted their Civil Rights, as well as ſome of the principal perſons among the *Reformed*, meeting in the Warehouſe of *Harman Harmanſon*, had pledged their honour and faith to each other, that they would contribute the hundredth penny of their reſpective Eſtates, for raiſing the Sum of about eleven thouſand Gilders, expended in travelling to and fro, in purchaſing Arms and hiring Warehouſes for the ſervice of the Common cauſe; as conſidering, that they were not likely to ſtay there long, and that it was therefore time to repay what had been diſburſed. For this purpoſe, a Cheſt, with a hole at the top for putting in the money, was placed in the houſe of *Laurence Jacobſon*, with three keys, which were kept by *Laurence Real*, *Nicolas Paeuw*, and *Floris Rodenburg*, who were inſtructed to engage other Patriots and Lovers of the Common intereſt in the like deſign, as they alſo did. But many forgot both their Honour and Oath ſo far, that there were not at laſt above ſeven hundred and fifty Gilders brought into the common Treaſury, which were paid to the Hoſteſs or Landlady of the Heer *Brederode*, to ſatisfy for his expences, and by way of acknowledgment for the comfort they received from his preſence.

The flight of that Gentleman produced conſiderable conſequences. The *Reformed* were indeed the ſtrongeſt Party in the City of *Amſterdam*, but had little to expect from the Country. The rumour likewiſe of *Noirkarmes* deſheartened them, and the approach of his Troops yet more: this made thoſe who having moſt exerted themſelves were become the moſt obnoxious, to look out for a ſafe retreat, and haſten away

And is followed by the chief of the Reformed.

[1] Hooft. *p.* 135. Real. *p.* 88, 93, &c.

Anno Dom. 1567. away to *Embden*, the general *Aſylum* at that time. Some procured Certificates under the City-Seal, teſtifying, how they had always behaved themſelves loyally and faithfully. The Burgomaſters granted ſome of the like Certificates to perſons that were the moſt obnoxious to them, in order to amuſe and deceive them, and to induce others to fly away in imitation of them; but ſome that either ſtaid or returned upon the credit of ſuch Certificates, found themſelves ſadly miſtaken. *Reinier Kant* went off in the evening of the 27th. The next day *Laurence Real* was adviſed, as from the Burgomaſters, to ſtep aſide for a while, till they ſhould ſee how matters would go. He expected they ſhould have given him an honourable Teſtimonial under their Seal, by way of Paſſport, but was told, that the Magiſtrates were ſo buſy at preſent, that they could not let him have one with him, but would ſend it after him at their own charge, if he would acquaint them which way he went: He told them to *Medenblik*; and went immediately on board a ſmall Veſſel with *Francis de Wael*, *Matthias Johnſon* a Hatter, and *Adrian Kromhout*, with his Wife and Daughter, a Girl of about fourteen years. No ſooner were they come to *Medenblik*, an open place, but warning was given them, that a Party of Horſe was marching thither from *Alkmaer*. Upon this they preſently got into a Herring-Boat, with which they ſet ſail, and meeting with another Veſſel full of the Goods of Refugees, and none but a boy in her, they made the beſt of their way to *Wieringen*, where the Schipper, who followed the next day, acquainted them, that they were ſcarce ſailed when the Horſemen, about forty ſtrong, arrived at their Inn to ſearch for them, and would have purſued them if they could have gotten a Ship at the Key. This they took for the Paſs which the Burgomaſters promiſed to ſend after them. However, they ſent a certain young man to *Amſterdam*, to deſire a Paſs for them four; who received for anſwer, *That they ſhould come and fetch it themſelves*; but they did not wait his return, having prevailed on the Schipper to carry them to *Flieland*. In the mean time they obſerved the Count of *Megen*, with his Troops, purſuing *Brederode*'s Soldiers, and the Ships ſteering inward. When they arrived at *Flieland*, they found themſelves in yet greater diſtreſs; there was neither Boat nor Pink, nor any other Veſſel to be got; every thing that carried a Sail was employed in tranſporting the Refugees to *Embden*, *Bremen*, and elſewhere. There were Letters likewiſe come to the *Scout* of that Iſland, ſent from the Burgomaſters of *Amſterdam*, deſcribing four perſons, *Real* and his Companions, and praying him to ſecure them if they came thither. But the *Scout* was dead a few days before, and the Letter fell into the hands of one *Adrian Corneliſon* a Goldſmith of *Alkmaer*, but dwelling at *Flieland*, who executed the Office of *Scout* till further order. This perſon very kindly communicated the contents of it to the Parties themſelves, adviſing them to be gone without delay. They thereupon got up an old Crab-ſchute, or Boat, in the night, which had lain near half a year under water, of about three Tons burthen, and in this they put out to Sea, though the Veſſel was ſo leaky that they were forced to run her into *Harlingen*; but as they were going in, they perceived a Ship full of Soldiers which had boarded another, (here it was that the Heer *van Batenburg* and other Noblemen were ſeized) which frightened them from thence, and cauſed them to ſteer away towards the Sand or Bank called the *Abbot*, where they ſtopped the leaks of their little Veſſel as well as they could with their linnen by night, and at laſt after many delays and dangers, got to *Embden* on the 22d of *May*, meeting there with many of their friends whom they had left behind them at *Amſterdam*, and who fled from thence after their departure. The three Miniſters, *John Arentſon*, *Peter Gabriel* and *Nicolas Scheltius*, betook themſelves likewiſe to *Embden*, where they were ſtill ſupported by the Refugees of *Amſterdam* (at leaſt two of them, *Nicolas Scheltius* and *Peter Gabriel*) upon their engaging to ſerve the Congregation of that City at all times and in every place. But *Scheltius* was not long after called by the people of *Embden* for their Miniſter, into whoſe ſervice he entered with conſent of the *Amſterdamers*, who alſo continued a ſmall Penſion to him, to preſerve their right in him; but the Plague which raged grievouſly in that place, carried off him and ſeveral other Miniſters, who according to the uſage of that Church, viſited the ſick in perſon. *Peter Gabriel*, in the year 1572, when *Holland* took up Arms againſt the *Spaniards*, got into the ſervice of the people of *Delft*, but only as lent them, and there died in the enſuing year. *John Arentſon* returned to *Alkmaer*, the place of his Nativity, where he ended his days that ſame year, during the ſiege of the Town, as ſhall be related in its proper place.

The

1 The moſt part of the *Reformed* having abandoned the City of *Amſterdam*, it received a Garriſon, as did other Towns. ANNO DOM. 1567.

2 At *Horn*, *Clement Martſon*, who preached his farewel Sermon at the *Keeren* on the 27th of *May*, was ordered to leave the Town, together with his Colleague, *Evert Gorter*. 3 And about the ſame time the *Reformed* of *Enkhuſen* heard their laſt Sermon in the open air, beyond the Dikes near the Water-Mills. There were indeed a few private meetings in ſome of the Burghers houſes by night, but it did not laſt long. 4 In many other places the Miniſters were likewiſe driven away, and in ſome, the meetings diſperſed by force, being aſſaulted by Horſe and Foot, who fired among them, ſeizing, hanging, and beheading all ſuch as were either Members of the *Conſiſtories*, or had been concerned in Image-breaking. They who could not be fully convicted of any crime, but were ſtrongly ſuſpected, were baniſhed. Thus the Gallows were filled with Carcaſſes, and *Germany* with Exiles. At *Tournay* alone, above a hundred rich Merchants, beſides many others, were ſtripped of all they were worth, their eſtates being declared forfeited. *John le Seur* of *Arras*, died for preaching at *Cambreſis*; and *John Catteu*, becauſe he taught at *St. Amand*, and had once adminiſtered the Sacrament; but both of them had forſaken their Convents. *Nicolas du Puis* of *Arras*, choſe rather to rot limb from limb in a ſtinking dungeon, than by forſaking his faith to be ſhut up again in the Cloyſter which he had quitted. 5 At *Cambray*, the Miniſter *Philips* had his hand firſt cut off, and was afterwards hanged. At *Oudenard*, *John George*, *George vander Aſſche*, and *L. van Hekke*, were likewiſe hanged in the month of *April*. The ſame lot had *Michel de Meſſer*, alias *Ingels*, at *Ypres*, for exerciſing the office of a Preacher. At *Bommel* three of the Burghers were beheaded for their Religion. *Hubart Selkart*, an inhabitant of the ſame Town (Uncle to *Albertus Selkart* who was afterwards Miniſter there) had the courage to carry a Bible to the Market-place, and there to confute the Popiſh errors from it, and exhort the people to avoid them; but being at laſt apprehended, he was thrown into the River *Wael* one night and drowned. At *Heuſden*, a certain Linnen-Weaver was beheaded for his faith, but time has concealed from us the day of his death. In this month of *April*, Maſter *John Tſeſtig*, Member of the Council of *Brabant*, a great Perſecutor, and an Aſſeſſor to the *Inquiſition*, got into his hands two young Gentlewomen of the Province of *Over-Yſſel*, who had forſaken the *Popiſh* Religion; one of whom perſevering in her faith, was ſentenced to the fire, but the other upon promiſe of mercy, was perſwaded to abjure. This mercy, according to the Placard, conſiſted only in dying a more gentle death, whereas the young woman thought ſhe had earned her life by her abjuration; but both of them aſcending the ſcaffold, ſhe ſoon found her miſtake, by the Coffin and Sand that were prepared for her: Then was the ſeduced Siſter informed by the other that continued firm, what ſhe had loſt by renouncing the Truth againſt her conſcience: *You muſt die*, ſaid ſhe, *nevertheleſs, and within an hour appear before that God whom you have denied.* The force of theſe words, the unexpected ſight of the preparatives for death, and the dread of worſe to follow, ſo affected her at that inſtant, that ſhe cried out as loud as ſhe could; *She was ſorry for having forſaken the Truth, and was now determined to die in the profeſſion of it*; at the ſame time, publickly begging God to forgive that ſin: But *Tſeſtig* hearing her ſay ſo, immediately cauſed a Gag to be put into her mouth, and burnt her with her Siſter. *A General Perſecution.*

The *Anabaptiſts* were too much hated at all times to eſcape free at this juncture; beſides their toleration was now expired; ſo that they were likewiſe obliged to ſeek their ſafety by flight, and ſome of them to die for their perſwaſion. 6 Two men of their Sect were burnt at *Armentiers*, four at *Courtray*, and four at *Antwerp*; but theſe laſt were firſt put to the Rack to make them diſcover their accomplices, and then ſtrangled at the ſtake, the Drums beating all the while, that the people might not hear what they ſaid.

7 There was now no Province in the *Netherlands* but what had a quite different face. A wonderful change of minds appeared upon different occaſions. With the ſame zeal which not long before had been exerted by the *Reformed* againſt Images

[1] Hooft. *p.* 137. Strada Lib. VI. *p.* 333.
[2] Vel. *Chron. of* Horn. *p.* 166, &c.
[3] *Hiſt. of* Enkh. *p.* 99.
[4] Strada Lib. VI. *p.* 333. Bor. Lib. III. *p.* 121, &c. N. Burg. Lib. III. *p.* 434.
[5] Hiſt. des Mart. *p.* 660—79, &c. *And Hiſtory of the Martyrs in* Dutch, *p.* 436, &c.
[6] *Hiſt. of the Anabapt. Mart. in* Dutch. *p.* 426, &c.
[7] Hooft. *p.* 138. Strada Lib. VI. *p.* 333, &c.

A N° Dom. 1567. and Altars, the *Papiſts*, on this Revolution, demoliſhed the Churches and Conventicles of all kinds of *Proteſtants*. In ſome places, particularly in *Flanders*, they made uſe of the beams and timber to hang up the builders. Many of thoſe whoſe circumſtances did not allow them to leave the Country (for the flight increaſed daily more and more) accommodated themſelves to the times, went every day to Maſs, and bribed the Prieſts to teſtifie that they lived *Catholically*, and frequented Confeſſions and Sacraments. The Rich kept open houſe, the Tables were covered with dainties for the Clergy, who had never ſo much reſpect and reverence paid them as now. [1] On the contrary, the reſt who were more ſteady in their Faith, being proſecuted both for words and actions, and often accuſed by thoſe that went to Sermons with them, were no where ſafe. Many endeavoured to ſecure themſelves by betraying their neighbours, and bringing them into trouble. Some under pretence of ſeeking after Liberty of Conſcience, forced their Creditors to ſeek after them, and laid hold of this pretence to wrong them.

The Death of the Marquis of Bergen-op-zoom.

[2] In the mean while the Marquis of *Bergen-op-zoom* one of the Deputies of the *Netherlands* to *Spain*, died there, not without violent ſuſpicions of poiſon; and the Governeſs as ſoon as ever ſhe received the news, ſent a Garriſon to his Town, excuſing herſelf to his Widow the Marchioneſs by a Letter, in which ſhe informed her, that ſhe had received notice that the *Hereticks* were hatching ſome miſchief againſt her in that Town, on account of an Order ſhe had publiſhed againſt them ſome days before. But ſhe made no mention of the death of the Marquis, which as ſoon as it was known, much increaſed the general terror and diſpoſition towards flight.

Upon this, obſerving the Country was in danger of being quite depopulated by ſo continual a retreat of people of all ranks and degrees, ſhe thought it high time to put a ſtop to it, both by the hopes of mercy and the fear of puniſhment. But the Letters ſhe ſent for this purpoſe to all the Towns, were anſwered by the *Reformed* in a printed Memorial, by which they endeavoured to convince every body that her words, being ambiguous and capable of wreſting to a different ſenſe, were, the fairer they ſeemed, the more to be ſuſpected, as calculated to draw them into the ſnares of greater cruelties.

The Reformed publiſh an Apology.

They likewiſe publiſhed about the ſame time, an Apology or Defence in the *French* tongue, in which they largely juſtified themſelves from the falſe imputations of tumults and rebellion. " They had, *ſaid they*, always obeyed the King's Orders in " Civil matters, bearing their ſhare of the publick Taxes, and endeavouring to ag- " grandize his Monarchy as far as it conſiſted with that of God, the King of Kings, " and with a ſafe conſcience: that it might plainly appear from their patient ſub- " miſſion to death or baniſhment, they were not ſuch turbulent people as had been " inſinuated: that they were condemned without hearing: that they were unjuſtly " eſteemed **Hereticks**, without being convinced of it by Scripture, ° which alone o " was ſufficient to confute all **Hereſies**: that ſeditious and peaceable perſons were " puniſhed without diſcrimination: that the *Papiſts* themſelves were at the bottom of " the *Image-breaking*, to the end they might have a pretext of charging thoſe of the " *Religion* with rebellion; this, *they added*, plainly appeared by the tumult re- " newed at *Antwerp* by four *Papiſts*, who were hanged for it the next day. That " as for the *breaking down of Images*, it ought to have been done, but indeed not " without the authority and order of the Government. But that it likewiſe ſeemed " as if God by his ſecret Council and Judgment had reſolved to puniſh this great " and abominable idolatry of *Image-worſhip* after ſuch an extraordinary manner, in " order to confound the wiſdom of men, and turn it to their reproach; for which " purpoſe, he had excited a company of contemptible people, women and children, " deſtitute of all credit and power, and ignorant in a great degree of what they " were doing; and by ſuch inſtruments, in the ſhort ſpace of a week had demoliſhed " all the Images throughout the *Low-Countries*; the Magiſtrates in the mean while " being ſtruck with amazement. We learn, *ſaid they*, from the ſacred Writings, " that God had often commanded the deſtroying of *Idols*, and putting down the " *High-Places*, and commended all the Princes who executed thoſe Orders. The " Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories and Writings of the Fathers likewiſe furniſh us with in- " ſtances

[1] Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 147. Bor. Lib. III. *p.* 121, &c. Strada, Lib. VI. *p.* 347.

[2] Hooft, ibid. Bentivog. Lib. III. *p.* 162.

" ſtances of the ſame. * And put the caſe, that ſome of thoſe who made profeſſion
" of the *Reformed Religion*, might have had a hand in theſe doings, they were cer-
" tainly induced to it by their conſciences, and by the zeal that burnt in them for
" the worſhip and honour of God, which they knew was injured by the adoration
" paid to *Images*. Wherefore there was a great deal of difference between taking
" up arms againſt the Prince, and doing that which was otherwiſe holy and praiſe-
" worthy: between caſting off the King's authority, and freeing their necks from
" the yoke of the devil, and his idolatrous worſhip. *They added*, That the ex-
" amples of other nations ſhewed how far they might be tolerated in the bu-
" ſineſs of Religion. That the *Jews* enjoyed Liberty of Conſcience through all
" *Spain*. Beſides, they proteſted to God, to the King, to all other Princes and
" people upon earth, that they never had, nor did intend to rebel or mutiny
" againſt the King their natural Sovereign: that on the contrary, they were, and
" would ever continue his moſt humble and moſt dutiful Subjects and Servants;
" earneſtly deſiring at the ſame time all foreign Princes, that they would vouchſafe
" to interpoſe by their good offices with the King, to the end that he might grant
" them, his Subjects, what they had ſo long in vain begged of him, namely, *the free*
" *exerciſe of that Religion*, without which they were of opinion, they could not be
" ſaved, nor appear before the tribunal of God. Thus they prayed that he would
" walk in the footſteps of his Father's goodneſs, and continue in that path which
" neceſſity and experience had taught the King of *France* to be the beſt means to
" pacify his troubles, to remove the common calamities, and prevent all further
" bloodſhed."

An° Dom. 1567.

The Duke of Alva *is ſent into the* Low-Countries, *againſt the mind of the Regent.*

[1] But whilſt all men flattered themſelves with the hopes of peace in theſe parts, the King meditated nothing but war. After many deliberations he ſent the Duke of *Alva* with an army conſiſting of between eight and nine thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe to the *Netherlands*. To him he committed the ſupreme command of the Forces, with reſpect to military matters, and every thing relating to them; he was alſo to have cognizance of all abuſes of Religion, with full power to pardon or puniſh. However, the direction of Civil affairs, and the Government of the Country, remained ſtill in the Ducheſs.

But ſhe being highly diſſatisfied at his coming, repreſented to the King by Letters and Meſſages, how ſhe was ſlighted, and all the reſpect ſhewn to him only; praying that he would forbear uſing unſeaſonable force, and viſit his Subjects rather as a Father than as a King, that ſo his wiſdom and goodneſs might give the finiſhing ſtroke to a work already brought to ſo great forwardneſs. But it looked as if the *Spaniards*, diſliking the peaceable countenance of the Country, had revenge in their minds, hoping to find their own account in the King's diſpleaſure. Even the Office of the *Inquiſition*, together with the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Clergy, brought in much treaſure upon this occaſion, in order to raiſe men as it were for a *Holy War*, that was to be carried on againſt *Hereticks* in defence of the *Catholick Faith*.

[2] Some are of opinion that the King had previouſly obtained from the Pope a diſpenſation from that Oath which he had taken when he entered upon the Government, to maintain the Rights and Privileges of the Country. [3] Accordingly *Alva*, preſſing the King to ſend over an Army to the *Low-Countries*, made uſe of the following arguments: " Your Majeſty ſeems concerned on account of theſe diſorders;
" but how many Princes would laugh in their ſleeves, and take hold of this oppor-
" tunity by the fore-top, having ſo ſpecious a pretext to break thoſe Seals, thoſe
" tokens of the minority or childhood of your Predeceſſors, to tear in pieces thoſe
" Privileges, thoſe Charters, thoſe reproachful fetters of Princes, thoſe fruitful
" ſeed-plots of murmurs and ſeditions; and to throw into the fire once for all, that
" Parchment, that Wax, thoſe toys prepared to ſet all in a flame? For new Laws,
" new Orders, and a ſtrong curb in the mouths of the conquered Provinces, will ſoon
" put an end to the Law-ſuit between the Sovereign and his Vaſſals. *His opinion*
" *was, that* the Rebels ſhould be ſurprized, and taken napping in their firſt ſleep,
" and the budding weeds plucked up by the roots before they ſhot up into ſtrong
" branches. This was what became the power of his Majeſty, and the grandeur

Alva *preſſes the King to make uſe of arms.*

* *This is an Argument that may juſtifie the* Papiſts *no leſs than the* Proteſtants, *who without ſcruple may alledge the ſame excuſe for the moſt rigorous treatment of thoſe whom they call Hereticks. See* P. C. Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 147.

[1] Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 141. Strada, Lib. VI. *p.* 338. Bentivog. Lib. III. *p.* 146.

[2] Grot. Annal. Lib. I. *p.* 25. [3] Grot. ibid.

An° Dom. 1567.

" of the *Spaniſh* nation. Mercy and forgiveneſs were only ſpecious names, at leaſt " they were no more than cooling potions in a burning feaver, which cannot be " cured but by emptying the veins and bowels, by uſing Lancets and Cauſticks, at " leaſt by ſharp and bitter medicines."

[1] This advice pleaſed the King; and ſo great was the terror and tameneſs of the *Dutch*, that this haughty *Spaniard* met with no oppoſition at his arrival on the Frontiers. Upon the 28th of *Auguſt* he came to *Bruſſels*, cantoning his Forces in the neighbouring Towns. [2] The firſt proof of his bloody deſigns was, the apprehending the Counts of *Horn* and *Egmont*, which he did by a wile on the 9th of *September*, together with the Heer *van Bakerſel*, the Secretaries, and other Officers of thoſe noble perſons; as alſo the Heer *van Straelen*, formerly Burgomaſter of *Antwerp*.

Apprehends the Counts of Egmont *and* Horn.

The Regent's Repreſentation to the King.

The day before, the Ducheſs being diſcontented, had written to the King among other things, that *the committing ſo much Authority, and ſuch a number of Troops to the Duke, was very prejudicial to her honour and the pacified ſtate of the Country. That great numbers of people had fled away to foreign nations with their goods and manufactures; whether it was through the burthenſomneſs of theſe unwelcome gueſts, deſpair of pardon, or dread of the approaching miſeries; and that they amounted to about an hundred thouſand ſouls.*

But now the impriſonment of the two Counts and other perſons of note, occaſioned ſuch a new terror, that above 20,000 more quitted the Land. *Thomas Tillius* forſaking his rich Abbey of St. *Bernard* near *Antwerp*, with about threeſcore thouſand Gilders *per Ann.* fled to the Duchy of *Cleves*, taking with him no more than a ſum of four hundred Gilders in money. There he threw off his Frock, married, and was afterwards a Miniſter of the Goſpel, firſt at *Harlem*, and next at *Delft*, where he died.

She publiſhes a Placard for preventing the Flight of the People.

To prevent all theſe removals, the Governeſs iſſued out a Placard, bearing date the 18th of *September*, laying ſevere penalties on thoſe that ſhould fly, and giving good words to ſuch as would ſtay behind; but without ſucceſs: for not only all thoſe that knew themſelves guilty, but many others, againſt whom nothing could be objected, were unable to bear the diſmal ſpectacle of the daily perſecutions of their Fellow-Citizens. Nor were the people inſenſible how uncertain the tenure of their lives and fortunes was, by reaſon of the ſtrange kinds of trials newly ſet on foot; for *Alva* had erected a Tribunal, conſiſting of twelve perſons, moſtly *Spaniards*, or ſuch as favoured their deſigns, being no leſs cruel than the *Spaniards* themſelves, and chriſtened it **The Council of Tumults**; placing at the head of them *John de Vargas*, a *Spaniard*, who, even by his own Countrymen, was thought to ſurpaſs all men living in ill nature and cruelty. Theſe perſons the Duke eſteemed the moſt proper tools for the ſupport of Religion, and ſharp ſpades to dig up Hereſy by the very roots. They who were the Aſſeſſors of this *Vargas* had but little authority, barely delivering their opinions in his preſence; but all ſentences were confirmed and ſigned by the Duke, according to his determination; and at laſt it came to that paſs, that the whole management was committed to him only. This Court, or Tribunal, declared, that [3] *it was a plot or conſpiracy againſt the Divine and Humane Majeſties, to ſubſcribe and preſent any petition againſt the* new Biſhops, Inquiſition, *or* Placards. *As alſo to ſuffer or allow the exerciſe of the* New Religion, *let the occaſion or neceſſity be what it would. And that the neglect of oppoſing the ſaid* New Religion *at firſt, or any* Church-plundering, *or even the petition of the Nobility, was no leſs; whether ſuch neglect were the effect of fear or favour. And even the ſaying or thinking that the ſaid Tribunal was obliged to conform it ſelf to any of the Charters or Privileges; which Privileges were repreſented as the cauſe of all the evils and miſeries that had befallen the nation. And laſtly, the aſſerting or inſinuating, that* **the King had no right to take away all the privileges of theſe Provinces, if he thought fit; or that he was not diſcharged from all his Oaths and Promiſes of pardon, on ſuppoſition that all the inhabitants had been guilty of any crime, whether it were of omiſſion or commiſſion.** [4] Upon which occaſion the ſaid *Vargas* pronounced this fine deciſion: *Hæretici fraxerunt Templa, boni nihil faxerunt contra; ergo debent omnes patibulare:* that is to ſay, The Hereticks

The Council of Tumults erected, which was afterwards known by the name of the Council of Blood.

[1] Grot. Annal. Lib. II. *p.* 28. Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 151. Bor. Lib. IV. *p.* 131.
[2] Strada, Lib. VI. *p.* 358. Bentivog. Lib. III. *p.* 161. Thuan. Lib. XLI. *p.* 538. Meur. Alban. Lib. I. *p.* 5.
[3] Reid. *p.* 5. [4] Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 153.

Hereticks have broke open the Churches, the Orthodox did nothing to hinder it; therefore they ought all of them to be hanged together. By which he gave a notable ſample of his cruelty and illiterateneſs together. It is likewiſe reported, that this Tribunal projected a certain Placard, forbidding, (to prevent as it were, the danger of marrying perſons infected with Hereſy,) that any Marriage-Contract ſhould be entred into, without the conſent of the Governeſs, or of the ſaid Tribunal, upon the forfeiture of life and eſtate, with other Articles of the like extravagance, to the number of eighteen, which Placard was afterwards found in the lodgings of *Vargas* at *Antwerp*, and printed. To this Court, that has been ſince ſtiled by the *Netherlanders*, the Duke of *Alva*'s **Bloody Tribunal,** all matters were now drawn; p contrary to the privileges of the Land, the uſual Courts and Judges, who had the cognizance of affairs, being paſſed by; nor did they allow of any reſort or appeal to a ſuperior Court, nor any reviſion of Cauſes. An° Dom. 1567.

There was nothing now but impriſoning and racking of all ſexes, ages, and conditions of people, and oftentimes too q without any previous accuſation againſt them. Infinite numbers (and they not of the Religion neither) that had been but once or twice to hear a Sermon among the *Reformed*, were put to death for it. The Gallows (ſays the Heer *Hooft* in his Hiſtory) the Wheels, Stakes, and Trees in the highways, were loaden with carcaſſes or limbs of ſuch as had been hanged, beheaded, or roaſted; ſo that the air, which God had made for reſpiration of the living, was now become the common grave or habitation of the dead. Every day produced freſh objects of pity and mourning, and the noiſe of the bloody Paſſing-bell was continually heard, which by the martyrdom of this man's Couſin, and t'other's Friend or Brother, rung diſmal peals in the hearts of the ſurvivers. Of baniſhments of perſons, and confiſcations of goods, there was no end: it was no matter whether they had real or perſonal eſtates, free or entailed, all was ſeized upon, without regarding the claims of creditors or others, to the unſpeakable prejudice both of Rich and Poor, of Convents, Hoſpitals, Widows and Orphans, who were by knaviſh evaſions deprived of their income for many years. It was however ſome comfort to ſee the moſt violent among the Magiſtrates, even thoſe of *Amſterdam*, who had exceeded in all practicable cruelties, counted now too mild and moderate, and as unneceſſary ſervants, ſummoned by their chriſtian and ſirnames (Maſter *Henry Dirkſon* himſelf not excepted) to anſwer for their behaviour before the *Bloody Tribunal*. *A terrible Perſecution.*

Beſides all this, the Duke of *Alva* reſolved to bridle the principal Cities and Towns of the *Low-Countries* with Forts and Caſtles, by which means he hoped to keep the whole land in awe, and to begin with *Antwerp*. [1] But the Ducheſs finding herſelf hardly taken notice of, and foreſeeing the troubleſome times which theſe rigorous proceedings were like to occaſion, continued earneſtly to preſs the King that ſhe might be delivered from her burden; which at length was granted; and ſhe thereupon took her leave of the States by Letter, their meetings being forbidden, and ſo returned to *Italy*. But before ſhe left the Country, ſhe warned the King of the danger which as ſhe feared, hung over the head of the Government. *As the dread of puniſhment*, ſhe thought, *upon the arrival of ſo great an army, had driven away many of the inhabitants into other Countries, to the great damage of the Nation; ſo now the reſt being ſhut up by force within the* Netherlands, *would be yet more ſtrongly incited to tumults and factions. The Subjects of theſe Provinces*, added ſhe, *will not be terrified into their duty. They who adviſed the uſe of ſuch methods, would, as ſhe feared, (though ſhe wiſhed her fears might be vain) occaſion more envy than authority and influence to the name of* Spain, *and inevitably ruin theſe Provinces by civil combuſtions and foreign wars. Wherefore ſhe moſt ſolemnly entreated the King, that being mindful of the divine and his own innate clemency, and exerciſing revenge as little as poſſible, he would content himſelf rather with the penitent ſorrow than puniſhment of his people.* *The Regent is diſcharged from the Government, and retires to* Italy. *Her Interceſſion for the people of the* Low-Countries.

Alva being now made Governour or General of the *Low-Countries* in her place (which was never before filled with a perſon of ſo low a rank, but always with ſuch as were of the blood of the Sovereign) went on with his prodigal effuſion of blood; ſo that in a very ſhort ſpace of time he had cauſed about 1800 perſons to paſs through the hands of the Executioner. The Refugees thought themſelves now very happy, in Alva *ſucceeds in the Government.*

[1] Strada, Lib. VI. *p.* 361. Bor. Lib. IV. *p.* 132.

An° Dom. 1568.

that they could eſcape with their lives, bearing their exile and poverty with ſo much the more patience, and comforting one another in ſtrange habitations, as friends and brethren. Great numbers of theſe ſheltered themſelves in the land of *Cleves*, whither their ill fortune did but hardly forbear purſuing them; for the Duke of that name, excited as it was thought by *Alva*, began to look upon them with an evil eye. [1] As for them, they declared upon certain Articles propoſed to them, that *they would be ſatisfied with ſuch Preaching and exerciſe of their Religion, as was practiſed at* Weſel; *and that they would not introduce or propoſe any novelties in matters of faith. In the next place, that they had not been guilty of any rebellion or ſedition againſt the King; and that if they happened to be charged therewith, they would be ready to defend themſelves before the Council or Courts of Juſtice of that Country, of which they were now become Subjects; and laſtly, that during their ſtay there, they would pay all juſt obedience to the Prince and Government, and confirm the ſame by oath if required.*

Neverthelefs it was notified to them on the part of the Duke, that they muſt leave the Country within a month's time; but at laſt by humble entreaty, by friends and preſents, they got leave to ſtay.

The Prince of Orange, *&c. publickly cited to return.*

[2] In the beginning of the year 1568, the Duke of *Alva* cauſed the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Lewis* his brother, the Counts of *Hoogſtraeten*, *Van de Berg*, and *Kulenburgh*; the Heer *van Brederode*, and other Exiles and Refugees, to be publickly cited to return; and took the Count of *Buren*, the ſon of the aforeſaid Prince, a youth of about thirteen years old, out of the Univerſity of *Leyden*; and without regard to any Rights or Privileges, conveyed him away to *Spain*, where he was detained a priſoner at large, for the ſpace of twenty eight years. To this Citation, the Prince, the Counts, and the other perſons that were ſummoned, returned a publick anſwer, as alſo to the Articles of the crimes laid to their charge; but *Brederode* did not live to join with them, for he died at *Harnhof*, on the 15th of *February*. About this time *Alva* impriſoned ſeveral Penſionaries and other publick Officers, [r] chiefly for things done by order of their Principals. r

Progreſs of the Perſecution.

Maſter *Jacob van den Ende*, Counſellor and Advocate of *Holland*, was, in the ſame evening, at the end of *January*, both the Gueſt and Priſoner of the Count of *Boſſu* (to whom the Stadtholderſhip of that Province was intruſted in the abſence of the Prince of *Orange*) and ſent away to *Bruſſels*, where he was confined above a year, being forgotten or neglected. They even detained a Counſellor who came with the Deputies of the States of *Holland* for their defence, a whole day in priſon, becauſe he was a little too free with his tongue; and refuſed to releaſe him till he took an oath not to diſcloſe what had happened to him. Upon which the Deputies departed *re infectâ*. *Van den Ende*, after having lain a year and ſix weeks in priſon, died at *Treurenburgh* of vexation and ill treatment: But two years after his deceaſe, judgment was paſſed in favour of him; and his eſtate, which had been ſeized together with his perſon, was reſtored to his heirs.

Maſter *Roland de Rijke*, Penſioner of the City of *Louvain*, though he was reputed a ſincere *Roman Catholick*, did not fare the better for it, being committed to priſon upon bare ſuſpicions, and continuing there to his utter ruin. Among other things, he was charged with having *adviſed the Magiſtrates of* Louvain, *to join with other Towns of* Brabant, *in oppoſing the introduction of the* Inquiſition, *inciting them by theſe or the like expreſſions:* Louvain **cannot make a World alone**; (meaning, that their refuſal could not have hindered the deſign of the other Cities) as alſo with having ſaid ſome time before the firſt petition of the Nobles was preſented, that *before the end of three months, he did not doubt but the Confeſſion of* Auſburg *would be eſtabliſhed through all the Land.*

Richard Folkertſon Koornhert, Secretary to the Burgomaſters of *Harlem*, was impriſoned during part of the years 1567 and 68; he was afterwards hurried from that Town to the *Hague*, without any regard to its privileges, and accuſed of too much zeal for the Liberty of his Country: There he lay confined for ſeveral months, and in ſuch danger, that his Wife deſpairing of his deliverance, miniſtered to the poor in the infected houſes, with intention to catch the Plague of them, and carry it to her Huſband, that they might both die together; but he being informed of it, reproved her

[1] Bor. Lib. IV. *p.* 159. Meur. Gul. Aur. Lib. IV. *p.* 39.

[2] Bor. Lib. IV. *p.* 156. Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 155. Pontan. *Hiſt. of* Amſt *p* 79. Meur. Gul. Aur. *p.* 81.

her very ſeriouſly, telling her, that they ought to wait for ſuch an event as it ſhould pleaſe God to allot them: And even whilſt he was ſo cloſely ſhut up in priſon, and in the utmoſt peril of his life, when there appeared no likelihood of eſcaping, much leſs of obtaining any favour or kindneſs, he compoſed a certain Canto, or Poem, upon *Love* and *Hatred*, upon *Hope* and *Fear*, and of a heart relying upon *Chriſt*. It was full of good ſenſe and learning, though written without the help of books, but not without the beſt and ſevereſt ſchool-miſtreſs, *Affliction*. [1] Here he alſo compoſed the *Praiſe of a Priſon*, the *Compaſs of Reſt*, and other Verſes; and at laſt made ſo handſome a defence for himſelf, that they allowed him the *Hague* for his priſon at large; but being afterwards warned that there was an order coming from *Bruſſels* to take him up again, he retired ſecretly to *Harlem*, and from thence out of the land. But where-ever he went, as he himſelf complains, he was unkindly received by the Chiefs of *Calvin*'s and *Beza*'s party, becauſe he could not ſay *Yes* to all the opinions of thoſe two Miniſters; [2] but others think he had rendered himſelf odious by his uneaſy temper, and by oppoſing moſt, if not all Sects; [3] though he excuſes himſelf by alledging, that all of them founded their *Reformation* on pernicious errors, which every body, and he as well as others, ought to withſtand. An° Dom. 1568.

William Bardes, late *Scout* of *Amſterdam*, was accuſed upon uncertain evidences and innuendo's, that he had encouraged the tumults; maintaining for that purpoſe, a correſpondence with the Prince of *Orange*, the Heer *van Brederode*, and in cyphers with *Richard Kornhert*, and had even brought a *Calviniſtical* Miniſter to the *Hague*. Being upon this account committed to priſon, after having lain there a long time, he was, by order of the *bloody Tribunal*, cruelly racked, and then whipped with rods at the great age of ſeventy years. And though he bore it with invincible courage, ſo that the ſaid Tribunal acquitted him of the tumults, yet they kept him in their reach by other pretences, and with-held from him a large ſum of money which the King owed him. After this, finding no ſafety among the *Spaniſh* party, he went over to the other ſide; by which means he loſt the benefit of moſt of his eſtate that lay in and about *Amſterdam*; which misfortunes affected not only his body but mind too; and his only brother, Maſter *Nicolas Hein*, loſt his ſenſes on the ſame account.

The time of Carnaval pitched upon, for ſurprizing ſuch as were obnoxious to the Government.

But the Tyrant, as if this kind of proceſs was too tedious for him, bethought himſelf of an expedient which might aſſwage his blood-thirſtineſs all at once. The Carnaval (or evening before *Lent*) was wont to be celebrated here, as in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*, with all ſorts of diverſions, without apprehending any conſequences. Reſolving therefore to turn their frolickſom evening into a ſad and fatal night, he ordered, that all thoſe who had ever been at Conventicles ſhould be ſeized upon in this time of common ſecurity. A great number were by this means betrayed, and taken out of their beds or chambers; but not ſo many as he expected; for beſides thoſe that were already fled, ſeveral received private hints from the Officers of Juſtice themſelves, out of pure compaſſion: For inſtance, ſeventy or eighty perſons at *Leyden*, by the diſcreet management of the Scout *John van Berendrecht*, who by his good nature, deſpiſing all danger, has thereby derived an immortal name to poſterity; as did alſo the *Scout* of *Monikendam*, though for want of a careful Regiſter, he has not had the juſtice done him of preſerving his name.

The ſame night, the Governour of *Medenblik*, *Yonker Cornelius van Rijſwick*, came by order of the Duke to *Horn*, and there in the preſence of the *Scout*, his Deputy, and two or three of the Burgomaſters, broke open ſeveral houſes, but found none that he ſought, they having been in like manner warned of their danger: Thoſe perſons were, *William Enkhuſen*, Burgomaſter; Maſter *Richard Hoogerbeets*, Doctor of Phyſick and one of the Council; *John Viſcher*, *Peter Floriſſon*, *Allert Groot*, *John Spranger*, *Syvert Luitſon*, *John Martſon*, *Gerard Johnſon*, and ſome others, who had formerly collected the alms during Sermon time. The Burgomaſter *Enkhuſen*, who had ſome time before at a certain entertainment and in his cups, ſuffered the Heer *Brederode* to put about his neck a gold medal, inſcribed with the motto of the Confederate Nobility, had enough to do, with the help of much money and friends, to free his neck from another ornament by a different hand; but having made his peace with the Government, he who had been ſuch a friend to the *Reformed*,

[1] *See the third Volume of his Works*, p. 517.
[2] Vid. Lipſ. Epiſt. Libro de una Relig. prælix. &c.
[3] Kornhert's *Works*, Lib. I. *p.* 469. Lib. II. *p.* 525. Lib. III. *p.* 464, &c.

An° Dom. 1568.

was, to the amazement of many, become their declared enemy. The other Refugees being cited, and not appearing, their eſtates were confiſcated, and their houſes ſet to hire by toll of Bell; but none of the inhabitants offering any money for them, they were rented on behalf of the owners for little or nothing; ſo likewiſe it fared with their moveable goods, which were ſold to the Relations of forfeiting perſons, becauſe none of the Burghers would meddle with them: a wonderful fidelity among men of ſuch different ſentiments! Moſt of the Magiſtrates of this Town trode the old path of their former moderation. They troubled no body upon the buſineſs of Religion, unleſs they were forced to it, and then they went on ſtep by ſtep, and with as much delay as poſſible. Whoever was ſuſpected and ordered to be taken up, had timely notice of it. Indeed the Clergy of *Horn* wanted no deluded wretches who ſerved for Informers both in the Spiritual and Temporal Courts; nor were the Magiſtrates at a loſs for prudence and conduct to extricate themſelves from their ſnares. Maſter *Richard*, Paſtor of the Great Church, a very ignorant zealot, accuſed them before the Spiritual Court at *Utrecht*, as perſons that did not uſe their endeavours in the extirpation of hereſy; but they, on the other hand, found means to get the Dean of *Weſt-Freeſland* on their ſide, though he was not ſhort of any of the accuſers in hatred to the *Reformed*; yet this man went himſelf to *Utrecht*, and gave ſo good an account of the ſtate of the Church at *Horn*, that the Gentlemen of the Chapter were fully ſatisfied. Upon this the Informers went to the *Hague*, and made their complaint to the Council of *Holland*. This occaſioned a Commiſſion from them to *Charles de Smiter*, one of that Court, to go and enquire into the matter at *Horn*; where, being lodged in the Convent of St. *Cecilia*, he was ſo attended by the Burgomaſters, and thoſe of the Council in their turns, both day and night, as it were to regale and treat him, that he did nothing but adjourn from the table to the bed: Thus the Informers could get no opportunity to ſpeak to the Commiſſioner, for if any one came upon that errant, the Servants that were appointed to watch, anſwered; *His Lordſhip is at dinner*; or elſe, *He is in bed.* Having been thus regaled for the ſpace of a week, he was preſented at parting with nineteen *Angels* of Gold by the Burgomaſter *Gerbrand Verduin*, as from the Town. The Commiſſioner aſked, Why they had not made them *twenty?* but was pleaſed with the Burgomaſter's *extempore* and appoſite anſwer out of *Virgil*:

Remarkable Moderation of the Magiſtrates of Horn.

Numero Deus impare gaudet.

And accordingly, when he made a report of his Commiſſion to his Principals, it was much in favour of the Town of *Horn*; and particularly that he met with no complaint in relation to hereſy. But Maſter *Richard* being diſſatisfied with this report, carried his complaint to *Brabant*, before the *High Court of Tumults*: Upon which the Magiſtrates were ſummoned thither, and ſome of them, particularly *Verduin*, went. The firſt thing they did there, was to order a noble dinner, to which they invited the Judges, not forgetting the Pariſh Prieſt himſelf, whom they alſo took care to ply with full glaſſes. But when they were all at the height of their mirth, Burgomaſter *Verduin* began to complain *of the badneſs of the times*; *of the new-fangled Religions, and numbers of Sects*; *of the deſtroying of holy Images, and breaking down the Altars*; *of the violating and plundering Churches, not in one place only, but throughout the land.* From this general diſcourſe he paſſed to the affairs of the Town of *Horn*, boaſting, *how quiet and ſtill every thing was there. That the Burghers of that place were devout and zealous for the ancient Catholick faith. That no Images had been broken, nor Churches plundered there. That no Sectaries, nor Innovators in Religion were ſo much as heard of there.* Whilſt he thus talked, he would aſk at every turn, *Maſter* Richard, *is it not ſo?* To which the other, whoſe bitterneſs was ſweetened by the wine, replied nothing but *Yes*; ſo that having already born his teſtimony in the preſence of the Judges, he could not afterwards change his note. Thereupon he went his way, but ſo enraged and aſhamed, that he never returned to *Horn* again; though the Magiſtrates cited him publickly thither on pain of loſing his Benefice, and charged him as a hireling, who when he ſees the wolf, forſakes his ſheep and flees away. This ſtory is related by [1] *Velius* in his Chronicle of *Horn*, who ſays he had it from the mouth of one of the principal Magiſtrates of the place, who

[1] *Page* 157.

had been concerned in the whole matter: *A noble inſtance*, continues he, *of the never enough to be commended goodneſs of thoſe Magiſtrates, who did not ſcruple to keep the halter, as one may ſay, from the necks of ſo many innocent perſons, at the peril of their own:* and he wiſhes that *all other Magiſtrates* might, on the like occaſion, tread in their path; for though, God be praiſed, there is no ſuch danger now; yet as humane affairs, and men themſelves are variable and inconſiſtent, it may happen ſooner or later. An° Dom° 1568.

[1] A certain Burgher at *Enkhuſen*, called *John te Jooſten*, was accuſed by the *Scout*, of cauſing his child to be baptized by a Miniſter; and *Jacob Erikſon*, of ſuffering one of thoſe Miniſters of the new Religion to lodge and preach in his houſe. *Siewert Johnſon Krommendyke*, was accuſed of having permitted preaching at his Salt-works out of the Town: *Nanne Cornelis*, of having ſuffered it within his Demeans: *John* and *Floris Tyſon*, of having cauſed their children to be chriſtened at *Embden*, as they owned, one of them alledging in excuſe, that whilſt he was there with his wife's brother, ſhe happened to lie in, and ſo the child was carried to that Church, which he did not ſuppoſe to be forbidden: *Folker Johnſon Seilemaker*, was charged with baptizing his child contrary to the order of the Church; and being ſummoned to ſhew cauſe, he anſwered, *I will not let my child be chriſtened any otherwiſe, nor will I be concerned with the* Devil *of* Rome's *baptiſm. Wybrant Fredericks, Foleer Johns, Gerbrant Egberts*, and *Jacob Eriks*, were accuſed of collecting alms at the ſermons of the *Reformed*, and diſtributing them as they thought fit. *Nicolas Jacobs* and *Evert Cornelis*, for letting *Andrew Dirkſon* baptize their children. What ſentence was paſt on them by the *Schepens*, or Judges, is not ſaid, but it is known, that ſeveral of the Burghers were forced to conceal themſelves in garrets, and ſecret places for a long time, whoſe eſtates were afterwards confiſcated, and their perſons baniſhed. The principal inhabitants that left the Town, or concealed themſelves and kept out of the way, were, *Simon Meinderts Semeyns, Richard* and *Cornelius Brouwer*, ſons of the late Burgomaſter, *John Groot Alberts, Jacob Ericks, John* and *Floris Tyſon, Wab Ericks*, their mother, *Gerben Egberts, Richard Pouwels, Folker Johns, Jacob Floriſz, Albert Claeſz, Evert Floriſz, Rijkert Claſſz, Albert* ———. We likewiſe find in certain Memoirs, that the ſame winter a conſiderable number of men and women, abandoned houſe and goods, and fled over the *Zuyder-Sea* (which happened to be then frozen) to *Embden:* Some others at *Enkhuſen*, who had oppoſed the *Romiſh* Church, either by word or deed, upon teſtifying their ſorrow, and paying ſome ſmall fines, were diſcharged.

The Magiſtrates of Antwerp *ſue for the releaſe of ſome Priſoners.*

[2] The Magiſtrates of *Antwerp*, who found themſelves agrieved by the apprehending many perſons that had remained there upon the Duke's word, and his allowance of a month's time after the expiration of the General Amneſty, applied themſelves to him, repreſenting, that moſt of thoſe that were taken up, had been guilty of no other crime but barely who of going to the Sermons, and ſome of them rather out of curioſity than malice; and humbly praying, that he would be pleaſed to releaſe them, and to grant them the promiſed month, to the end they might remove with their effects, that ſo his Highneſs's faith might be inviolably obſerved. But he, beſides the terror which his cruel countenance ſtruck in them, returned this ſharp anſwer to the meſſengers: *That he was amazed there ſhould be ſtill any of the Magiſtrates of their City, that could be ſo bold and ſo impudent as to dare ſpeak in favour of* Hereticks. *That they had beſt take care how they did ſo for the future, otherwiſe he would hang them all for an example to others; and that his Majeſty had rather ſee all his Territories deſerted and uncultivated, than ſuffer one* Heretick *or* Lutheran *to remain in them.* The Deputies were ſo frightened at this kind of treatment, that they judged it more neceſſary to ſpeak for themſelves than for any body elſe, and in large Memorials, urged all they could think of in defence of their innocence towards the King and Duke. Beſides this, *Alva* ſent ſeveral Commiſſioners to other places to fiſh for accuſations againſt ſuch as had miſbehaved themſelves in matters of Religion during the late troubles. Upon this account, they of *Leyden* and *Utrecht* preſented Memorials likewiſe in juſtification of themſelves. Nevertheleſs ſome of the *Netherlandiſh* Nobility, and *Viglius* eſpecially, did not forbear remonſtrating to the King, that theſe violent proceedings were neither for his Majeſty's nor the Nation's intereſt;

Alva's *anſwer.*

The Secretary Viglius, &c. *adviſe to moderation.*

[1] *Hiſt. of* Enkh. *p.* 99.

[2] Hooft. Lib. IV. *p.* 233.

An° Dom. 1568. And they found even the Pope inclinable to some moderation. *Philip* himself made as if he was not averse to it, but refused to do any thing till he had heard *Vargas* and his Assessors. These on the contrary opposed all gentleness, swelling him with the hopes of their having found out a second *Indies*, by the forfeiture of so many and brave estates; though they fell short of their account.

The Sentence of the Spanish Inquisitors *against the* Netherlanders.

The King had likewise consulted the *Spanish Inquisition* about the *Low-Country* affairs; who returned the following answer: [1] *That they had seen the Representations, Memorials, and Answers, which had been transmitted to his Majesty by the* Sub-Inquisitors *of the* Low-Countries; *and were of opinion, as the shortest way, that all the* Netherlanders, *excepting those whose names had been sent them over from hence, should be declared* heretical, *or abettors of* Heresy, *and to have been guilty, either by commissions or omissions, of the crimes of* High-Treason: *and particularly those of the Nobility who had presented the petition against the* Inquisition.

To this judgment, pronounced the 16th of *February*, he conformed his own on the 26th, and commanded it to be put in execution, without favour or respect of persons.

Thus they proceeded upon so horrible a sentence, as since the beginning of the world had never been declared against a whole nation at once, letting loose their murthering emissaries to satiate their avarice and cruelty on an oppressed and miserable people. Cruelty thus prevailing, and abundance of people being utterly impoverished, some of them were driven to such despair, that abandoning house and home, wives and children, they chose the woods of *West-Flanders* for their habitations; from whence, turning savages through the solitude of the place, the accession of malefactors, and the extinction of all their hopes, they made excursions on the Priests and Friers, serving themselves of the darkest nights for revenge and robbery, punishing them not only, by despoiling them of their goods, but by disfiguring their faces, and cutting off ears and noses.

The Spanish *Cruelty makes savage or wild* Gueuxes.

Against these, who were therefore stiled savage or wild *Gueuxes*, the Duke of *Alva* published a Placard on the 18th of *March*, requiring that care should be taken, and guards every where placed, for the security of the Clergy; and that for the time to come, whatever damage was done them, should be made good by the respective communities where they suffered, not regarding the rights, privileges, or immunities of any persons, whosoever they might be, that stood in the way. Yet they continued their insolencies till restrained by his Troops.

The Decrees of the Council of Trent, *imposed on the Clergy of* Utrecht.

The Decrees of the Council of *Trent*, which were looked upon as infringments of the liberties of the nation, were, about this time imposed upon the Archbishoprick of *Utrecht*, by the Duke's means; so that the Clergy of that Province were forced entirely to submit, [2] and among other hardships, to put away their *Concubines*. [3] The Prince of *Orange* being urged on all sides, but especially by the exiles, to come to the assistance of his oppressed country, suffered himself at last to be perswaded.

The Prince of Orange *begins a War in defence of his Country's Liberties.*

He used many arguments to engage all the *German* Princes that were enemies to the Pope, in his interest against the *Spaniards*; and he was so far favoured by them, that they connived at his raising Troops in their countries, and even lent him money. Count *John* of *Nassau*, his brother, helped him to a great sum, and collections were made among the *Refugee Netherlanders*, at *London*, *Embden*, *Cleves*, and other parts. The Prince himself sold all his jewels, plate, and furniture, and issued Commissions to Count *Lewis*, and others, to raise Troops. The contents of those Commissions were, that *all this was out of love to the King and his hereditary Provinces of the* Low-Countries, *and in opposition to the cruel* Spaniards, *who daily trampled under their feet the Rights and Privileges of the nation, notwithstanding that the happiness and safety of the Commonwealth depended on the said Right, and that they had been most solemnly sworn to, and confirmed by his Majesty. That in order to this, the said* Spaniards *had endeavoured, by renewing old Placards and making new ones, to abolish the pure Word and Worship of God, to the end that they might the more easily bring about their designs in other countries, of which* France *was an example; so that if they met with success, it would be found that they not only would deprive these Provinces of their liberties, but reduce them to such a state of slavery and bondage, that no man would*

3

[2] Bor. Lib. IV. *p.* 160. Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 158. Thuan. Lib. XLIII. *p.* 627.
[2] Beverwick's *Descript. of* Dort, *p.* 347.
[3] Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 159. Reid. *p.* 5. Bor. Lib. IV. *p.* 161. Bentiv. Lib. IV. *p.* 180.

would be ſecure either in body, goods, or name, nor even in the poſſeſſion of his wife or daughters. For theſe reaſons, and at the earneſt requeſt of the inhabitants of the land, as well thoſe of the Romiſh *as of the* Evangelical *Religion, being deſirous, with approbation of the* States-General *of the* Low-Countries, *to provide againſt thoſe evils, and to ſecure the ſaid countries to the obedience of the King, and the inhabitants in the enjoyment of their Religion and Civil Rights; he had accordingly requeſted and commanded his dear brother, Count* Lewis, *to take with him ſuch a number of Troops as ſhould be thought neceſſary, for which he gave him full power and authority.* An° Dom. 1567.

This Commiſſion was dated at *Dillenburg*, the 16th of *April*. Upon which levies were made in ſeveral places, but ſuch Troops as were raiſed in the territories of *France*, *Liege* and *Juliers*, were ſcattered and diſperſed. The Count notwithſtanding marched into *Gelderland*. [1] The Motto of his Arms was, *The Liberty of the Nation and of Conſcience:* and that of his Banners; *Victory or Death:* or, [2] as ſome ſay; *Now or Never*. He took *Wedde* and *Appingendam*, or *Dam*, won the battle of *Heiligerlee*, (where his brother *Adolph* loſt his life, as did on the enemies ſide the Count of *Arenberg*) and hanged up ſome of the *Spaniards* whom he took, according to *Alva*'s way of making war, or perhaps to revenge the death of his brother. But he neglected the opportunity, after this victory, of immediately falling into *Freeſland*, where he would have found favour and money; the rather becauſe of ſome diſcontents between the Magiſtrates and people, which lay ſmothering under the aſhes at that time: for the Magiſtrates foreſeeing this war, had lately endeavoured to oblige the *Freeſlanders* of *Leeuwarden*, and the places adjacent, to ſwear they would aſſiſt in the defence of the ſaid Town againſt all their enemies, and particularly the *Gueuxes*. But ſeveral of the Gentry and Lawyers, and many of the Burghers having had the courage to refuſe it, ſome of them were ordered, by toll of Bell, to quit the Town in an hour's time after ſuch notice, and the whole Province of *Freeſland* within a day.

His Brother Count Lewis *gains the Battle of* Heiligerlee.

But *Alva*, full of rage and indignation for the late defeat, cooled his fury upon the poor people that were cited or impriſoned, and precipitated the ſentences againſt ſuch as were condemned. Accordingly the Prince of *Orange*, his brother *Lewis*, the Counts of *Hoogſtraeten*, *Kulenburg* and *Berg*, or *Mons*, were, upon the 28th of *May*, declared baniſhed, on pain of death, and all their eſtates confiſcated. *Kulenburg*-houſe in *Bruſſels* was raſed to the ground, becauſe the Confederacy of the Nobility was there renewed. On the 29th of the ſame month a Placard was iſſued, requiring all perſons that had fled, to return, upon pain of forfeiting their lives and eſtates.

Upon the 1ſt of *June*, the two Barons of *Batenburg*, with ſixteen or ſeventeen others of the Nobility, were beheaded at *Bruſſels*, on account of the Confederacy and the troubles that enſued. They were led to execution by beat of Drum, to prevent their ſpeaking to the people. Seven or eight of them died in the *Romiſh* perſwaſion, and confeſſed themſelves to Prieſts; the other eleven in that of the *Reformed*, to wit, the Heers *Gijſbert* and *Richard van Batenburg*, *Peter d'Andelot*, *Philip van Wingelen*, *Maximilian Kok*, *Philip Trieſt* of *Gant*, *Bartholomew de Val*, *Lewis Carlier*, *John d'Emeau* and *Peter* and *Philip d'Aelts*, brothers. The next day the Heers *van Villers* and *Duy*, the Bailiff of *Enghien*, and the Miniſter *Cornelius van Meen* were alſo beheaded. [3] The ſame unhappy fate befel the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*, on the 5th, after they had been ill-treated in ſeveral manners, contrary to the privileges, rights, and laws of the land, and of the order of the Golden Fleece, being ſentenced by the *Bloody Tribunal* to die as Confederates of the Prince of *Orange*, Abettors of the conſpiring Nobility, Deſpiſers of the *Romiſh* faith, and conſequently guilty of Rebellion, and violation of the Royal Authority.

The Counts of Egmont *and* Horn, *beheaded*, &c.

[4] Some are of opinion that the Count of *Horn*, whilſt he lay under the ſentence of death, troubled himſelf very little about the *Romiſh* Ceremonies; ſince, without confeſſing to a Prieſt, he recommended himſelf to God alone for the pardon of his numerous ſins; and when he was on the ſcaffold, begged the ſpectators to aſſiſt him with their prayers: But the truth is, *Egmont* Confeſſed the day before to *Martin Rithovius* the Biſhop of *Ypres*, heard him ſay Maſs, and received the Sacrament; beſides

[1] Hooft, Lib. V. *p.* 164. Bor. IV. *p.* 166. Meur. Lib. IV. *p.* 44.
[2] Strada, Lib. VII. *p.* 383.
[3] Bor. Lib. IV. 134. Hooft, Lib V. *p.* 163. Grot. Annal. Lib. II. *p.* 23. Meur. Gal. Aur. Lib. IV. *p.* 23.
[4] Hiſt. *p.* 182. Thuan. Lib. XLIII. 636.

An° Dom. 1568. ſides which, the ſaid Biſhop gave him a ſilver Croſs to kiſs upon the ſcaffold, and his bleſſing withal: there was likewiſe a great proceſſion made by the Clergy, and the principal Companies of the City, at his Funeral, as for one that died in the *Romiſh* faith, and more pompous than that for *Horn*. But [1] *Strada* will have it, that *Horn* confeſſed himſelf too, which [2] *Bentivoglio* ſeems to deny. [3] The Droſſart, *Peter Hooft*, reciting *Egmont*'s good qualities and ſervices, ſays, among other things, that he was leaſt eſteemed by thoſe who perhaps were moſt beholden to him; namely, the *Proteſtants*. For though he was a ſincere *Romaniſt*, and conſequently their adverſary, he had laboured as much as any one for their preſervation, out of pure good nature and averſion to cruelty; but they could not forgive him his proſecution of the Church-plunderers, how neceſſary or lawful ſoever. [4] Several Authors relate, that the Prince of *Orange*, by his uſual foreſight and ſagacity, had plainly forwarned him of his fatal end; and many believe that the famous Aſtrologer and Profeſſor of Phyſick at *Louvain*, Dr. *Gemma Friſius*, had foretold the Count of *Horn* what was like to befal him a little before his laſt journey to *Bruſſels*: but againſt his prediction it is objected, that he was miſtaken in the time above eleven years; or elſe it muſt have been his ſon, *Cornelius Gemma*, a great Maſter of the ſecrets of nature, and who lived at *Louvain* about this time.* But whether the ſtars have any influence on the courſe of human actions; and if they have, whether it be the object of any ſcience, is not a little doubted by moſt of the ſolid Wits of our age: not but that ſeveral future things, with more or leſs ambiguity, have been revealed either by the manifeſtation of ſpiritual beings or otherwiſe.

Upon all this effuſion of blood, by the hands of the executioner, followed a ſevere Placard againſt ſuch as concealed any of the goods or eſtates of the condemned perſons, requiring them effectually to diſcloſe them, on pain of forfeiting the value, or of corporal puniſhment, according to the diſcretion of the Judges, in caſe of non-ſolvency.

Count Lewis *defeated at* Jemmingen.

After this, the Duke marched with all his forces againſt Count *Lewis*, whom he defeated at *Jemmingen*, a Village upon the *Eems*, within the juriſdiction of *Eaſt-Freeſland*, the Count himſelf hardly eſcaping. Here alſo it was that a *Spaniard* ſtabbed to the heart *Hermes Bakkereel*, the Miniſter of *Jemmingen*, in the arms of his daughter.

[5] *Alva* proceeded to *Groningen*, where he obliged the Citizens to receive their new Biſhop, *John Knijf*; but being called away by meſſenger upon meſſenger, on account of the great preparations of the Prince of *Orange*, he took his way through *Amſterdam* to *Utrecht*, and from thence to *Bois le Duc*, where he paſſed ſentence, and publiſhed it on the 17th of *Auguſt*, againſt more than ſixty Refugees, moſt of them Burghers and Inhabitants of the City of *Utrecht*; as alſo againſt ſome of the Nobility, whom he baniſhed for ever out of the King's dominions, confiſcating all their eſtates. In the ſaid ſentence, *Floris van Boetſelaer*, Lord of *Langerak*, was accuſed of having ſigned the Confederacy of the Nobility, promoted the famous petition to the Ducheſs of *Parma*, aſſiſted at the Aſſembly of *St. Truyen* with *John van Reneſſe*, Lord of *Wilp*, on the part of the confederated Nobility of *Holland*, where it was agreed to take the Secretaries and Conſiſtoriants into their protection, and for that purpoſe to raiſe ſeveral thouſand *German* horſe and foot: it was alſo alledged againſt him that he introduced into his Lordſhip of *Langerak* in the province of *Utrecht*, the forbidden Sects, and ſeveral Miniſters both *Menniſts* and *Calviniſts*, and had put down the old *Romiſh* Religion, ſo that for the ſpace of half a year, there was neither Maſs nor any other exerciſe of the ſaid Religion; as alſo, that he and his brothers were preſent at *Aſperen* when the Image-breakers plundered the Pariſh Church of that place, and that of the *Crouched Fryers*, and had conſented to the doing it, and even aſſiſted in tearing the Church-books. As for *Aleyd van Bronkhorſt* and *Batenburgh*, ſhe, ſays the ſentence, was a favourer of the Miniſters, having harboured and fed ſome of them in her houſe, and often heard their Sermons; and her ſon, the Lord of *Wilp*, had ſigned the Confederacy, and was a Ringleader of the Image-breakers at *Utrecht*. *Philip van Reneſſe* had likewiſe much favoured the *Reformed*, accompanying their Deputies to petition the States

2 of

[1] Strada, Lib. IV. *p.* 321.
[2] Bentiv. Lib. IV. *p.* 203.
[3] Ibid. Lib. V. *p.* 191.
[4] Meur. Gul. Aur. Lib. III. *p.* 28, Burgund. Lib. III. *p.* 472. Val. Andr. Bib. Belg. Bor. Lib. IV. *p.* 173. Real. Mem. f. 39.
[5] *From the Memoirs and Pieces remaining in the hands of the Heer* Cornelius Boot, *Burgomaſter of* Utrecht

of *Utrecht* for a Church, and ſaying, at a full meeting of the Magiſtrates, that *they ought to proceed with caution in the buſineſs of the tumults, and avoid the ſhedding of blood.* And when the Magiſtrates denied him admittance into their room, he threatened them with the Heer *van Brederode*'s reſentment: and upon their refuſing him the Church, cried out aloud; *You have denied us a Church, you ſhall be glad to give it us at our return; and then we will conſider how to deal with you all, and with you Maſter Burgomaſter* Vecht *in particular.* The Procurator, *John van Dieſt*, had refuſed to take the oath, by which he muſt have obliged himſelf to maintain the *Romiſh* Religion, ſaying; *He would have nothing to do with the Prieſts:* by which means he was the occaſion that many of his neighbours likewiſe refuſed the ſaid oath. *John Pijl*, formerly Counſellor of the City of *Utrecht*, had collected alms at the ſermons of the *Reformed*, ſuffered a child to be baptized in his houſe after the *Calviniſtical* way, been very familiar with the Sectaries, and encouraged their Miniſters to preach. *Giles Spaens*, a Cutler, had aſſiſted in introducing the new Preachers, and in demoliſhing the Images, and was reported to have ſaid to the Paſtor of St. *Gertrude*, that *he ought to preach the true word of God.* Nay, he had not ſcrupled to ſay, among other things, at a meeting of the Magiſtrates, that *they would go on with the Image-breaking which had been begun the day before: That they would no longer endure the abominable idolatry which had been hitherto uſed in the Churches; and that they had ſeduced and impoſed upon the people long enough with their Wafer-God.* He farther demanded the uſe of a Church, and expected a ſpeedy anſwer. The aforeſaid ſentence adds; That his Sons, *John* and *Henry Giles*, had begun the Image-breaking: That *Herman Claeſon*, a Brewer, had collected money in the meetings of the *Reformed*, aſſiſted in bringing a Miniſter thither, ſent a tun of beer to the workmen of the New Church, called the *Sand-Church*, and had applied to the Prebends or Canons of St. *John*, about a piece of ground belonging to them, and which lay convenient for a Meeting-place: That *Gerard Franſſon* had lent his Cart and Horſes for building the ſaid Church. Now this ſame ſentence was extended in like manner to the fifty baniſhed perſons, who had made themſelves obnoxious either by ſigning the Confederacy, or by going to the Conventicles, or collecting Alms, or ſpeaking too freely, or by plundering Churches, or by taking up Arms and lifting themſelves under *Brederode*, or laſtly, by quitting the Country. An° Dom. 1568.

On the 7th day after the promulgation of this ſentence, the Provoſt of the Duke arrived at *Utrecht*, about eight in the evening, and acquainted the Magiſtrates, that he had orders to execute the ſentence of death upon the Heer *Gerard van Reneſſe*, Counſellor in the Court of *Utrecht*, who was a priſoner in the Caſtle, as alſo upon *Adrian de Wael van Vrooneſtein*, *Henry Albertſon*, and Madam *Elizabeth vander Kerk*, widow of the late *Adam van Diemen*, in his life-time Burgomaſter of the City of *Utrecht*; and after having conſulted with Mr. *John Lent* and Mr. *Grijſperen*, Commiſſioners for the buſineſs of the Troubles, how he might moſt conveniently execute the Duke's command, they maſſacred all the aforeſaid priſoners the next day, being the 25th of *Auguſt*. *Henry Albertſon* was burnt alive, obſtinately perſiſting in his errors, as the relation of the ſaid Commiſſioners, *Lent* and *Grijſperen*, phraſe it. The other three, whether it was that they owned their crime, or were not ſo guilty as the firſt, were only beheaded. The widow *van Diemen*, a Gentlewoman of eighty four years of age, being tied to a chair, was publickly beheaded, and her eſtate confiſcated, becauſe ſhe had formerly harboured *John Arentſon* the Miniſter, or ſuffered her nephew *Richard Kater* to bring him into her houſe. She was interrogated in the priſon, whether ſhe lived with *Richard*, or he with her? To which ſhe replied, that *he dwelt with her.* Which words furniſhed them with matter for her condemnation, though, as ſome ſay, ſhe was a *Romaniſt*; but her riches, and an income of four thouſand Gilders *per annum*, were too great to admit of a pardon; and ſhe herſelf was of this opinion; for when being brought upon the ſcaffold, ſhe aſked the *Scout*, whether *there was no room for mercy?* and he replied, *No:* She returned theſe words, *I know what you mean; the calf is fat, and muſt therefore be killed:* And then jeſting upon her own great age, which deſerved reſpect and favour, ſhe turned herſelf towards the Executioner, and with a courage equal to that of any man, ſaid, [1] *Is your ſword*

[1] Ex Apotheg. Gall. à Tuningio Collect. *p.* 112.

An° Dom. 1568.

ſword ſharp? for I have a very tough neck of my own. And when he prayed her to lower her folded hands which ſhe had raiſed too high, ſhe waiting for the fatal ſtroke that very inſtant, called out; *Do your buſineſs; when the head is off, the fingers will feel no pain.*

A month after, *viz.* on the 25th of *September*, *Anna*, the widow of *Egbert van Broekhuiſſen*, a Vintner, was alſo beheaded at *Utrecht*, becauſe ſhe (for ſo runs the ſentence againſt her) had been at the Conventicle at *Kulenburg*, and had encouraged her ſon, who was fled, in deſtroying the Images: [1] but ſome ancient people relate, that it was ſtrongly rumoured at that time, that the Lawyer, Mr. *John Lent*, one of the Commiſſioners of the *Bloody Tribunal*, was very deep in her books, which account was wholly cancelled by her death: for when her effects were confiſcated for the King's uſe, the book and leaf in which his debt was poſted, could not be found. *Neeltie*, the wife of *Giles Spaens*, was likewiſe taken up, but made her eſcape out of priſon the 3d of *October*, for which the Keeper was baniſhed.

After this, *Alonſo de la Loo*, late Secretary of the Count of *Horn*, and *Yonker Rouwema*, a *Friſian* Gentleman, were put to death by *Alva*'s orders; as alſo *Antony van Straelen*, who had been Burgomaſter, though it was declared by the *Bloody Tribunal*, that if his merits and demerits were put into a balance, the former would turn the ſcale, and leave room for mercy. Nor did it any more avail the Heer *van Bakkerſeel*, *Egmont*'s Counſellor, that he had promoted the cruel perſecution in *Flanders*, for he was forced to ſubmit to the ſame fate. The ſeveral ſentences were executed by the Officer called the *Red Rod*, one *John Grovels*, who rid from one diſtrict to another, and ſupplied whatever was deficient in the cruelty of the ordinary Courts; nay, he committed all kinds of wrong and injuſtice under colour of juſtice, excuſing and ſaving the guilty, and puniſhing the innocent with death, according as he found his account by it; for which, afterwards, *Alva* rewarded him with a halter.

Don Carlos, *K. Philip's Son, dies in priſon.*

It was about this time that Don *Carlos*, the King's only ſon, died in priſon, or, as it is firmly believed by [2] ſome, was put to death by his own father's order, after a conſultation with the Tribunal of the *Inquiſition*. [3] It is thought by moſt, that being very little conſulted in matters of State, and commiſerating the condition of the *Low-Countries*, he had determined privately to retreat thither: He was beſides ſuſpected by the King his father on account of the familiarity between him and his mother-in-law: However it was, this conduct of his in not ſparing his only ſon, as being a favourer of *Hereticks*, was highly extolled by Pope *Pius* V. but it produced an invincible dread and deſpair of his mercy, in the minds of the *Netherlanders*.

Alva purſuing the like meaſures of cruelty, cauſed the ſtricteſt enquiry to be made after all that had been in any ſort concerned in the late tumults, and ſeizing either them or any of the *Reformed*, extirpated them by fire, ſword and the halter. At

A Perſecution in Holland.

Harlem three perſons were hanged on the 29th of *June* [1] one of them (*Barent* of *Utrecht*) had broken a certain Image; the ſecond (*John Heymen*) had ſerved *Brederode* as a ſoldier; and the third (*Heyns Adrianſon*) was the author of certain Verſes and Poems againſt the Pope, one of which was called the *Eccho*. He was a Shoe-maker by trade, and the *Pellicaniſts* (ſo the *Harlem* Wits were called, becauſe their Blaſon, or Arms, was a *Pellican*) had choſen him for their Preſident or Chairman. His mother, the Town-Midwife, beſought the Burgomaſter *Quirijn* to have compaſſion of her ſon, at leaſt for the ſake of his eight motherleſs children, and of herſelf, who was of the age of eighty years, for, ſaid ſhe, many things were done in thoſe licentious times: *Licentious times!* replied he, *we were then forced to connive at many things; but now it is the time of juſtice and retribution.* After the two former were hanged, there aroſe a ſudden noiſe, and a tumult was like to follow; upon which he was hurried from the ſcaffold to the Burgomaſters chamber, tied to a ladder and ſtrangled, and then hanged by the others.

At *Delft* they impriſoned one *Herman Schinkel* on the 8th of *April*. He was a man of letters, and got his living by printing: he is by ſome called the Maſter of the Free-School of that Town. This man being charged with having printed certain books againſt the King's Placards, aſked the Magiſtrates, whether the Placards about Religion, publiſhed by the Ducheſs of *Parma* in the King's name, were not abro-

[1] Hooft. Lib. V. *p.* 181. Meur. Gul. Aur. Lib. IV. *p.* 50. Bor. Lib. IV. *p.* 176.

[2] Hooft. Lib. V. *p.* 181. Grot. Apol. *Cap* XV. *p.* 155.

[3] Bor. Lib. III. *p.* 94. *b.* Thuan. Lib. XIII. *p.* 624. Reid. *p.* 6. Grot. Ann. Lib. II. *p.* 30. Strada Lib. VII. *p.* 371.

gated or made void? And upon the *Scout*'s anſwering, *We ſee that plainly*; he ſaid thus, *What do we ſee plainly? I have both ſeen and heard, that many have been impriſoned and baniſhed, that were in open Rebellion againſt his Majeſty; that took up Arms and introduced preaching by force; that broke in pieces the Images, and that chaſed away the Monks and Nuns: but I have not ſeen any body of late puniſhed for his Conſcience: for when the Placards were annulled, every one was free to embrace ſuch a Religion as he thought moſt conducive to his ſalvation: beſides, there was an Ordinance made by the Prince of* Orange *as Stadtholder, and promulgated here from the Town-houſe, by which the annulling of the Placards was confirmed, and only the printing virulent, ſcandalous and infamous books forbidden; under which character cannot be comprized any thing that relates to our Faith or Doctrine: for all which reaſons I do not ſee how I have any way offended againſt the King.* He owned he had printed the Pſalm-book; the Catechiſm; the Confeſſion of Faith; the ſhort Confeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith from the *Latin* of *Beza*; and a little Treatiſe about the Lord's Supper: That the copy of this laſt was given him by a Miniſter who had tranſlated it out of *High-Dutch:* as for all the reſt, they had been printed before, and were in every bodies hands: That ſuch other books of that nature as were found in his cuſtody, he had by way of exchange; but as for Libels or Satyrs, he always refuſed to be concerned with them. He put the Magiſtrates in mind, that they had ſummoned him two or three times before them, but had required nothing more of him, than only to abſtain from printing malicious pieces. Upon his aſking again, whether the Placards about Religion had not been abrogated? The *Scout* replied, *There may be ſomething in it; people ſay ſo; but I cannot tell whether it was altogether ſo or not.* The priſoner likewiſe added, that he was the more eaſily induced to print the ſaid books, in order to get a penny; and the rather, becauſe juſt before, he had loſt a great deal by printing the Church Anthems, which had been not only much to his prejudice, but had almoſt ruined him, he not having been able to diſpoſe of any, by reaſon of the change of the times. He petitioned, upon his falling very ſick, that he might be diſcharged, giving ſufficient bail; and repreſented, that the like favour had been formerly ſhown at *Antwerp* to two of their Burghers, one of whom was a Printer, and the other an Engraver: That the firſt, who had printed a book, entitled, *The Funeral of the Maſs*, was baniſhed for the ſpace of ſix years, and the ſecond was conditionally releaſed. All this could not avail the poor man, for after having lain fifteen weeks in priſon, he was brought to receive his ſentence; and though ſix of the *Schepens* who were his Judges were for diſcharging him, yet the ſeventh oppoſed it ſo vehemently, repreſenting to them what they had to fear from the King's diſpleaſure if they let *Schinkel* eſcape, that all the ſix recalled their opinions, and agreed to condemn him to death. It is ſaid of this ſeventh *Schepen*, that about four years after, in the enſuing changes, he readily turned with the times, and was afterwards admitted to ſeveral great Offices in the *Hague*. The courage of the ſaid *Schinkel*, after he was condemned, is remarkable: He looked certain death in the face with ſuch indifference and tranquility, that about two or three hours before his execution, he compoſed a good number of *Latin* verſes, which were dedicated to his friends *Peter Foreſtus* of *Alkmaer* and *Cornelius Verheyden* of *Leyden*. *Adrian Junius* of *Horn*, calls this *Schinkel*, in certain Memoirs in the hands of *Peter Schriverius*, a contemner of death, adding, that when he was about to be executed, he ſpoke to him about a Criticiſm in *Seneca*'s *Octavia*, verſe 42. where *Schinkel* thought we ought to read, *Thameſis* for *Tamais*. The day before his death, as alſo on the ſame day, which was the 23d of *July*, he writ to his wife, and took his leave of her in terms that very ſtrongly expreſſed the conſtancy of his mind and the greatneſs of his love. He likewiſe writ, the ſame day, three letters to his two daughters, that were ſcarce ſix years old, and to his ſon *Bruin*, who was not above a year and half old, as a *Memento* for him; in which he expreſſed no leſs tenderneſs and fatherly care. His prohibited books were burned, and all his effects declared forfeited to the King, directly contrary to the privileges of *Delft*; purſuant to which, no Freeman of that Town can forfeit to his ſupreme Lord, more than his life (in any caſe) and ſixty pounds *Flemiſh* of his eſtate. He was not above thirty two years of age, when through the iniquity of the times he was brought to this immature death.

An° Dom. 1568.

In the following *September* there met together out of the Town, near the *Bieſland* Mills, upon a *Sunday*, *Adrian Adrianſon*, a Taylor, *Henry Franſon*, a Shoemaker, *Krijn*

A private Meeting of the Reformed *near* Delft.

An° Dom. 1568. *Krijn Willemſon*, another Taylor, *Jacob Klaeſſon*, of *Stokkum*, and *Peter Floriſſon*, Cloathworkers; all of them inhabitants of the Town of *Delft*, to whom *Peter Floriſſon* read a chapter or two out of the *New Teſtament*, and they ſung two or three Pſalms. This the Magiſtrates conſtrued the beginning of unlawful Aſſemblies or Conventicles, and tending to excite tumults and give offence to good people; wherefore *Adrianſon* being taken up, was condemned to attone for this crime, by appearing before the Court of Juſtice bare-headed and bare-footed in a linnen garment, with a burning taper in his hand; there to aſk pardon of God and the Court; to bring the candle into the new Church for the Sacrament; to attend Maſs and Sermons all the *Sundays* and Saints-days in *Chriſtmas*; to make his peace with the Church againſt that great feſtival; and, laſtly, he was ordered to pay coſts. *Henry Franſon* was charged with taking away the child when his wife lay in, to the end that it ſhould not be baptized according to the rites of the *Romiſh* Church: Upon which he was declared a *Heretick*, but he was fled, and ſo they baniſhed him from *Delft* for the ſpace of one hundred years and a day, upon pain of death if he returned, and confiſcated all his effects. *Nicolas Krijn* and *Jacob Klaeſſon*, who were likewiſe fled, were baniſhed for ſix years only, and in caſe they returned within that time, they were to be ſeverely whipped, and beſides, they were both condemned to a fine of twenty five pounds. *Peter Floriſſon*, who had alſo made his eſcape, who (ſays the ſentence of the Court) ſeemed to take upon himſelf the office of Teacher or Miniſter of the new Religion, by reading to thoſe that were aſſembled, was, for that reaſon, baniſhed out of the Town and Juriſdiction of *Delft* for the ſpace of twenty five years; and in caſe he returned before that time, he was to be ſeverely whipped, and his tongue to be bored with an awl; beſides which he was fined fifty pounds.

The Perſecution at Amſterdam, &c.

At *Amſterdam*, on the laſt day of *June*, there were about one hundred and forty Refugees cited to appear, and thereupon baniſhed; among whom were many of the moſt conſiderable men of the City, together with ſix women, of whom five were widows. *Jacob Simonſon de Rijk*, a Corn-Merchant, was accuſed of having promiſed a barrel of *Engliſh* beer to certain Corn-carriers, on condition they would break into the *Franciſcans* Church: which accuſation proved falſe; but afterwards it appeared, that they offered to do it, if he would give them that beer: To which he replied; *That the ſaid Church did not ſtand in his way*; and ſo withdrew into his houſe. For concealing this occurrence from the Government, he was baniſhed, and all his effects ſeized upon. Alſo Mr. *Martin Koſter*, for his officiouſneſs and diligence in waiting upon the Burgomaſters when they cauſed thoſe Articles that were then drawn up to be ſigned on the 30th of *September* 1566, was obliged to fly, and to accept of baniſhment as a reward for his pains, which were looked upon as a capital crime. Every thing that the Magiſtrates had granted to the *Reformed* out of good will, or yeilded to the people out of neceſſity, and which, as the times went, could not eaſily be juſtified, they endeavoured to ſhift off from themſelves, and to lay on the backs of others. It was reputed a high miſdemeanor if they had ſhewn them the leaſt kindneſs, eſpecially if they could not produce their orders for it.

Adrian Paeuw was accuſed by the Burgomaſters before the Council at *Bruſſels*, in the month of *October* (for ſo long had he kept his ground) that the day after the firſt Image-breaking, he had delivered in to the Magiſtracy certain Articles, at the requeſt of the wild mob: Upon this, not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe at *Amſterdam*, he retired to *Antwerp*; but his adverſaries fearing, leſt in his own defence he ſhould diſcover what they had directed him to do and had even done themſelves in thoſe times, cited him immediately before the *Bloody Tribunal*. But *Paeuw* knowing too well with whom he had to do, fled out of the country. He had likewiſe been a Captain or Colonel of the Militia, who were now repreſented by the Magiſtrates to *Alva* (in order to excuſe themſelves) as riotous and ſeditious Ringleaders, that could always raiſe and ſpirit up the common people, and appeaſe them again at pleaſure: and yet this Militia and their Officers had received the thanks of the City, and promiſe of indemnity for what they had done. But in order to remove the blame from the Magiſtrates, on account of what had formerly happened in plundering the Convent of the *Franciſcans*, when the guard, which they had placed there, quitted by their direction, both the Convent and their Arms too, they cauſed *Peter Karſe*, the Captain of the Night-watch, who then executed the Burgomaſters orders, to be put in priſon, and tried for his life, upon ſome other pretext. He was charged with

with having *Lutheranized* a long time, with being a great *Gueuxe*, and engaged, by a preſent, to that party. His accuſers meant it of a *Red German Cloak*, which the Governour of the *Cluvineers Dool*, or Artillery-ground, had given him; for having been an old experienced ſoldier, and having ſerved the Emperor from his childhood in *Italy*, *France* and *Germany*, they had ſometimes made uſe of him in martialing and exerciſing the Militia. It was pretended, that he being a ſervant of the Burgomaſters, had, by ſuch bribes as thoſe, been prevailed upon to ſide with the Officers of the Militia againſt the Magiſtrates. This was ſufficient to do his buſineſs; and ſo they condemned him, who was much eſteemed by all the inhabitants, and was an ancient man of about ſeventy years, to ſerve upon one of the *Spaniſh* Gallies for the ſpace of fifty years, and, as *Lawrence Real* ſays he was credibly informed, they agreed with the Maſter of the Rowers, that when he came into the *Spaniſh* ſea, he ſhould throw the condemned man over board: this however is certain, that he never lived to ſee *Spain*, to which the Galley was bound. An° Dom. 1568.

William Martſon Kalf, Bailiff of *Amſterdam*, lay a long time in priſon for diſcharging four perſons that had been concerned in the Image-breaking at the Cloiſter of the *Carthuſians*; nor would he have ſaved his neck, if *Lawrence Real* could not have produced the written orders of the Magiſtrates for that very thing, and had not ſent him an atteſted copy of them from *Embden*. Three other worthy Burghers of *Amſterdam* (who little expected it) were likewiſe brought into trouble, *viz. Egbert Meynertſon*, *Alfert Henrickſon*, and *Peter Johnſon Wit*. *Egbert Meynertſon* was a Leather-ſeller, was mightily beloved, excelled in rhetorick or eloquence, according to the ſkill of that age, and was the chief of thoſe who profeſſed it. He was father to *Sebaſtian Egberts*, a Gentleman afterwards in great repute for his honeſty, judgment and learning, particularly in Phyſick: he was a Burgomaſter, and very diſcreet and moderate in matters of Religion. *Meynertſon*, ſoon after the departure of *Brederode*, was meditating his own retreat, but ſtaid at the deſire of the Burgomaſters *Jooſt Puik* and *Simon Kops*, who aſſured him there was nothing objected againſt him, and that if there ſhould, they would timely warn him of it: nay, they gave him a Certificate under the Seal of the City, teſtifying, that he had behaved himſelf very well, and lay under no ſuſpicion of hereſy or ſedition, upon the credit of which, they told him, he might depend, and go to *Antwerp*, or elſewhere, for the benefit of merchandiſing. Theſe arguments had greater weight with him than all the letters and intreaties of his brother-in-law *Lawrence Real* and other friends to the contrary. But notwitſtanding all the promiſes that had been made him, he was ſeized by the *Under-Scout*, on the 25th of *March* this year, and kept three months without a hearing, and then being condemned to the *ſharp queſtion*, as they call it, and accordingly tormented on the Rack, he not only bore it courageouſly, but made appear, that the evidence of the *Scout* was falſe, inſomuch that the ſenior Penſionary, Maſter *Adrian van Zandelijn*, gave it as his opinion, that he ought to be diſcharged: however they let him remain there, to the end that the *Scout*, *Peter Peterſon*, might have time to bring the matter before the *Council* of *Tumults*. The ſaid *Scout* charged him with *Lutheraniſm*, and with being one of thoſe who ſigned the Convention or Agreement of the laſt of *September*, in the year 1566; beſides, he was accuſed of aſſiſting at the collection of alms in the Church of the *Gueuxes*. Accordingly he was condemned upon the reſcript of the *Council* of *Tumults*, to loſe his head on the 9th of *June*; but a ſeaſonable fit of the *Strangury* carried him off in priſon the very evening before. The *Scout* earneſtly preſſed his Phyſician ſome hours before his deceaſe, to fortify him with any draught or medicine ſufficient to keep the ſoul in his body, only till he might be tied in a chair and beheaded with the two others at the appointed time. The Doctor replied, that he was not a God, who had the lives of men in his hand, and that according to his opinion the patient could not hold out beyond midnight. Upon which the *Scout* left him in a great fury. He wreaked his revenge however on the dead body; for he cauſed it to be placed in a chair, and the head to be cut off, and then put into a coffin by certain Monks, and interred in a place they called the *miſerable Church-yard*, becauſe it had never been conſecrated, and was deſtined for a burial-place of ſuch as died by the hand of the Executioner, or had not enjoyed the benefit of the Sacraments. But *Alfert Henrickſon* and *Peter de Wit* were brought upon the ſcaffold next day, being the 9th, and their heads laid even with their feet. *Alfert* was accuſed of frequenting the ſermons, aſſiſting or countenancing the

An° Dom. 1568. plundering the *Franciſcan* Convent, and of having taken up arms. The ſentence alſo ran accordingly; to wit, *that the Schepens having heard the whole matter, did, by the approbation and expreſs order of the Council of* Tumults, *condemn him to be beheaded, and his eſtate to be confiſcated; with a* * *ſaving to the privileges of the City in all others caſes.*

The ſentence againſt *Peter de Wit* referred to no order from the aboveſaid Council, but ſaid, *that he likewiſe had been at the meetings, and had born arms as one of the chief of the ſeditious.* But no regard was had to what the Heer *Peter Hooft* tells us he had received from the mouths of ſeveral ancient people, *viz.* that the ſaid *de Wit*, when the Burghers were ready to charge upon each other, had forbidden one of them to fire his piece upon *Jooſt Buik*, againſt whom he had levelled it; but on the contrary, the obedience that had been paid him in that affair, was made an argument of the authority he had over the Mutineers; and the ſaving that Burgomaſter's life, was one of the reaſons why he, *de Wit*, ought to die. All his effects were alſo declared forfeited. *Wein Adrian, Okker*'s daughter, was likewiſe for the zeal ſhe ſhewed againſt an image of the Virgin *Mary*, together with her maid, that was preſent at the ſaid time, put into a wine-veſſel filled with water, and ſo ſuffocated upon the ſcaffold; and her huſband *Jurian ter Meulen* was baniſhed. *Peter Johnſon Kies* had likewiſe paid for his honeſty, in hiding the books during the plunder of the *Franciſcan* Convent, with the price of his neck, had he not bought it off with the *Under-Scout, Richard van Bremen*, and made the beſt of his way with him; for they brought falſe evidence againſt him, to prove that he had robbed the Library; and deprived him of all the means to make his defence. [1] But theſe things happened earlier.

[2] The Miniſter of *Schoonhoven*, whoſe name was *Peter Johnſon Uitenbogart*, a relation of that *John Uitenbogart*, afterwards a famous Preacher at *Utrecht* and the *Hague*, was ſtrictly ſearched after, for having zealouſly preached there againſt Popery, after the deſtroying of the images in that town. But he eſcaped by flight, and reſided ſeveral years at *Dantzick*, till the revolution of affairs which afterwards happened in the year 1572, when he returned to *Schoonhoven*, and there reſumed the exerciſe of his office.

[3] At the *Hague*, on the 21ſt of *December*, there was a certain Country-man or Farmer, who had been Deacon of a private Conventicle at *Naeldwijk*, beheaded, for having lent his houſe for the uſe of the forbidden aſſembly, and for harbouring a Miniſter.

At *Utrecht*, two Burghers, *Jacob Ceſijnes* and *John de Ridder*, were hanged for having been at the new preaching, and all their effects declared forfeited: and the ſame day *John van Ammerongen* was put to death for image-breaking.

1569

[4] But in *Flanders* and *Brabant* ſtill more blood was ſhed. At *Gant*, *Giles de Meyer*, formerly Miniſter of *Vinderhout*, was condemned to the gallows; but the *Spaniards* who lay there in garriſon, thought this too good a death for him, and therefore putting a gag in his mouth, threw him among a ſtack of faggots, and ſetting fire to them, burnt him to death. This man was the ſecond of the four Miniſters who had openly oppoſed Popery in the Biſhoprick of *Gant*, and whoſe lives paid for their zeal; *Martin Smetius*, the firſt of them, and formerly Paſtor at *Sleding*, having been hanged at *Walem*, as we have ſhown in the preceding book. [5] *Adrian van Maldergem*, the third of thoſe Miniſters, who officiated at *Urſel*, was burnt at *Bruges*. But the laſt, who had formerly been the Miniſter of *Oſtwinkel*, exerciſed his function many years after among the *Reformed*. On the 4th of *February*, a huſbandman of *Merries* was beheaded at *Belle*, and afterwards four more at the ſame place. They had been very zealous ſticklers for the *Reformation*, and upon a certain propoſal, had collected a ſum of money to purchaſe Liberty of Conſcience from the King, as they hoped, for ſome years: but that money, it ſeems, was otherwiſe diſpoſed of. *Jooſt van Benſekom* was hanged at *Oudenard* for his Religion, on the 7th of *May*. The ſame ſhameful death was ſuffered by three other men there, on the 11th of *June*. A certain woman, who had taught children to ſing pſalms, and inſtructed the women in the word

2 of

* *This Salvo is indeed a tacit Confeſſion of the Novelty and Unlawfulneſs of ſuch Confiſcations, but yields no remedy, becauſe the Fact claſhes with the Proteſtation.* Grot. Apol. c. 15. p. 150. *See alſo the* Arcad. Batav. p. 572, &c.

[1] Pontan. Hiſt. Amſt. Lib. III. p. 282.

[2] *See the Preface to the Life of* Uitenburg.

[3 4] *Hiſt. Mart. in* Dutch, p. 441, &c. Hiſt. des Mart. *in* French, p. 685.

[5] Hiſt des Mart. f. 600, &c. *and* Dutch *Hiſt. Mart.* f. 421, &c.

of God, was beheaded for it. *Louisa Kijkenpost*, an ancient widow, lost her head at *Ronsen*, for having allowed preaching two years before in her barn. *Giles* and *John Anneke* his son, two that had fled from *Ronsen*, but were returned to fetch their wives, together with *Lewis van Melen* (for having harboured them) were all put to death together, *Giles* by fire, and the rest by the sword. *John le Grain* of *Arras* was beheaded at *Brussels* the 28th of *June*. *Schebland Bartels* was burnt on the 10th of the same month, and *George Komans* the 14th of *August*, at *Antwerp*; *Hans van Hues* their fellow-prisoner, for the sake of their common faith, died in prison. Anno Dom. 1568.

At *Bois le Duc*, on the 24th of *March*, fifty five Burghers were banished on account of their Religion, or on pretence of being concerned in the tumults, and all their effects confiscated; and forty more who had fled, were summoned in. On the 16th of *July* four Burghers were hanged there; on the 22d two others were hanged, and two beheaded; the 14th of *August* two more; the 28th were two hanged and one beheaded. The same day one hundred and sixteen men and three women were cited by toll of bell.

Peter van Kulen, a Goldsmith by trade, and an Elder of the private Congregation at *Breda*, having been imprisoned for some time, was so publickly confirmed in the faith, and comforted in his bands by his servant-maid, who fed him during the space of nine months, that his persecutors would bear it no longer: they therefore put her likewise in prison, and two months after, both of them were brought out to be burnt. When they were leading to the stake, some women made their way through the crowd to take their last farewel of them, animated with a dangerous zeal at the sight of the chearful constancy of them both. The man was first strangled, but the maid burned alive; she encouraged her master as long as he was capable of understanding her; and afterwards she was observed by the people, who were astonished at her invincible courage, magnifying the name of God in the midst of the flames. *The Faithfulness of a Maid-servant.*

[1] But it being perceived with what constancy and alacrity many persons went to the fire, and how, to the very last, they opened their mouths to make a free confession of their faith, and that the wooden balls or gags were wont sometimes to slip out, there was a dreadful machine, invented with a design to hinder it for the future: they prepared two little irons between which the tongue was screwed, which being seared at the tip with a glowing iron, would swell to such a degree, as to become immoveable, and incapable of being drawn back; thus fastened, the tongue would wriggle about with the pain of the burning, and yield a hollow sound, much like that of the Tyrant of *Sicily*'s brazen Bull, the contrivance of *Perillus*, and which was first experienced by the inventer himself. The utmost trial of human constancy, but under which a man is comforted, whilst he believes he is serving God; for on the heart of such a man, cruelty it self breaks all its teeth. *Inhumane Cruelty.*

[2] *Arnold van Erp*, a man of known sincerity, relates, that whilst he was a spectator of the martyrdom of some that were thus tongue-tied, he heard a Frier among the crowd saying to his companion; *Hark how they sing! should they not dance too?* which inhumanity so enraged him, though he was then but just out of his childhood, that he had much ado to forbear flying upon him that used those words; whereby he might have ruined himself and all his relations.

[3] The *Anabaptists* had their share again of the general calamities. Fourteen men and three women of that Sect being put to death for their faith in *Flanders*: a father and his two sons at *Antwerp*: at *Rotterdam*, a Ship-wright of the *Brill*: at the *Hague*, *John Tielemans*, and with him *Job Johnson*, whom we have mentioned above in the disputes among the *Anabaptists*. This last, writ from his prison a certain letter to *John Williamson* and *Lubbert Gerritson*, lamenting his having confessed himself guilty, which he had done, by depending on their judgments more than upon his own; as also his indiscreet staying, and the sentence that followed, together with the excommunication of *Richard Philips*, and exhorting them to acknowledge their fault, and to repent of the injury they had done to good and pious men. At *Brewershaven* was put to death the Schoolmaster *Nalerius*, who left behind him a certain edifying letter, that has been since printed with his *Trial of Faith*.

[4] The Duke of *Alva* proceeded to forbid all correspondence with the Exiles, and the affording them any manner of help or favour, on pain of death, if it happened to be prejudicial *All Correspondence with the Exiles forbidden.*

[1] Hooft, Lib. V. *p.* 173.
[2] Ibid. *Hist. of Mart.* p. 452.
[3] *Hist. of* Anab. *Mart.* p. 450, *&c.*
[4] Hooft, Lib. V. *p.* 183. Bor. Lib. IV. *p.* 177.

An° Dom. 1568.

prejudicial to the King's ſervice; and in any other caſe, of ſuch arbitrary puniſhment as the Judges ſhould pleaſe to inflict. And on the contrary, he required, that all who knew where any of thoſe Refugees concealed themſelves, ſhould apprehend them; or, if that were impracticable, ſhould give information to the Magiſtracy. He likewiſe iſſued a Proclamation, importing, that all who had ſigned the Confederacy of the Nobility, and lay concealed in the Country, ſhould, after being reconciled to the Church, diſcover themſelves to the Government, in order to obtain his Majeſty's pardon, on pain of perpetual diſgrace. But no body would venture to come in upon ſuch uncertain conditions.

Alva's Contrivance to diſcover ſuch as ſigned the Confederacy of the Nobility.

At this time abundance of books and pamphlets were publiſhed againſt the *Spaniſh* cruelty and violation of conſcience, and were diſperſed all over the nation; to which *Alva* oppoſed a ſevere Placard.

In the mean while, the Prince of *Orange* being about to enter the country with a powerful army, ſent before him a *Manifeſto*, giving the reaſons of thoſe his warlike preparations, which he ſaid were, *at the requeſt of the ſubjects of the* Low-Countries, *as well of thoſe that were the preſent inhabitants, as of thoſe who had been driven out; and as well of the* Roman Catholicks, *as of the* Proteſtants: *That he had no other views, but the honour of God in the defence of his holy Word and Miniſtry, and the ſervice of the King, by preventing the entire deſtruction of theſe Provinces; as alſo the good of the nation, in preſerving the rights and properties of the people, by a juſt and neceſſary oppoſition of the* Spaniſh *tyranny.——He exhorted all the* Netherlanders *to aſſiſt him in this undertaking, otherwiſe threatening them with the wrath of God, and plainly declaring himſelf againſt ſuch who remaining neuters, and embracing neither ſide, ſhould content themſelves with being bare ſpectators of the labours and dangers of others, whom he ſhould therefore always look upon as betrayers of themſelves and of their country.*

The Prince of Orange's *Declaration.*

This Manifeſto bore date the 31ſt of *Auguſt*; but [1] the Prince's expedition over the *Maeſe* was without ſucceſs, *Alva* being too ſtrong for him, and proviſions failing for want of money. Of the 300,000 Gilders which *Marcus Perex*, and other Deputies of the *Dutch Reformed* Churches, within and without the country, had engaged to raiſe for the ſupport of his Troops, there did not come to his hands above 10 or 12,000. Upon which he found himſelf obliged to march them back to *Germany*, and there to diſband them, as was done with a great many good words, but with very little money.

He paſſes the Maeſe, *but without ſucceſs.*

After this the Duke, elevated with ſucceſs, cauſed a brazen ſtatue to be erected in the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, with a *Latin* inſcription, importing, that it was ſet up for him, *the moſt faithful Subject of the beſt of Kings; who, after having extinguiſhed the Tumults, expelled the Rebels, preſerved Religion, and reſtored Juſtice, had reeſtabliſhed Peace in the Nation.*

Alva *erects himſelf a Statue in the Caſtle of* Antwerp.

Pope *Pius* V. in *March* 1596, ſent him, as a brave Champion of the *Catholick* religion, the Hat and Sword, which the holy Fathers are uſed every year to conſecrate at *Chriſtmas*, and to preſent to ſome or other of the Chriſtian Princes.

The Pope preſents him a Hat and Sword.

But on the contrary, the Emperor *Maximilian*, at the requeſt of the Prince of *Orange*, did by his brother Archduke *Charles*, reſume his mediation with the King; to whom he cauſed it to be repreſented, that *violent councils in matters of religion were ſeldom found to ſucceed; in which, not only mercy but prudence alſo required temper, moderation, and mitigation of the ſeverities that had been uſed; as likewiſe, that the violating of the rights and privileges of the country, eſpecially by employing Foreigners in the Miniſtry, was a grievance not only to the Nobility, but to all the people.*

The Emperor reſumes his Mediation with the King.

[2] It was anſwered on the part of King *Philip*, that *in all his Kingdoms and Principalities he had conformed himſelf to the meaſures of other orthodox Princes, and trodden in the path of the* Roman *Church, from whence there could be no deviation, neither to the right hand nor the left. That not only the ſalvation of ſouls, but the tranquility of his dominions depended on it; and that the like reaſons had induced even the Heathens themſelves to be jealous for the worſhip of their falſe Gods. As for his ſubjects who had deſerved ſuch rigorous treatment, he himſelf ſuffered in them: but how could this be avoided by any Prince that deſired to maintain his neceſſary authority?*

The King's Anſwer to his Repreſentation.

[1] Reid. *p.* 6. Meur. Gul. Aur. Lib. *p.* 52. Strada, Lib. VII. *p.* 403. Bentivog. Lib. V. *p.* 227. Hooft, Lib. VI. *p.* 211.

[2] Bor. *p.* 194. Strada, Lib. VII. *p.* 418. Hooft, Lib. V. *p.* 192.

thority? That however the punishment had been extended only to the ring-leaders, and the severity of justice had been tempered with mercy. That clemency should likewise have its turn in the proper season. That the neglect of justice would have proved a heavy burthen to his conscience; and besides, in his opinion, it might have produced much greater inconveniences than those wherewith people pretended to be aggrieved. And lastly, that he left the administration upon the ancient foot, though no privileges could have obliged him to it, when the good of the nation made it necessary to change them. AN° DOM. 1568.

In the mean while multitudes of the inhabitants continued to leave the country; the *Spanish* yoke growing daily more intolerable, and the hopes of a deliverance decreasing. It is thought that above one hundred thousand houses were deserted on this account by those who transported their effects, trade, and handicrafts into other nations. Those women who went to visit their exiled husbands were forbidden to return, on pain of being treated as holding correspondence with the Rebels. There was another Placard published against books lately prohibited. There was also a strict order made on the 4th of *March*, forbidding the subjects to study in any of the Universities out of the King's dominions (excepting *Rome*) and all youths under the age of twenty years, to dwell in any foreign country, in order to learn the language, merchandize, or any other calling, on pain of forfeiting their effects, and being banished for ever. Their parents and guardians who did not use their utmost diligence in recalling them within a limited time, were to be punished at the discretion of the Judges, and the penalty might not be less than what is abovementioned. *Above 100000 Houses deserted.* *New Placards.*

[1] As for the trials at law, they proceeded so incautiously in them, that it is reported of a certain prisoner, that when they came to consider of his cause, he was by a mistake put to death among a crowd of others; and that when it appeared there was little or nothing to be objected against him, *Vargas* making very light of the matter, said, *it was good for the poor man's soul that he died innocent.* It is likewise reported of *James Hessels*, a Lawyer and Member of the *Bloody Tribunal*, that his manner was to take a nap upon the bench after dinner, whilst the *Hereticks* were tried and condemned; but being awakend as it came to his turn to give his vote, and rubbing his eyes, he cried, *ad patibulum, ad patibulum*; that is, away with him to the gallows, without knowing any thing more of the matter; just as if the death of a man had been no more than a jest or a song. But when people were condemned by the Court, or by the *Bloody Tribunal*, or by virtue of a special Commission, the Magistrates of the place were often requested to countenance the sentence by their presence and assistance, though they had been deprived of the cognizance of the cause, contrary to law. Some of them complied with the request of the *Spaniards*, out of blood-thirstiness, some out of fear; but some had the courage to oppose them. Master *Arent Sasbout*, Member of the Council of *Holland*, was sent by *Alva* to *Leyden*, to enquire into the riots and tumults committed in the year 1566; upon whose report some of the imprisoned Burghers were condemned to death by the *Bloody Tribunal*, and their estates confiscated; but when he would have put the sentence in execution, and desired the assistance of the Magistrates, the whole body of them represented to him, in a warm remonstrance, that it was contrary to their privileges, alledging, that *it only belonged to the Schepens, or else to the supreme Council of their Town, to pronounce sentence against such as were freemen, who could not forfeit more than their lives, and sixty pounds* Rhineland *money*. Besides, they represented, that there was an old custom which had obtained among them, that *no body should be put to death who did not own his crime without torture or bands.* *Incautious Proceedings in Trials at Law.* *The Magistrates of* Leyden *oppose the Council of* Blood, *in defence of their Privileges.*

Those of *Groningen* were not so courageous. *Charles Quarre* of the Council of *Brabant*, arriving there the beginning of *April*, to take an account of the Church-plundering, and other malversations of those times, and to punish them, desired that one of the Magistrates might be deputed to assist him, to the end he might make no mistake through ignorance, and the Town might have no occasion to complain, that no notice was taken of their Rulers in matters of such importance. This burden fell upon the Burgomaster *Joachim Ubbena* much against his will. *John Barnenda*, the Surveyor of the City-buildings, together with the Masons and Carpenters who had been employed by the Magistracy in the year 1566, to clear the *Franciscan* Church from the

[1] Hooft, *p.* 191. Bor. Lib. V. *p.* 192. Meur. Aur. Lib. V. *p.* 56.

An° Dom. 1568. the rubbiſh of the demoliſhed images, and had alſo prepared it for the uſe of the *Reformed*, were put in priſon, and tried for their lives, as introducers of the new preaching. Theſe perſons endeavoured to vindicate themſelves, by alledging, that they had done nothing but by order of the Government, and were paid out of the publick ſtock. This was certainly true, but they could not prove it; and the Burgomaſters denied it, referring, in their own juſtification, to the Accompt-book of their Treaſurer, whom they had craftily directed about that very time, to make a private entry of thoſe expences under a different name and pretence. The Surveyor being informed of it, made his eſcape out of priſon, together with two of the workmen. The reſt of them were put to the Rack, and after a forced confeſſion of guilt, beheaded. But this ſeverity, and the lamentations of the widows and orphans, which ſeemed to require that innocent blood at the hands of the Magiſtrates (who made that a capital crime which had been done only in obedience to their commands) occaſioned ſo much compaſſion for thoſe poor creatures, and ſuch a hatred againſt the ſaid Magiſtrates, that they found themſelves obliged to allow a yearly maintenance to the heirs of thoſe that were executed, out of the revenues of the Town, in order to ſilence the loud exclamations of the people.

There had been before at *Groningen*, a certain Prior of the *Dominicans*, whoſe name was *Thomas*; who by ſhowing his averſion to *Popery*, had brought himſelf into danger, from which the Magiſtrates had freed him ſeveral times, but at laſt he was forced to fly for it. *Quarre* immediately cited him, and all the other Refugees, among whom were many Gentlemen, before *Alva*'s Tribunal, and ſeized upon their effects. [1] But they appealed to the privileges of *Groningen* and the *Omelands*, *de non evocando*; that is, that no cauſe ſhould be removed from the Courts of their own Province and carried to the Prince or his Delegates; praying, that they might be left to their competent Judge, and dealt with according to the Rights and Uſages of their City and native Country. But they were anſwered: *Thoſe who appear ſhall have juſtice done them; but thoſe who do not, ſhall have no benefit of the law.* And as none of them appeared, they were declared Rebels, who had forfeited their lives and eſtates.

The Refugees cited to appear before Alva's *Tribunal.*

A dreadful Perſecution.

[2] In other parts, this year produced yet more dreadful tragedies. At *Valenciennes*, in *January*, there were beheaded, within the ſpace of three days, on account of their Religion, fifty ſeven men, moſt of whom were Burghers of that Town: And it was then that thoſe of *Limburg* paid dearly for their moderation in tolerating the *Reformed*. The *Scout*, *Reinhart van Radelo*, the Burgomaſters, Judges, and other Officers, were fled with their families and moſt of the chief inhabitants. Some that ſtaid were brought into trouble for their credulity and eaſineſs. *Alva*'s Commiſſioners condemned ſeveral to death. Six were beheaded in *January*, and three in *February*, beſides two burnt alive with their mouths ſcrewed. *John van Aken* was hanged at this place on account of ſome images which he had daſhed in pieces in the Lordſhip of *Withem*, by order of the Lord of the place, the Count of *Kulenburg*. A Surgeon was alſo beheaded there in *March*. *Jooſt Spiering* was hanged at *Oudenard* with a gag in his mouth. The Deacon, *John Laute*, ſtrangled and burnt at *Gant*. At *Bruſſels*, *Gerard Koopman* was put to death. But *Alva* wanted more than their blood. In order to perpetuate his tyranny, he demanded about this time, ſuch ſubſidies, as, according to what he himſelf writ, would make a ſtream of gold, reaching from hence to *Spain*, as thick as his arm. [3] Theſe ſubſidies were firſt the hundredth penny of every man's eſtate for once; and then the twentieth of immoveable and the tenth penny of moveable goods, to be paid by the ſeller as often as they happened to be bought. When this tax was refuſed by the States, as tending in a very ſhort time to reduce the people to beggary, and to baniſh all trade, ſome of the Members were told, that by their omiſſions and neglect in quieting the late tumults, they had forfeited all the liberties and all their rights of meddling in State affairs; for which reaſon the King might ſaddle them with what taxes he pleaſed: but he promiſed thoſe of *Hainalt*, *Artois*, and others, to leave them free of this burden, if they only gave their approbation, in order to draw in others: They complied, and the States of the adjacent hereditary Countries were induced to follow their example: Accordingly they gave their conſent too; but it was under an expreſs ſtipulation,

The tenth penny demanded.

[1] Bor. Lib. V. *p.* 193. Grot. Apol. *Cap.* XV. *p.* 149. Lib. V. *p.* 58. Grot. An. Lib. II. *p.* 33. Reid. *p.* 9.
[2] Hiſt. des Mart. *p.* 688. Strada Lib. VII. *p.* 423. Bent. Lib. V. *p.* 236.
[3] Hooft. Lib. V. *p.* 190, &c. Meur. Gul. Aur.

lation, that it ſhould not be binding, if any of the other Provinces perſiſted in a refuſal. The States of *Utrecht* ſhewed much more ſteadineſs, and by continuing to refuſe, furniſhed the other Countries with a juſt excuſe. Even the Clergy themſelves declared, that they could not ſubmit to this tax, without violating their oaths and conſcience; ſince by the Bull that is read *in Cœna Domini*, all of them were excommunicated that gave or received ſuch taxes without the approbation of the Pope. Upon *Utrecht*'s refuſal, all the other Provinces drew back. After much ſtruggling, this tax was bought off for two years. But *Alva*, to be revenged of the States of *Utrecht*, ſent a great number of Troops, who harraſſed the inhabitants, and the Clergy themſelves, with the utmoſt inſolence, extorting from them great ſums. He even proceeded ſo far as to cite, firſt the Magiſtrates of the Town, and afterwards the States, before himſelf or the *Bloody Tribunal*, charging them with what had been granted to the *Reformed*, only for avoiding greater inconveniences, by the Convention made with them on the 27th of *Auguſt* 1566. Thus he threatened to lay heavier loads upon the oppreſſed, in hopes of making them bend under the yoke; but they bore it all with invincible courage, and endeavoured to defend themſelves by the juſtice of their cauſe.

Anno Dom. 1568.

Granted by ſome, but refuſed by thoſe of Utrecht.

They are cited to appear before Alva's Bloody Tribunal.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK X.

An° Do'm. 1569.

A new Order tending to increaſe the fire of Perſecution.

IN the mean time, the Duke *d'Alva*, that he might effectually ſharpen the ſword of Perſecution, gave inſtructions to the Stadtholders of the Provinces, **That when either the Hoſt, or the Holy Oil for extream Unction, was carried to ſick people, ſtrict notice ſhould be taken of the behaviour, countenance and words of every perſon; and that all thoſe in whom any ſigns of irreverence were diſcovered, ſhould be puniſhed. That all ſuch dead bodies, to which the Clergy thought fit to deny chriſtian burial and the conſecrated ground, ſhould be thrown out on the Gallows field. That notice ſhould be given of it to him, and their eſtates regiſtered. And laſtly, that all Midwives ſhould be obliged to give an account upon oath, of all women whom they delivered within twenty four hours after the child was come into the world, to the reſpective Pariſh Prieſts, to the end that it might be known whether they were baptized after the** Romiſh **manner.** This Order was publiſhed in *Holland* on the 1ſt of *June* 1569; and on the 27th of *July*, the Duke cauſed a certain Placard to be promulgated, which had been ſigned the 19th of *May*, whereby the King confirmed all that his Father had ordained at *Auſburg* in the year 1550, with regard to the extirpation of *Hereſy*, and made it a perpetual Edict, revoking all other Declarations and Regulations that were inconſiſtent with it, *as being made contrary to his intent and meaning*. Upon this the Duke, in order to diſcover and perſecute all concealed *Hereticks*, ſet Spies in all corners of the ſtreets to obſerve the countenances of the people: Theſe Spies were nick-named the *Seven-penny men*, becauſe the wages of their odious work was paid them in pieces of that value. Thus cruelty went on in its ancient courſe; and as if the thirſt for blood had been increaſed by the ſpilling of it, ſeveral were daily put to death for their Religion.

The Placard of Ausburg *renewed.*

The progreſs of the Perſecution.

Upon this account, *Mark de Lanoy* and *John le Grand* were burnt, their mouths being firſt ſcrewed together, on the 8th of *July*, at *Antwerp*. *William Tavart* was condemned to the ſame puniſhment, but while they were tying his hands, and ſhutting up his mouth, he, being an infirm old man of eighty years, fainted away; whereupon he was carried back to priſon, and drowned there. *Conrad van Beleyn* was burnt the 19th of the ſaid month, and *John Sorret* the 13th of *October*, at *Tournay*. About the ſame time, a certain Potter was hanged at *Bois le Duc*, and one *Nicolas Corneliſſon*, a huſbandman, beheaded at the *Hague*.

The

[x] Bor. Lib. V. *p.* 224. Hooft. Lib. V. *p.* 196.

The *Anabaptiſts* had their ſhare of theſe barbarous executions; for on the 26th of *February*, *Peter Peterſon*, or *Bekjen*, the Maſter of a Paſſage-boat, was burnt for his Religion at *Amſterdam*. They put him to the Rack, to make him give an account of his faith, and extorted from him the following confeſſion: *That from his childhood he had never been at Maſs to receive the Sacrament, nor confeſſed himſelf but once in twenty years, but on the contrary had been frequently at the forbidden Meetings or Conventicles of the* Menonites, *two of which Meetings had been holden in his own Boat; and not long before he was taken up, he had carried away the child of which his wife was delivered, that it might not be baptized according to the Ceremonies of the* Romiſh *Church*. Upon the report that he was to die, one of his friends of the ſame Sect, named *William Janſon* of *Waterland*, went from *Dornikerdam* to the City to ſee his end, and if poſſible, to comfort and ſtrengthen him in his agonies. But the ſame lot befel him for his faithfulneſs, which we have related in our third book of one of his perſwaſion, to wit, whilſt he was encouraging his brother, and exhorting him to fight manfully, he was immediately ſeized upon, afterwards twice racked, and upon the 12th of *March* put to death by fire. *John Quirijnſon* of *Utrecht*, *Cornelius Janſon* of *Harlem*, and *Clement Henrickſon*, three Anabaptiſt Burghers, were examined by torture concerning their Meetings and Teachers, and all their goods were declared confiſcated, *without prejudice to the privileges of their reſpective Cities, in all other caſes*. *Richard Willemſon*, an inhabitant at *Aſperen*, of the ſame perſwaſion, being purſued in a winter-day by one of the Officers of Juſtice, fled upon the ice, which was yet but thin, and with much difficulty got over it, but the man who followed him ſlipped in: *Willemſon* obſerving the danger, immediately returned, gave him his hand, and with the hazard of his own, ſaved the life of his enemy. The Officer, moved with his generoſity, would have let him go, but the Burgomaſter coming in the interval, called to him ſharply, ſaying, *Fulfil your oath*; whereupon ſelf-love, which put him in mind that his gratitude might coſt him his neck, prevailed, ſo he brought the poor man away, who on the 16th of *May* was condemned to the fire. Whilſt the ſentence was executing upon him, on that ſide of the Town of *Aſperen* next to *Leerdam*, a ſtrong eaſterly wind blew the flames away from the upper part of his body; this gave him the moſt acute pains of a ſlow death, inſomuch that he was heard as far as *Leerdam*, towards which the wind ſat, crying, above ſeventy times; *O my Lord! and my God!* The *Droſſard*, or chief Magiſtrate of the Town, moved with his ſufferings, and not able any longer to ſee what the other felt, turned his back upon the place of execution, and called out to the Hangman; *Help the poor creature to a ſhort death:* Thus dear did his honeſty and ſimplicity coſt this good Burgher. Before this, *Adrian Willemſon* was beheaded at *Vianen*. In the *Bril*, on the 25th of *June*, was a man of *Maeſland* executed by the ſword, and a woman of *Swaertewall*, by fire. *Thijs Jurianſon* of *Raerop* in *Waterland*, one of their Teachers, who had preached at *Muiden*, and one of his Congregation, who was taken with him, were for thoſe offences ſtrangled, and their bodies pitched and dried. This man ſided with the *Flemings* in the laſt Schiſm, and vehemently oppoſed the diſmiſſion of *Richard Philips*.

Anº Dom. 1569.

An Anabaptiſt *by ſaving the life of his* Perſecutor, *loſes his own.*

There were four *Anabaptiſts* executed in *Zeland*; three at *Midelburg*, and one at *Zierixſee*; one or two of the ſame Sect were murdered at *Bois le Duc*; at *Antwerp* fourteen men and two women; at *Gant* ſix men and ſeven women; at *Courtray* ſix men and two women; at *Armentiers* one man; at *Ypres* two. Among thoſe *Anabaptiſts* that ſuffered this year for the ſake of Religion, *Herman Timmerman* was one. We are told in their Hiſtory, that he was inclined, at the deſire of his own people, to flee from perſecution for a while, but was betrayed by one of the *Scout*'s ſervants, who had forſaken the *Anabaptiſts*, or who had only pretended to be one of their number, for that vile purpoſe. His prudence and moderation in matters of Religion are much commended. About nine years before, in a little Treatiſe addreſſed to *Menno* (of whoſe deceaſe he was then ignorant) and to *Richard Philips*, he with great ſeriouſneſs, and by ſcriptural words and arguments, oppoſed that ſpirit of ſeparation and excommunication of the hot-headed *Anabaptiſts*. He took notice in the Preface, how *Menno* and *Philips* were gone off from their former temper in the buſineſs of *Uplifting*; and teſtified how much he was grieved to write againſt perſons, who for their diligence and faithfulneſs were worthy of all honour and commendation; *He was compelled*, as he expreſſed it, *by the bitter neceſſity of his conſcience, to defend*

An° Dom. 1569. *the honour of God, and the eternal ſaving Truth, and with ſorrow of heart to prefer the ſalvation of men to their honour. Wherefore he prayed and exhorted his Readers, that they would never admit of any carnal views, nor depend upon the arm of fleſh, but make the word of God the rule of their faith and practice, and the ſource of all their pleaſure. By this means would they never be deceived; and for the ſame reaſon he deſired the Reader not to believe him, but the Scripture.*

It is reported of this *Timmerman*, that whilſt he was in priſon they cut off his thumbs, or ſqueezed them to pieces, to prevent his writing. He was burnt not long before *Eaſter*. *James de Roore* and *Herman van Flekwijk*, were ſentenced to be burnt at *Bruges*. *Jacob de Roore* or *Keerſgieter* (for ſo we find him named) was a learned, affectionate, and eloquent teacher, who while he was in priſon endeavoured in one of his letters, to diſſuade the *Anabaptiſts* from their abuſe of excommunications, from their raſh judgments and ſchiſmatical proceedings. *Flekwijk* is likewiſe deſcribed by the people of his Sect, as a man of no contemptible qualifications. Both of them had long diſputes on ſeveral articles of faith, with Brother *Cornelius Adrians*, a *Franciſcan* Frier of *Dort*, who after his way attempted their converſion.

A Conference between a Monk *and an* Anabaptiſt, *concerning the putting Heretics to death.*

Among other arguments which he made uſe of, he told *Flekwijk*, that *unleſs he would embrace the* Catholick *Religion, and cauſe his children to be baptized in that Church, he ran the riſque of being burnt alive at a ſtake.* To which the other replied, *he might run the ſame riſque perhaps, though he ſhould renounce his faith, and ſuffer his children to be baptized by a* Romiſh *Prieſt.* The Monk gave him to underſtand, that *in ſuch caſe they would allow him the ſword. But,* ſaid *Herman, to what purpoſe? we never meddle with the ſword.* The Monk replied, *you know my meaning, you ſhould only be beheaded.* Then *Herman* aſked, *whether, if he ſincerely owned that he had erred in the faith, and cauſed his children to be baptized, he ſhould not, according to the ſaying and meaning of brother* Cornelius, *immediately become a good chriſtian?* It was anſwered, *yes, in all reſpects. And could you Papiſts,* ſays *Herman* again, *ſpill the blood of ſuch a good chriſtian, without thinking it a great ſin?* The Frier, who was not prepared for ſuch a queſtion, gave him, with a deal of *Billinſgate* language, to underſtand that he ought to die however, as having been an *Apoſtate* and an *Anabaptiſt*. The priſoner rejoined, *Nevertheleſs, the man of whom* Chriſt *ſpeaks, who had a hundred ſheep, did not cut the throat of the loſt one as ſoon as he had found it, but laying it upon his ſhoulders, carried it home with great joy.*

And concerning the Trinity and the Divinity of Chriſt.

After this, *Flekwijk* entered into another diſpute with brother *Cornelius*, about the Trinity, and about the Godhead of *Chriſt*; but that is omitted by the publiſher of the laſt edition of the *Anabaptiſt* Martyrology, printed at *Dort*. However, he there owns, that *Flekwijk* as well as *Keerſgieter* anſwered bravely, wiſely and learnedly, and he gives them both the titles of chriſtian Heroes and children of God.

Now to the end that our Reader may ſee, what length thoſe of the *Anabaptiſt* perſwaſion went in theſe matters, we ſhall here relate what paſſed in this conference, but briefly by way of dialogue, not confining our ſelves ſo much to the very words, eſpecially the ſcandalous reflections of the Frier, as to the ſenſe.

Flekwijk being reproached by the ſaid Monk, *with blaſpheming the real body and blood of God, in ſpeaking againſt the Maſs*, replied, *I have not ſaid one word of the body and blood of God, how then can I have blaſphemed it?*

Cornel. *But is not the body and blood of* Chriſt, *the body and blood of God? God the Father, and God the Son, are not they one God? or do you pretend to make two Gods of them? What! are you a* Trinitarian (he meant an *Antitrinitarian*) *too?*

Flek. *Do not you ſay, nevertheleſs, that you, as Prieſts, daily offer up to God in the Maſs his Son* Jeſus Chriſt? *In ſo doing you your ſelves make a difference between God and his Son's body, which yet you now call the fleſh and body of God?*

Cornel. *But do you not then believe that* Chriſt *is the ſecond perſon of the holy Trinity?*

Flek. *We know not how to call things, otherwiſe than they are named in the holy Scriptures.*

Cornel. *Is there not mention made in the holy Scriptures of God the Father, of God the Son, and of God the Holy Ghoſt?*

Flek. *The Scriptures notwithſtanding ſpeak only of one God, and of the Son of the living God, and of the Holy Ghoſt.*

Cornel. *If you had but read the Creed of St.* Athanaſius; *there you would have met with*, God the Father, God the Son, *and* God the Holy Ghoſt: *which three perſons are by him ſtiled*, the one true God. ——— An° Dom. 1569.

Flek. *I am not verſed in the* Athanaſian *Creed*; *it is enough for me* **to believe in the living God, and that Chriſt is the Son of the living God,** *as* Peter *believed*; *and* **in the Holy Ghoſt, which the Father ſhed on us abundantly, through Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour,** *as* Paul *teſtifies.*

Cornel. *You are a pretty fellow indeed, to imagine that God ſhould ſhed his holy Spirit on you that do not believe that the Holy Ghoſt himſelf is God. But you borrow theſe* heretical *opinions from the* deviliſh *books of that* damned Eraſmus *of* Rotterdam, *who in his Preface to the Works of St.* Hilary, *pretends that the holy man, in the* t *end of his twelfth book, ſaid:* t That the Holy Ghoſt is no where in the Scripture ſtiled God, but that we are ſo bold as to call him God; whereas the Fathers of the Church ſcrupled to do it. *Will you then be a follower of that* **Trinitarian?**

Flek. *We neither follow* Eraſmus *nor* Hilary, *but the holy Scriptures, as they likewiſe do.*

Cornel. *But though the Holy Ghoſt be not called God in any part of the Scriptures, what matters that? The Holy Ghoſt himſelf has inſtructed our Mother the Church, to call him God, as appears by the* Athanaſian *Creed. But to ſpeak ſeriouſly, if you believe the Holy Scriptures, why do not you then believe the Divinity of our Saviour?*

Flek. *Far be it from us to deny the Divinity of Chriſt. We believe that he is divine and heavenly; but not terreſtrial, or of the earth; and therefore it is that you put us to death.*

Cornel. *That is not true. We put you to death becauſe you will not believe that* Chriſt *took on him the ſeed of his mother* Mary.

Flek. *We believe that* **The Word was made fleſh.**

Cornel. *Nevertheleſs* Chriſt *ſays,* **I and my Father are one.** *And again:* **He that hath ſeen me, hath ſeen the Father.**

Flek. Chriſt *has likewiſe ſaid:* **That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they alſo may be one in us, that the World may believe that thou haſt ſent me: And the glory which thou gaveſt me, I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.** *See likewiſe the* Acts of the Apoſtles, *chap.* iv. *ver.* 32. *and* Paul's *Epiſtle to the* Galatians, *chap.* iij. *ver.* 28. *and* Epheſians, *chap.* v. *ver.* 31.

Cornel. *All this have you ſucked from the poiſonous breaſts of* Eraſmus; *but anſwer me upon* Chriſt's *ſaying:* **He that hath ſeen me, hath ſeen the Father.**

Flek. Chriſt *ſays alſo:* **Not that any man hath ſeen the Father, ſave he which is of God.** *And again:* **No man hath ſeen God at any time.** *And in another place:* **My Father is greater than I.** *Compare this with* Mark xiij. 32. ——*From all which it may ſufficiently appear that the Father himſelf was not made fleſh.*

Cornel. *You muſt not pretend to teach me that; for I ſay again, that* Chriſt, *the ſecond perſon in the Godhead, or holy Trinity, was made man, whom you refuſe to call God.*

Flek. *I call him* the Son of the Living God, *as did alſo* Peter, *and the* Lord, *as the reſt of the Apoſtles ſtile him: and ſo again, in the* Acts of the Apoſtles, *he is called*, Jeſus of *Nazereth*,——whom God hath raiſed up. *And by* Paul, that man—by whom God will judge the world in righteouſneſs.

Cornel. *Theſe are all the ſame trifling arguments which that damned* [1] Eraſmus *uſes in his little Tract about* Prayer, *and in his Apology to the Biſhop of* Seville; *but if you barely call* Chriſt, the Son of God, *then you make no more of him than St.* Luke *does of* Adam, *whom he likewiſe calls ſo.*

Flek. *God forbid! we believe that the body of* Chriſt *was not earthly, or of the earth, like that of* Adam, *the firſt man; but that he was a heavenly man, as* Paul *alſo writes.*

Cornel. *But will you neither believe that* Chriſt *is* very Man, *nor that he is* very God; *pray what is he then?*

Flek. Chriſt *is the very Son of God, as* John *writes in his firſt Epiſtle; he is alſo a very Man, as* Paul *teſtifies.*

[1] Vide Eraſm. Op. Tom. IX. *p.* 831. al. 1023, &c.

An° Dom. 1569.

Cornel. *But does not St.* John *say, in the same Chapter, of the Son, that he is* very God?

Flek. *No; for* John *says,* **We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an Understanding, that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, in his Son** Jesus Christ. **This is the true God, and eternal life:** *meaning the true God whom the Son has taught us to know.*

Cornel. *But, you* Trinitarian, *now I think of it, St.* John *says in the same chapter,* **There are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one.**

Flek. *I have often heard say, that* [1] Erasmus *in his Annotations upon this place, proves that this Text is not in the* Greek *or original language.*

Upon this, brother *Cornelius*, turning to the Secretary and Clerk of the *Inquisition*, who were present at this dialogue, said to them: *Gentlemen, What think you of this matter? am I to blame for opposing so often, in my Sermons, that wicked,* u *that damned* Trinitarian, Erasmus? *For it is true, he does write so; nay what is worse, in his Annotations on the fourth chapter of St.* Luke, *he says, that a wonderful falsification has crept into the holy Scriptures, by the addition or omission of words, for the sake of* Hereticks; *and even that such marginal notes as had been occasionally made by one or another, were sometimes inserted into the Text it self. Now this* Trinitarian, *and his* Arch-heretick, Erasmus, *have the confidence to reproach us* Orthodox, *with having added some words in the 5th verse of the 9th chapter of the Epistle to the* Romans, *to wit,* **who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen.** *Or else they say, that these words Words should be understood as a Thanksgiving to God, and be connected with the preceeding words, thus:* **Christ—who is over all. God be blessed for ever, Amen.** *Or otherwise, says* Erasmus, *it is much to be doubted, whether these words may not have been added, as he pretends he finds in some other Texts, where such like clauses have been annexed, by way of emphasis, or of conclusion, such as:* **Tu autem domine**—— *and* **Gloria Patri & Filio**—*with which expressions the Church Lessons or Prayers are wont to be ended. But as for those words of St.* Thomas; **My Lord, and my God:** *he does not know what to do with them; yet he is such a wretch, as to observe upon them: this is the first and last place of the Scripture, where Christ is called God.*" But now, you *Trinitarian*, let us hear what you can say to all this.

Flek. *I say that* Thomas *speaks very well; for does not* David *say in the 82d Psalm,* I have said ye are Gods, and all of you are children of the most High. *And* Christ *likewise makes use of these very words, to prove he had reason to call himself* the Son of God. *Read also the 8th and 9th verses of the 20th chapter of the second book of* Moses.

Cornel. *But answer me this; Why did not* Christ *say to St.* Thomas, I am not thy God.

Flek. *The forecited words of* David *and* John *may serve for an answer to that. But tell me too, Why did not* Christ *say to* Thomas, *after his speaking those words,* **upon this Rock I will build my Church,** *as he did to* Peter, *when he confessed him to be* **Christ the Son of the living God?** *Neither did he say to* Thomas, **Flesh and Blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.** *And why does* Christ *say to his Apostles:* **I ascend unto my Father and your Father and to my God and your God?** *And again, in the 46th verse of the 27th chapter of St.* Matthew, **My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?**

Cornel. *But if* Christ *be not truly God, why do we call his blessed Mother, the Mother of God?*

Flek. *Because your people will call all things differently from what the Scripture does, which stiles her,* the Mother of Jesus, *but no where* w *the Mother of God.* w

Cornel. *Do you think we mind so much the bare simple words of Scripture? the worty and holy* Council of Nice *decreed, that she should be called* the Mother of God.

Flek. *Do not you look upon your last* Council of Trent *to be as worthy, good, and holy, as that of* Nice?

Cornel. *Yes, certainly; for the* Holy Ghost *has taught and spoken to us, as well by the Fathers of the one, as of the other.*

[1] Erasm. Tom. IX. p. 233,—837, &c.

275 1030 D

Flek. *If ſo, then by the* Council of Trent, *I have learned to form a judgment of all other Councils; having ſeen and heard the manner of proceeding in this, which has been a reproach and a ſcandal to all preceding Councils.* An° Dom. 1569.

At thoſe words the Frier fell a railing again at the priſoner, calling him a blaſphemer of the Holy Ghoſt, a Belzebubian, Anabaptiſt, an infernal *Trinitarian*, and an enemy to the Mother of God.

Flek. *You your ſelf do own that there are three perſons in the Holy Trinity, the* Father, *the* Son, *and the* Holy Ghoſt, *and that thoſe three perſons are but one God; if ſo, then is ſhe Mother of the Father and of the Holy Ghoſt, as well as of the Son.*

Cornel. *Have I not demonſtrated to you, from the* Athanaſian *Creed, that* the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghoſt is God, and yet that there are not three Gods, but one undivided God.

Flek. *If each of the three be not a particular different God, but all of them together one undivided God, then is ſhe Mother of all the three. And now what is become of your* Council of Nice?

Cornel. *May you broil in hell-fire, you vile, wicked, falſe, and thorough-paced* Trinitarian! *You are enough to make a hundred thouſand Doctors of Divinity ſtark ſtaring mad.*

Thus did the Frier battle it with his *Heretick*, who, together with *Jerom Keerſgieter*, was burnt on the 10th of *June*. ——

The Character of the Monk.

[1] We find this brother *Cornelius* thus deſcribed: He overflowed with gall, was of a voluble tongue, a ſtentorian voice, and richly endowed with the ſpirit of impudence. He had been a Preacher a good while, and was wont to belch out his filthineſs from the pulpit, not only againſt the *Proteſtants*, but even againſt the Government and his own party, if they did not pleaſe him. Beſides his being thus openly ſcandalous, ſome of his private rogueries were brought to light; how he uſed to pleaſe himſelf with penetrating into the ſecrets of the hearts of ſeveral women and maidens, who were ſuch fools as to be perſwaded by him to *confeſs* their moſt inward thoughts and carnal deſires, and every thing elſe that the night and the bed ought to have kept concealed: nay, he prevailed on them ſo far as to ſtrip themſelves ſtark naked, and ſuffer themſelves to be diſciplined with rods, as a medicine for impurity or incontinency. For theſe things he was at laſt, upon the preſſing inſtances of the Magiſtrates, expelled both the Convent and the City, and condemned to reſide three years at *Ypres*; from whence returning in 1566, but without leave, he raged and thundered againſt the Magiſtrates for ſending him away, and went on in his old courſe, without diſturbance, it happening at ſuch a juncture of time, that none durſt open their mouths againſt the Clergy; and thus he continued till the end of *Alva*'s adminiſtration, when affairs took another turn, and then he inveighed againſt the actions of that Duke with the like intemperance; and as the wind of the country's deliverance blew more briſkly, he accordingly ſhifted his ſail towards it; for theſe reaſons all ſides bore with him, eſpecially the ſeveral Sects of *Proteſtants*, who were not ſorry to ſee the Church of *Rome* diſhonoured by ſuch ſpots and blemiſhes.

The Prince grants Commiſſions for privateering upon the Spaniards.

Water-Gueuxes.

[2] Whilſt *Alva* endeavoured to ſtrengthen his authority by *Perſecution* and *Taxes*, the Prince of *Orange*, hoping to meet with better fortune by ſea than by land, gave out commiſſions to ſeveral Exiles and Refugees, with poſitive orders not to moleſt the ſubjects of the *Empire*, *England*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *France*, or any others *that were well affected to the Word of God, and to the Prince of* Orange. Theſe ſailing out, plundered firſt the ſubjects of the King of *Spain*, but afterwards friends and foes without diſtinction, inſomuch that there was now a greater cry againſt the *Water-Gueuxes*, than formerly againſt the *Land-Gueuxes*.

The Prince raiſes a Fund, for carrying on the War.

[3] The ſaid Prince, who had found by frequent experience, that his projects were defeated for want of money, did his utmoſt, though not without great danger, to raiſe a fund by weekly and monthly collections among the Refugees, and among the inhabitants themſelves. The principal perſons employed to that end were *Yonker Diedrick Sonoy*, *John Baſius*, *Reinier Kant*, and *Adrian Manmaker*. On the 8th of *February* 1570, *Sonoy* received an order in writing, to promote ſuch a collection, and therein to uſe the aſſiſtance of others; *with aſſurance that the money ſo collected ſhould be employed* 1570

[1] Hooft, Lib. XIII. *p.* 568.
[2] Bor. Lib. V. *p.* 208. *b* Hooft, Lib. V. *p.* 197.
[3] Bor. Lib. V. *p.* 224. Hooft, Lib. V. *p.* 199 Meur. Gul. Aur. Lib. V. *p.* 62. Uitenb. Hiſt. *p.* 169. Bever. Deſcr. Dort, *p.* 248.

An° Dom. 1569. *ployed for expelling that foreign Governour* Alva, *and ſecuring the* Netherlands *in the poſſeſſion of their Liberties and of the true Chriſtian Religion.*

Thus he ſet ſeveral Miniſters and others to work, particularly, *Leonard Panhuiſen*, *John Klaeſſon*, *John Adrianſon*, and *Richard Klaeſſon*. Some of the Miniſters among the *Reformed* acquitted themſelves ſo zealouſly in this matter, that they brought their hearers not only to make a ſcruple of conſcience of giving either nothing or ſparingly, but even to believe they could not be good chriſtians, if they did not ſupport, according to their circumſtances, that cauſe which they told them tended ſo much to the honour of God, and to chriſtian liberty. *Peter van der Werve* of *Leyden*, and *Jurian Epeſon*, a Miniſter, went through ſeveral Cities of *Holland*, as *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, *Delft*, *Leyden*, the *Hague*, and other places, probably by order of the Prince, and excited the well-diſpoſed to great liberality; but the richeſt were the ſloweſt in their contributions, inſomuch, that what was collected came moſtly out of the pockets of the meaneſt, or at leaſt middling ſort of people.

On the *Spaniſh* ſide little notice was taken of theſe intrigues: They were regardleſs of every thing but the propagation of *Popery* and *Perſecution*. About this time *Alva* promoted *Cunerus Petri*, a cruel man, to the Biſhoprick of *Leeuwarden*, inſtructing him, among other things, to publiſh the *Council of Trent*, and to take care that the Placards againſt Hereſy were put in execution by his Clergy. Soon after, two men were burnt at *Pamele* in *Flanders* for their faith. Four Pariſh Prieſts, *Arent Vos*, who was beneficed at the *Liere* near *Delft*, *Sybrand Janſon* at *Scagen*, *Adrian Jan* at *Yſſelmonde*, and *Walter Simonſon* at *Munſter* near *'Sgraveſand*, after having lain in priſon three years, were condemned on the 12th of *May* at the *Hague* by the Eccleſiaſtical Tribunal, and degraded on the 27th; [1] the manner of which was as follows: They were carried from priſon to a certain chamber, and there clad with the veſtments proper for adminiſtring at the altar; then were they led from that room to another, where they found the Biſhop of *Bois le Duc* ſupported by two Abbots: theſe ſhaved ſome hair from each of their heads, and then gently ſcraped their crowns, and the tips of thoſe fingers that were uſed in elevating the Hoſt or Holy Bread, with a ſilver knife: then the Biſhop ſtripped them of their Maſs-garments, ſaying, in the *Latin* tongue; *I diveſt you of the Robe of Righteouſneſs which you your ſelf have wilfully rejected.* Upon which the Paſtor of the *Liere* anſwered him in the ſame language; *Not ſo, but the garment of Unrighteouſneſs*; and the reſt of the Paſtors told them at the ſame time, *That they all knew better than what they now acted.* But when the Biſhop, with a countenance full of aſſurance, laid his hand on his breaſt, and calling upon God, ſolemnly declared, *That he knew no better*; *and that he believed from his heart, that the* Romiſh *Religion was the moſt certain way to ſalvation:* he was anſwered by *Arent Dirkſon*, an old man of ſeventy years, and who knew him beſt; *You alſo knew the Truth formerly, but you have maliciouſly rejected it*; *of which you muſt give an account at the day of judgment.* At this the Biſhop was ſeen to tremble, and all the ſpectators were ſtruck with terror, for many of them knew the ſaid Paſtor to be a learned, judicious and godly man. Then the Biſhop delivered them to the Secular Arm, as they call it, or Temporal Magiſtrate, with the uſual prayer, that he would be favourable to them; upon which the grey-haired Paſtor burſt out; *Quam Phariſaice! How phariſaically do they treat us!* Thus they were ſent back to priſon. On the 29th, about evening, notice was given them that they were to die the next day. At this news they lifted up their hands to heaven with joy, bleſſing God that the day of their deliverance was ſo near, and ſung with a loud voice, the 16th Pſalm; *Preſerve me, O God, for in thee do I put my truſt, &c.* The ſame night they celebrated the Lord's Supper for their mutual conſolation in the priſon. They likewiſe intreated their friends and brethren in the faith, not to incommode them with any more diſcourſes during the ſhort time that remained, but to pray to the Lord for them. They ſpent the whole night in prayer, ſinging of Pſalms, and reading the Holy Scriptures. On the 30th, they were carried to the Court, where they received their ſentence, and from thence to the place of execution. As they went, they exhorted the people with wonderful freedom, and recommended their ſouls to God. The father of *Adrian Janſon* watched his opportunity of ſpeaking to his ſon as he came out of the priſon, and ſcrupled not to encourage him

Four Prieſts *degraded and martyred at the* Hague *for adhering to the* Reformed Religion.

[1] Hooft. Lib. V. *p.* 199. Bor. Lib. V. *p.* 205. *b.*

to be conſtant and ſteadfaſt, with the following words; *My dear ſon, fight manfully, for the crown of everlaſting life is prepared for thee.* The Officers would not ſuffer him to ſay any more; but the ſiſter reſuming the diſcourſe, ſpake to him with equal courage; *Brother*, cried ſhe, *be conſtant; it will not laſt long; the gate of eternal life is open for you.* It does not appear that either the father or daughter were ever called to account for theſe expreſſions; from whence we may conclude, that theſe cruelties were executed by the Magiſtrates only through fear, and with reluctance. Accordingly, theſe condemned perſons were ſtrangled at the ſtake before they were burnt: Many of the ſpectators being much affected with their conſtancy, deteſted the condemnation of perſons of ſo innocent life and character. The greateſt crimes objected againſt *Arent Dirkſon*, conſiſted herein: *That in the time of the Riots he would not ſay Maſs: That he had broken down the Image of St.* George *in his Church; and that he chriſtened children in the vulgar tongue, with a preceding exhortation according to the ancient cuſtom, proving likewiſe, againſt the* Mennonites, *that Infants ought to be baptized.* The accuſations of the other three have not come to our knowledge. An° Dom° 1569.

1 Not long before this, *Catherine Janſon*, the mother of the late Paſtor *Andrew Dirkſon*, was taken up and impriſoned at *Enkhuiſen*. The *Scout*, *Reinier Feintes*, charged her, that ſhe with her ſon, one of the Preachers of the new Religion, had holden a Conventicle within *Enkhuiſen*, and favoured the *Gueuxes*, and accordingly had incurred the penalties contained in the King's Placards. She, on the contrary, denied what ſhe was charged with, and prayed to be releaſed. Upon which, the Judge perceiving that the *Scout* could not verify the accuſation, and conſidering the great age of the woman, acquitted her, and freed her from her confinement without coſt and damage, but ordered her to leave the Town the next day, on pain of a leſs favourable ſentence.

This ſame year was fatal to more of the *Anabaptiſt* perſwaſion. At *Gant* three men and four women were put to death; at *Liſle* one man; at *Antwerp* nine and one woman; at *Maeſtricht* one man and three women; at *Dort* ten of both ſexes; at *Gouda* one *Fees Dirkſon*, a freeman of the Town, and two other men; at *Harlem* three men and as many women; among the laſt was a certain Potter's wife, who upon the information of one *Agatha Jaſiens*, was committed to priſon, and drowned on the 17th of *June*.

Abominable Practices of the Scout *of* Harlem.

The *Scout*, *James Foppenſon*, employed the ſaid *Agatha* as a ſpy, to liſten at the doors, and to peep through the windows of ſuch as he ſuſpected; for he not only perſecuted all thoſe who had actually ſeparated from the *Romiſh* Church, againſt whom he could bring the leaſt evidence; but alſo put in practice the vileſt arts and devices to terrify ſuch as might have had any correſpondence or converſation with them, and induce them to leave the Town, that ſo he might ſeize their effects: Nor was he thought wholly free from the guilt of ſubornations againſt certain innocent creatures, whom he involved in the extreameſt miſeries. He alſo tampered with the above-mentioned Potter's wife, whilſt ſhe lay in priſon, and by means of the ſaid *Agatha*, would have perſwaded her to ſign a paper of accuſations againſt divers perſons, who, he ſaid, were *Anabaptiſts*. *Agatha Jaſiens*, his ſpy, finding him ſo ſharp ſet, and that he made no difference between the innocent and guilty, diſcloſed to him a project of getting a great ſum of money by a horrible murder, which he afterwards committed with her; which villainy, that drew more after it, did not eſcape unpuniſhed.

2 But *Alva* being of opinion, that the prohibited books were the chief fewel of Hereſy and Sedition, iſſued a new Placard, dated the 19th of *May*, whereby the whole management of the Preſs was committed to a Printer-General, who was obliged to adminiſter an oath to, and impowered to lay heavy penalties on all ſuch as followed that trade, to the end that they ſhould publiſh nothing till it was certified to be orthodox, and unprejudicial to the *Romiſh* faith. It contained many clauſes for preventing all offences of that kind; requiring, **Strict examinations of the Maſters and Journeymen, an Approbation of them, Letters or Teſtimonials of their Qualifications, and Regiſters of theſe matters.** It likewiſe contained, **a ſevere Prohibition of licenſing any other than** Popiſh **School-maſters; and an Order of razing to the ground,**

A Placard for regulating the Preſs.

[1] *Hiſt. of* Enkhuiſen. *p.* 102. [2] Hooft. Lib. V. *p.* 254.

An° Dom. 1559.

ground, all houses in which false Doctrines were taught or preached; or in which re-baptising was practised, or any forbidden books printed; which houses were never to be rebuilt without express leave of the Government.

A Synod at Mechlen.

1 He likewise caused all the Clergy within the Provinces of the Archbishoprick of *Mechlen* to be convened, in order to introduce the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*.

An Oath required of all that bore office in the Government.

And he obliged all Officers of Justice, and all such as were in other employments, to take an oath: That they were in Communion with the Church of Rome: That they were not concerned with, or engaged in any Sects or Heresies; and that they would oppose them to the utmost of their power.

The Low-Country *Exiles bring their complaints before the* Imperial Diet *at* Spires.

2 About this time, the *Low-Country* Exiles and Refugees, by the advice of the Prince of *Orange*, carried their complaints to the Imperial Diet at *Spires*, with an unanimous request, that they might make their innocence appear, and that measures might be taken for their deliverance. They represented at large, that the *Spaniards* had long endeavoured by their Placards and *Inquisition*, to make themselves masters of every thing; "but especially, *added they*, of the Lives and Fortunes of all those "that would not blindly submit themselves to the tyranny of the Pope, nor "suffer their Consciences to be governed by any other rule than that of the Word of "God, as contained in the books of the *Old* and *New Testament*, whom they therefore "sought to extirpate. —— That *Alva* had deprived the Country of its ancient Laws, "Privileges and Liberties; had driven away the best and bravest men; had spilled "the blood of the innocent; violated both Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws; profaned "all that was sacred; dissolved legal Marriages; and defiled the Sacrament of Baptism; "destroyed all love and friendship; and in a word, left no violences and cruelties, "even the most unheard of, unattempted." But *Alva*'s Envoys at the Diet objected against this Remonstrance, that all Sovereigns had the right of punishing their rebellious Subjects, independently of all others.

Immoderate zeal of Dathenus *against* Erastus *and* Bullinger.

3 *Peter Dathenus*, one of the Refugees, but at this time Chaplain to the Elector *Palatine* at *Heidelberg*, was engaged in a great Controversy with the famous *Thomas Erastus*, maintaining, that the Articles which *Erastus* had drawn up, relating to Ecclesiastical Censures and Excommunications, (in which the latter would not go such a length as the former and his followers,) were not only impious, but opened a door to Atheism; and threatning *Henry Bullinger*, a man of temper and moderation, that all his writings, by which our Provinces had been formerly so much edified, should lose all their credit and authority in these parts, if he did not take occasion, in a publick manner, to disapprove of those new positions: *Bullinger*, on the contrary, gave him to understand by a certain Letter, *That in his opinion, the matter did not seem of so great consequence, as that the bands of fraternity and friendship should be broken on that account:* Nay he made no scruple of saying to our *Court-Preacher*; *Brother* Dathenus, *I wish, with all my heart, you were a little more moderate, and did not give us too much cause to suspect, that if you and your adherents could once acquire the Ecclesiastical power of Excommunication, you would soon pronounce all that do not agree with you in every point, to be* Atheists, *and even drive them to seek refuge among the most cruel enemies of our Religion: What may be the consequence of this; how great troubles and confusions may arise from hence, time and the thing it self will show. If good comes of it, I am content to pass for a false prophet; in the mean while, I do not think that this my concern is wrong or ill-grounded.* A little lower he adds: *Do not take us to be such fools here* (meaning at *Zurich*) *as to regulate all matters according to the severity and rigour of the Church of* Geneva.—*We have many reasons*, continues he, *for not mingling the feast of the Lord's Supper with the discipline of the Church; neither do we scruple, if asked, openly to acknowledge (in case there be not some already embarked in that danger) that we think it better to omit such an exclusion or excommunication than to put it in practice,* x *especially if any Schism or Division be likely to result from it; and that in such a case, those censures produce more harm than benefit to the Church.* He tells him afterwards, *That he had dwelt the longer upon this subject, to satisfie him, that he had many and good reasons for not engaging in a controversy with* Erastus, *whom I know besides*, says he, *to have been for several years, a faithful and painful labourer in the propagation of the Gospel, especially among you in the* Palatinate, *to such a degree, that if his faithful labours had not preceded,*

Bullinger's *Letter to* Dathenus.

x

3

[1] Hoost. & Bor. ib.
[2] Uitenb. *p.* 16. Meur. G. Aur. Lib. V. *p.* 63.
[3] Ex. H. Bulling. Epist. ad P. Dathen. I. Jun. 1570. Tiguri dato explicat. graviss. Quæst. de excom. T. Erast. adjunct. *p.* 356, &c.

preceded, there would hardly have been opened to you, or other Exiles, ſuch a harbour and place of refuge, as you, and many others with you, now enjoy. Certainly his good deeds, in which ſtrangers as well as friends have been partakers, his eminent and ſingular learning, and laſtly, his unfeigned piety, ought to have met with another reward than what he has received from ſome people: or if you thought he had ſo groſly erred in that affair, why did you not enter into a friendly debate with him at the very beginning? eſpecially, ſince as I have been informed, he himſelf frequently deſired that favour, but in vain. An° Dom. 1569.

[1] In the mean time a dreadful ſentence was pronounced in theſe parts againſt the whole Province of *Utrecht*, by *Alva*'s *Bloody Tribunal*. All the Clergy and Nobility who had been concerned with the *Reformed* in the Treaty of Accommodation made in the year 1556, as alſo the Towns of *Utrecht*, *Amersfort*, *Wijk*, and *Rhenen*, were, by the ſaid ſentence, which was pronounced againſt them on the 14th of *July*, deprived of all Place and Vote in the Aſſembly of the States; and all the Privileges, Liberties, Eſtate and Revenue of the City and Companies of *Utrecht*, declared confiſcated. But the condemned made their appeal to his Majeſty, from whom they received but little benefit. *The Sentence of the* Council of Blood, *pronounced againſt thoſe of* Utrecht.

[2] The ſecond day after the condemnation of *Utrecht*, the Duke cauſed a general Pardon (as it was called) to be publiſhed at *Antwerp*; but though confirmed by the Pope's Bull, it was limited by ſo many exceptions of perſons and crimes, **That not only all heretical Teachers** (as they were called) **and thoſe who wittingly and willingly harboured them, all Elders and Deacons, and all thoſe who had committed any acts of violence againſt the** Romiſh **Church, were excluded from the benefit of it; but likewiſe all ſuch as having been once puniſhed, had ſince forfeited, and even ſuch againſt whom ſentence had been once pronounced, together with all that had a hand in drawing up and ſigning the Confederacy of the Nobility; alſo ſuch as had been concerned in the late Civil Wars, or had collected money, or had any otherwiſe aſſiſted therein; and laſtly, all Magiſtrates and others having high or low juriſdiction, that had been concerned with the Rioters,** &c. On account of this pardon, ſeveral of the Magiſtrates and Governors of Towns and Places, who had not ſo ſtrongly oppoſed the inſurrections as *Alva*'s *Bloody Council* thought they (by virtue of their Offices) were obliged to have done, lived in a perpetual fear of paying for it ſome time or other. On the ſame account, the Exiles, being ſo numerous, were encouraged to think of returning to their native Country; and they who apprehended themſelves to be in danger, to think of ſecuring themſelves againſt the rigour of the Judges. Others, who ſuppoſed they were compriſed in the Pardon, were obliged to declare themſelves, within the ſpace of two months, to be true Sons of the Church, with unfeigned repentance for what had paſſed, and abjuration of their errors. The time limited for the above-mentioned purpoſes was extended to one month farther, and afterwards to three more. *The (ſo called)* General Pardon *publiſhed at* Antwerp.

Some who had been impriſoned at *Bois le Duc* for matters of Religion, were releaſed, in compliment to the King's Bride, *Anne* of *Auſtria*, who at this time was paſſing through the *Netherlands* for *Spain*. This Princeſs was daughter to the Emperor *Maximilian* and *Mary* her Bridegroom's ſiſter: but the Pope by a Bull removed the impediment of kindred, and the marriage took effect. This afforded ſufficient matter of ſcandal and offence to thoſe who did not allow the *Roman* See a power of rendring inceſtuous matches lawful. *The King marries his Siſter's daughter.*

Afterwards, as if the *Low-Countries* had deſerved a yet greater plague for their ſins than that of the *Spaniſh* cruelty, a moſt dreadful misfortune befel them on the 1ſt day of *November*, at which time there aroſe a ſtorm from the North-Weſt, which laſted two days, and occaſioned ſo great an inundation, or overflowing of the Sea, that beſides the damage it did to Dykes, Sluices, Houſes, Merchandiſe, Cattle, and Lands, a multitude of people (near twenty thouſand in *Freeſland* only) periſhed by the water. *A terrible inundation in the* Netherlands *on* All-Saints-day.

[3] The *Spaniards* would have it that this ſtorm fell out upon *All-Saints-day*, to teſtifie their diſpleaſure for the ill uſage of the Statues and Images dedicated to them in the Churches. On the other hand, the *Reformed* maintained, that the ſouls of the bleſſed were never diſturbed with the paſſion of revenge, but that this evil was the preſage of the approaching troubles. [4] At *Horn*, when the waters broke into the ſtreets, the

[1] Bor. Lib. V. 229. Hooft. Lib. V. *p.* 201.
[2] Hooft. Lib. VI *p.* 203. Bor. Lib. V. *p.* 235. *b.*
[3] Hooft. Lib. VI. *p.* 205. Bor. Lib. V. *p.* 238. Meur. Lib. V. *p.* 64. Strada Lib. VII. *p.* 427. Ep. Sal. *p.* 412.
[4] Vel. Chron. *of* Horn. *p.* 175.

An° Dom. 1569. the Paſtor of the town met them with the Sacrament, and adjured them to come no farther; but they did not regard him, which cauſed the Burghers to laugh, and ſome to mock at him publickly, a great boldneſs in thoſe ſevere times; nay, a few had the confidence a little while after, to ſing a Pſalm, as one of the Monks was ready to preach in the Great Church. This affair made a great noiſe, but by the prudence of the Magiſtrates, the report was ſtopped before it could reach the Court, and ſo the further ill conſequences were prevented.

A raſh action of ſome Burghers of Horn.

In the mean while, collections were made in moſt of the Villages in *North-Holland*, chiefly by the management of two Miniſters, for the uſe of the Prince of *Orange*, and for the publick good. Conventicles or forbidden Meetings were likewiſe holden, without any regard to the Duke of *Alva*. About this time *Herman de Ruiter*, ſeized upon *Loveſtein*, but loſt it preſently again, together with his life, after a brave defence. The Prince of *Orange* had before this put matters on a better foot at ſea, having in a Letter of Inſtructions, which he ſent to his new Vice-Admiral the Heer *van Lumbres*, acquainted him, *that at all times, and above all things in the world he had endeavoured to promote the honour, ſervice, and glory of God, and the liberty and deliverance of ſuch a number of poor diſtreſſed and oppreſſed Chriſtians.* He alſo ſignified as much to all the Captains, Officers, and Mariners, ſerving by virtue of his Commiſſion, requiring them, among other things, *to provide a Chaplain for every ſhip, that might preach the word of God, pray, and inſtruct the ſeamen in all chriſtian duties.* The beſt retreat and harbours for ſhipping, were *England* and *Embden*, where, eſpecially in the *Eems*, the Officers connived at ſome diſorders of the Seamen, and uſed no more ſtrictneſs of diſcipline than was neceſſary to keep the *Spaniards* off. But at laſt the Count of *Embden* made a ſeizure of ten or eleven of their ſhips, to juſtifie, as he pretended, his former remiſſneſs at the approaching aſſembly of the Circle, where he expected to be complained of by the Duke *d'Alva*. *Richard Folkertſon Kornhert* was ſent by *Diedrik Sonoy* to the *Droſſart*, or chief Magiſtrate of *Embden*, to perſwade him to ſuffer thoſe ſhips to be privately victualled and manned, and ſo carried elſewhere; but it was at that time refuſed him, though ſhortly after it was granted. The *Water-Gueuxes* being now become maſters of the ſea, ſeized in the month of *March*, 1571, upon thirty large merchant ſhips. But the Prince ſolliciting ſome ſupport from *Denmark* and *Sweden*, was refuſed it.

The Prince gives new Orders with regard to Sea-affairs.

1571

Alva in the mean time renewed his demand of the 20th and 10th penny, and ordained, that the ſaid Tax (though with ſome abatement) ſhould be raiſed by a Placard. The States of the particular Provinces, eſpecially thoſe of *Holland*, ſcrupled to promulgate any ſuch Placard; [1] however it was publiſhed at *Amſterdam*, and ſome other places, though much againſt their wills. But when they came to appoint Collectors and Receivers of the money, thoſe that were named would not take the office upon them, neither would the Magiſtrates oblige them to do it. At *Amſterdam* the Aldermen ſhifted it on the Burgomaſters, and theſe again upon the others. For which reaſon the City, or as others ſay, one of the Burgomaſters, was fined 25,000 Gilders. This cauſed great diſcontent among the Citizens, who made no ſcruple of inveighing againſt *Alva*, and giving him the name of Tyrant. The Court of *Holland* ordered Proceſſions and publick Faſts in all the Towns, particularly at *Amſterdam*. The people was exhorted to repentance, and publick prayers were made: *that God would vouchſafe to ſoften the hard and cruel heart of the Duke of* Alva, *to the end that he might hearken to reaſon and equity; whereas he now trampling under foot the Rights and Privileges of the country, only ſtudied, inſtead of them, to execute the will and pleaſure of the King, with the utmoſt rigour.*

his demand of the tenth and twentieth Penny.

The Franciſcans *of* Amſterdam *exclaim againſt the Tyranny of* Alva.

Even the *Franciſcans* of that City exclaimed againſt him in publick, calling him an arbitrary Governour and Tyrant. Such a turn of affairs was there obſerved throughout the whole nation. Many even among the moſt ſtaunch *Catholicks* themſelves longed for a Revolution: for as the extravagances and diſorders committed by the *Proteſtants*, in the plundering of Churches, and in the tumults at *Antwerp*, had eſtranged the minds of the *Catholicks*, and forced them into the intereſt of the Ducheſs; ſo the ſevere and cruel proceedings of the Duke, cauſed them again to open their eyes, and turn them towards the *Proteſtants*, in expectation of aſſiſtance, gaſping after that air of liberty, which they, fearing oppreſſion from that quarter, had

The Catholicks *turn their eyes on the* Proteſtants *for aſſiſtance.*

ſuffered

[1] Velius, *p.* 177, &c. Pont. Hiſt. Amſt. *p.* 50.

ſuffered themſelves to be almoſt deprived of, by tamely ſeeing their country brought thus far under the yoke of ſlavery to their common enemy, the *Spaniard*. And all of them thought it an effect of the utmoſt baſeneſs and abjectneſs of ſoul, that whereas thoſe who were born ſlaves were bought and maintained with their maſter's money, the *Netherlander* ſhould not only pay for, but be at a conſtant charge to continue his own ſlavery. Accordingly the people of *Utrecht* ſtood firm in refuſing to pay this tax; they endured a great deal for their firſt refuſal, and yet were forced to undergo more by the extraordinary quartering of ſoldiers, who ſcrupled neither robbing nor murdering them. By this treatment the people grew ſo deſperate in ſeveral places, that ſome offered the Prince, that if he would come to their aſſiſtance, they would ſet fire to their own houſes to hinder the Garriſons from making any oppoſition againſt him. In ſhort there was no end of burning, hanging, and otherwiſe murdering people, and expoſing the dead bodies. Anº Dom. 1569. *A terrible Perſecution.*

Henry Scouten, one of the Elders of the *Reformed*, and conſequently an Exile, could not avoid coming ſometimes privately into the country, on account of merchandiſing, but was at laſt ſurprized, and on the 15th of *December* beheaded in the *Hague*, ſitting upon a ſtool, for being ſick, he could not kneel. At *Arnhem* ſome perſons had been impriſoned for their Religion, who having been tried in the ſpiritual Courts, were pronounced *Hereticks*, and as ſuch delivered up to the temporal Judges. Theſe ſuffered them to remain under confinement, out of compaſſion, or in hopes of their converſion, as it was called. But the Stadtholder of *Gelderland* acquainted them, by order of the Duke, that it was their duty to diſpatch ſuch priſoners within 24 hours after they were delivered to them; ſince they did more harm by propagating their pernicious opinions among the reſt of the priſoners, than if they were at liberty. They were likewiſe required to cauſe the tips of their tongues to be pinched off with red-hot irons before they were carried to execution, to prevent their ſpeaking to the people. Before this, they had put to death by fire, *John Tierens* at *Rouſe*, *Martin Schorenbak* and *Michael van Roe*, at *Gant*, *George de Makelar* and *John Meſſuus*, ſenior, at *Antwerp*; this *Meſſuus* having ſerved the *Reformed* ſome time *as* Teacher at *Bruſſels*, at *Tielt* or *Tillemont* in *Flanders*, and likewiſe at *Antwerp*, was, though very infirm in body, put to the rack, by which means they extorted from him ſeveral ſecrets relating to the order, management and ſupport of their forbidden meetings.

In this year there were eight and thirty *Anabaptiſts* put to death at *Antwerp*, of whom all but ſeven were women; at *Bruſſels*, one man; at *Rupelmond*, a man and a woman; at *Liſle*, two men; at *Deventer*, two men and their wives, as alſo four other men and as many women; but of theſe, ſome were induced to abjure their Religion by threatenings, by torments, and fear of greater ſufferings, who were therefore only beheaded, but the reſt were burnt. Among the latter was one *Idſe Gaukes* a Schipper, who, while in priſon, exhorting his brethren by letters to conſtancy, ſubjoined, *beware of that vile outward repentance, which ſome would introduce among you; and reflect upon the* Iſraelites, *who were obliged to forſake the heatheniſh women.* At *Leeuwarden* they drowned a poor man, who left five ſmall children behind him; when they put him into the ſack, he ſung a hymn, which begins with theſe words: *Poor ſheep am I in wilderneſs*, &c. Another man who had lain long in priſon at *Fluſhing*, and had ſeveral opportunities of eſcaping, but would not embrace them for fear of bringing his Keeper into trouble, was ſentenced firſt to the rack, and afterwards to death. About the ſame time there lay in priſon for his Religion, at *Amſterdam*, one *Gerrit Corneliſon* a Bargeman, who was a Burgher of that City; this perſon, before he was condemned to the fire, had been twice tormented on the rack, in order to force him to betray ſome of his aſſociates; but no pain could overcome his courage and conſtancy. When they brought him to the ſtake, he prayed to God for mercy: *O Lord*, ſaid he, *who lookeſt down from heaven upon us, and who knoweſt the heart, and all the ſecrets of it, and in compariſon of whom the whole world is as nothing, vouchſafe to receive me, and pardon them who have done me this injury.* Then turning himſelf to the people, he cried out: *Good people! eternity is ſo long, eternity is ſo long, and our ſuffering here ſo ſhort! and yet the combat is very ſharp and cruel. Alas, how am I diſtreſſed! O my fleſh bear and reſiſt but a little; for this is thy laſt combat.* While they were twiſting the rope about his neck (for he was firſt ſtrangled and then burnt) he recommended his ſoul to his heavenly father.

An° Dom. 1569. All his goods were declared forfeited, as were likewiſe thoſe of *Anne de Fleſter* an *Anabaptiſt*, and a free-woman of the ſame town, who after having been tortured in vain, was alſo burnt to death there on the 10th of *November*.

A new Order with relation Heretical Books.

Beſides theſe violent and publick perſecutions, another method was ſecretly contrived for ſuppreſſing what they called *Hereſie*, and for ſtrengthening the Church of *Rome* by a new, ſtrict and politick order, in relation to heterodox books, which were always in the way of the *Inquiſition*.

A brief account of the original of Eccleſiaſtical Laws againſt Books of Hereſy.

[1] Upon this occaſion it may not be unprofitable, even for illuſtrating of matters already mentioned, to trace a little higher the affair of prohibiting the reading of certain books. In the times of *Primitive Chriſtianity*, the world knew nothing of an eccleſiaſtical law againſt books. Indeed good and godly men were of opinion that ill books ought not to be read, for reaſons of piety and religion, that is to ſay, for avoiding the contagion of evil, by expoſing our ſelves to temptations, without either neceſſity or proſpect of advantage, and for preventing the vain or uprofitable expence of time. The Chriſtians of thoſe ages had a greater horror for the books of the Heathens than for thoſe of the Hereticks, which were firſt prohibited by the Emperors for reaſons of State. The Councils and Biſhops contented themſelves with expoſing what was bad or unſcriptural in any books, without proceeding further, leaving all people at liberty, either to ſhun the ſaid books or to read them, provided it was with a good deſign.

But after the year of our Lord 800, the Popes of *Rome* having uſurped no little ſhare of civil juriſdiction, not only prohibited the reading of thoſe books, the authors of which they themſelves had condemned, but alſo ordered them to be burnt. However, there appeared but few books which were prohibited in ſuch a manner till ſeven or eight hundred years after, that is to ſay, till the year 1500. Pope *Martin* V. excluded indeed all the Sects of *Hereticks*, and particularly the *Wickliviſts* and *Huſſites*, from ſpiritual communion; but made not the leaſt mention of ſuch as read their books, though they were at that time in the hands of all men. But *Leo* X. having condemned *Luther*, did at the ſame time forbid the reading any of his books, on pain of excommunication. The ſucceeding Popes have likewiſe, in the Bulls by which they damned all *Hereticks* in general, thundered out their excommunications againſt thoſe who looked into any of their writings. From hence aroſe great confuſions; for the names of the condemned *Hereticks* being ſeldom mentioned, the knowledge of ſuch books was to be acquired rather by their contents than by the author's names. And ſince the judgments of men varied much in theſe matters, the variety or diſagreement in opinions gave great uneaſineſs, and cauſed great ſcruples of conſcience. The moſt zealous and diligent Inquiſitors of Hereſie, made indeed for their own uſe, liſts of ſuch authors as came to their knowledge; but unleſs theſe liſts agreed with each other, the difficulty ſtill remained.

King Philip's Regulation with reference to prohibited Books.

A Catalogue of prohibited Books ordered to be made.

King *Philip* of *Spain* was the firſt who endeavoured to put an end to this confuſion, by ſome proper regulations; for which purpoſe he made a law in the year 1558, that catalogues of thoſe books that were prohibited by the *Spaniſh Inquiſitors*, ſhould be printed and publiſhed. According to this precedent, Pope *Paul* IV. ordered the *Inquiſitors* of *Rome* to make a like catalogue of forbidden books, and to publiſh it, which was done in the year 1559. In ſo doing, they advanced much farther than in former ages: and thus they laid a foundation for preſerving the authority of the Court of *Rome*, and not only ſo, but for greatly enlarging it; ſince by this means they deprived the people of that knowledge which was ſo neceſſary for defending themſelves againſt the unjuſt uſurpation of temporal power, which was the whole ſtudy of the Popes. For till this time they had confined their prohibitions to thoſe heretical books, whoſe authors had been condemned; whereas this catalogue was divided into three parts: The *firſt* contained the names of thoſe whoſe entire works, of what matters ſoever they treated, (even though not at all relating to Religion) were abſolutely prohibited: and among theſe they not only inſerted the books of ſuch as had profeſſed doctrines oppoſite to thoſe of the *Romiſh* Church, but even the books of many others who had both lived and died in its communion. The *ſecond* part compriſed the names of books which had been particularly cenſured, without prohibiting other books, though written by the ſame authors. The *third* contained certain writings of

[1] P. Servit. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. Lib. VI. *p.* 427. M. A. Dom. de Rep. Eccl. Lib. VII. cap. 7.

of anonymous authors; and at the ſame time extended it ſelf in general to all other books that had been publiſhed ſince the year 1519, without mentioning the names of the authors; and even to books which the learned had uſed in the Church of *Rome* for two or three hundred years, without contradiction, and that with the knowledge of the Popes themſelves. Together with theſe, there were books of later writers prohibited, though printed in *Italy*, and even in *Rome*, and though allowed by the *Inquiſition* and by the Pope himſelf; among others the Annotations of *Eraſmus* on the New Teſtament, which *Leo* X. upon his reading them, had approved by a Bull dated the 10th of *September*, 1518. Anno Dom. 1569.

The *Inquiſitors* made alſo a liſt of ſixty two Printers, forbidding all the books publiſhed by them, by whatever author, of whatever matter, and in whatever language they had been written. To this there was yet ſomething more added, which had a very remote tendency, *viz. that all other books printed by any perſons who had ever publiſhed heretical books, were in like manner prohibited.*

Thus matters ſtood in relation to books, till the time of the *Council* of *Trent*, when it was not only reſolved to draw up again a catalogue * of ſuch books as were abſolutely forbidden, but alſo to refer to a Committee of Divines, in whom they could confide, all other books, upon whatever ſubject written, to be by them examined; and with the advice and approbation, and by the authority of the Biſhops, or Heads of the *Inquiſition*, purged from every thing that might be prejudicial to the Church of *Rome*. *A Decree of the Council of* Trent, *concerning prohibited Books.*

To put this Decree in execution here in the *Low-Countries*, they proceeded after the following manner. The Duke of *Alva* wrote in the King's name to all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Univerſities, and to the men of moſt fame and learning, as alſo to the Magiſtrates of the reſpective Towns, commanding them to refer the reading or peruſal of all ſuſpected books to proper perſons, and to tranſmit to him their ſentiments and opinions concerning every book ſo referred; requiring alſo that the moſt learned *Benedictus Arias Montanus* ſhould have an eye to this affair on his part. In the ſpace of nine months all of them fulfilled their commiſſion, and every ones obſervations and reflexions were ſent over. Then the King appointed an aſſembly of Divines for Cenſors at *Antwerp*, at the head of which he ſet a learned Biſhop with ſpiritual authority; to theſe he likewiſe joined the ſaid *Montanus*, as his Deputy. Theſe perſons reviſed all the Notes, Remarks, and Repreſentations of the former Viſitors and Overſeers; and having compared all the places referred to, with the books themſelves, and ſtrictly examined the whole, they framed a judgment or cenſure; they likewiſe prepared an *Index Expurgatorius*, or Regiſter of all thoſe paſſages in books which they thought deſerved to be expunged or left out. The ſaid Regiſter was at that time printed by *Chriſtopher Plantin* the King's Printer, at the charge of his Majeſty, not in order to be publiſhed and ſold, but only that copies of it might be diſperſed among thoſe Viſitors who had been or ſhould be appointed to this work by the Prelates. The ſaid Viſitors were ordered to correct and purge all the places pointed at by the *Index* in all the books which by virtue of former Placards had been collected or might hereafter be brought to them. The books that were thus corrected and ſigned by the hand of the perſon who had examined them, might be delivered to the reſpective owners, to be read and uſed by them; but whoever ſhould preſume to keep or uſe any of the aforeſaid books, before they were thus purged and ſigned, was made liable to the penalties contained in the Placards concerning Religion. Thoſe Viſitors were further impowered to make choice of one or two diligent and truſty perſons in every town where there were Bookſellers, who ſhould privately keep an *Index Expurgatorius* by him, without communicating it, or any copies of it to others, and by it correct the aforeſaid books, and cauſe them, when ſo corrected, to be ſigned by the Viſitors.———The Ordinance in which all theſe things were required, was ſigned at *Bruſſels* on the 31ſt of *July* this year, in the Council, on the part of the King by *D'ouerloope*. *The manner of putting this Decree in execution in the* Low-Countries. Index Expurgatorius.

Purſuant to the contents of this ſecret Regiſter or *Index*, many noble books were in a ſhort time caſtrated, and in a manner ſpoiled, by omitting or eraſing ſome of the moſt remarkable paſſages. The ſaid Regiſter having been concealed for ſome years

* *This Catalogue may be ſeen at the end of the Canons and Decrees of the Council of* Trent, *printed at* Lions *by* G. Roville, 1572. *Read alſo* A. Maſij Epiſt. ad Caſſand. in Epiſt. Seld. *p.* 265. *and* Caſſand. Op. *p.* 1191, &c.

Anno Dom. 1569.

The ſecret Index *firſt brought to light by* Fr. Junius.

A Synod of the perſecuted Churches meets at Embden.

[1] was firſt publiſhed in the year 1586, by *Franciſcus Junius*, (who being retired from *Limburg* to *Germany*, was at that time Profeſſor of Divinity at *Heidelberg*) having been communicated to him by a good hand. A copy of the *Plantin* edition was, in perpetual memory of ſo bold an attempt, laid up in the Library of the Elector *Palatine*.

In the mean time the *Netherland* Churches, which were under perſecution, being diſperſed through *Eaſt-Freeſland* and *Germany*, held a certain Synod or Aſſembly at *Embden*, where *Jaſper van Heiden*, then Miniſter at *Franken-dael*, preſided. [2] Here they made ſeveral orders about holding of Conſiſtories, Claſſes, and Synods, and other matters relating to the particular Churches. The firſt Article contained what follows: *No Church ſhall have or exerciſe dominion over another; no Miniſter, Elder, or Deacon, ſhall bear rule over others of the ſame degree; but every one ſhall beware of attempting or giving the leaſt cauſe of ſuſpicion of his aiming at ſuch dominion.*

This ſeemed to be levelled againſt y the *Epiſcopacy*, which obtained among the *Romaniſts*, as alſo, though in a different manner, in the *Reformation* of *England* and *Germany*. It was likewiſe thought fit, by the Brethren then aſſembled, *to ſign the Confeſſion of Faith of the* Netherland-*Churches, as an evidence of their uniformity in doctrine; as alſo the Confeſſion of the Churches in* France, *to ſhew their union and conformity with them. And all the Miniſters, who at that time happened to be abſent from the Aſſembly, and others that might afterwards be called to the Miniſtry, were to be exhorted to ſubſcribe theſe Articles.* One of the aforeſaid Articles was to this effect, *that in the* French *Congregations, the* Geneva *Catechiſm might be uſed; and in the* Dutch, *that of* Heidelberg: *But if any of the Churches made uſe of any other form of Catechiſm agreeable to the word of God, they ought not to be obliged to alter it.* y

1572

[3] In the year 1572, the Government went on as uſual, with the violation of the Civil and Religious Rights of the people. *Utrecht* was deprived, in the month of *February*, of all the original Charters and other papers relating to its Privileges, as being forfeited. At *Bruſſels* the *Bloody Tribunal* cauſed certain Burghers of *Dort*, nay even women, to be baniſhed out of all the King's dominions, on pain of the gallows, and their eſtates to be declared confiſcated. In *Dort*, at the ſame time, there lay in priſon one *John van Kuik Wouters*, an ingenious Painter upon glaſs, and a man of an unblameable life, (as Dr. *John van Beverwijk* ſays he learned from thoſe that dwelt near him) but he was an *Anabaptiſt*. The *Schepens* knowing how the inhabitants ſtood affected, made no great haſt in his buſineſs; and even the *Scout*, *John van Drenkwaert Baldins*, ſuffered himſelf to be drawn by him in the form of King *Solomon* when he made his firſt judgment. But the Monks raiſed no ſmall clamours on account of this remiſſneſs, and had the confidence to tell their hearers from the pulpit, that the *Scout* kept the *Heretick* in priſon only to paint for him: inſomuch, that the Magiſtrates were obliged to yield to their malice and importunity. The priſoner was cruelly tortured, in order to draw out of him, who was his maſter, and who his accomplices, who had baptized, and who had married him; but he bore it all with unſhaken courage, without accuſing any body, as he himſelf related in ſome of his letters, which (excepting his warm expreſſions againſt *Infant-baptiſm*) breathed nothing but fervent love towards God and his Truth, towards his Wife and a little Daughter, his Parents and Friends; and that in words full of the ſerioufneſs and tranquility of a well-aſſured ſoul, which having already prepared it ſelf for the pains of death, and for the joys of a better life, bids the world its laſt adieu.

On the 28th of *March*, he, with a woman of *Molenaerſgraef*, was burnt on that ſide of the town that lies next the water; their mouths had been gagged, but *van Kuik* having gotten the wood, or iron, out of his, cried with a loud voice to God for help. This provoked one among the people to crowd up to him, and to ſay; *fight manfully, dear brother, your ſufferings will be ſoon at an end.* Upon which the Painter unbuttoned his waſtcoat, and ſhewed the man that called to him, his breaſt all bloody and bruiſed with the tortures he had undergone, and lifting up his eyes to

2 heaven,

[1] Fr. Jun. vita, *p.* 68. & Epiſt. ad J. Caſim. Palat. Ind. Expurg. præf.

[2] *See the Acts of this Synod, printed at* Delft, *by* J. Andries, 1612. *and* Uitenb. *Church Hiſt.* p. 175.

[3] Hooft, Lib. VI. *p.* 215. Bor. Lib. VI. *p.* 161. Beverwijk. *Deſcript.* Dort. *p.* 348.

heaven, ſaid; *I bear already in my body the marks of Chriſt my Saviour.* They made ſtrict ſearch for the man that had called to him, but he was hid among the people. The woman was firſt ſtrangled. An° Dom. 1569.

At *Delft*, on the 5th of *February*, there were two *Anabaptiſts* burnt. About this time there was alſo one of the ſame perſwaſion put to death at *Nimeguen*, an other at *Bois le Duc*, a third at *Gant*, and a fourth at *Antwerp*.

In the mean while the Prince of *Orange* was not idle, but gathered freſh forces, and eſpecially money, the ſinews of the war, in order to reſume his former project of regaining his Country's liberty. *Sonoy* and others were again diſpatched with Letters full of weighty arguments, to induce the people to a liberal contribution. To the ſame purpoſe he alſo writ to ſome *Anabaptiſts*, particularly to *Peter Willemſon Boomgard*, Teacher of the *Waterland* Congregation, who had been formerly driven from the Town of *Monikedam* in *North-Holland*, and at this time reſided at *Embden*. This man collected one thouſand and ſixty Gilders, which was a large ſum in thoſe days. The money was afterwards carried by the ſaid *Boomgard* and one *Richard Johnſon Kortenboſch*, to the Prince in his Camp at *Hellenraede* near *Roermonde*, not without great danger of their lives. When they delivered it to him, [1] *They prayed him to take in good part, that ſmall preſent from his ſervants; declaring, they eſteemed his favour to be greater than the gift, and that they never deſired to be repaid.* The Prince aſked them, *What return he could make them? Boomgaert* replied: *Nothing but his protection, in caſe God beſtowed upon him the Government of theſe Provinces.* The Prince ſaid: *That he would ſhow that to all men, eſpecially to them that were Exiles and Refugees as well as he.* He likewiſe gave them a Receipt for the money under his hand, with an Obligation to bear them harmleſs from all trouble on that account.

The Prince at his requeſt is aſſiſted with money by ſome Anabaptiſts.

[2] But nothing promoted his deſigns more than *Alva*'s methods of raiſing taxes, and his obſtinately inſiſting upon that particular one, which he had demanded before, and which the States ſought to ward off in vain with an annual preſent of two millions of gold. He was reſolved that delay ſhould be no diſcharge; he therefore proceeded at laſt, rigorouſly to raiſe both the tenth and twentieth penny, and ordered them to begin with the City of *Bruſſels* in his preſence. Upon this, the Burghers ſhut up their Shops and Warehouſes, declaring, they had no goods to ſell, and conſequently ought to pay no taxes. He, on the contrary, reſolved to call the Soldiers to arms, to hang up ſome of the principal Citizens at their own doors and windows, and ſo to terrify the reſt into the payment of this tax. But whilſt he was employed in making a Liſt of thoſe that were to be ſacrificed, the news came, that the *Gueuxes* had ſeized upon the *Bril*; [3] for the *Spaniſh* Garriſon having ſome time before been drawn out of this town in order to awe the people of *Utrecht*, it was ſurprized on the 1ſt of *April* by the Count *vander Mark*, at that time Admiral of the *Water-Gueuxes*, who, upon the inſtances of *Alva*, was obliged to leave *England*, and was driven hither by contrary winds, with a Fleet of ſix and twenty Ships, and about ſix hundred Land-men. In the fury of the attack, the Burghers were ſpared, and all the violence turned upon the Clergy. The next day was employed in the demoliſhing Images, plundering and ſtealing Hoods, Surplices, and other Maſs-garments, together with all other Church ornaments and furniture of the Convents, and the Booty was carried on ſhip-board; for the Count ſignified his intention of abandoning the Town; but *William Treſlong*, *Barthoſt Entes*, *James Simonſon de Rijk*, (who forſaking all for the love of his Country, was from a Corn-Merchant become Captain of a Ship) and others oppoſed this motion, repreſenting, that he ought not ſo eaſily to give the key of the *Low-Countries* out of his hands. He was convinced, and they prepared to defend the advantage they had gained. *Alva* immediately put a ſtop to the violent proceedings againſt the people of *Bruſſels*, and ordered the Count *de Boſſu* to march from *Utrecht* with ten Companies of *Spaniards*, that ſo he might ſtifle the war in its birth at the *Bril*, whither he alſo went himſelf, but was beaten off by *vander Mark*, and returning by *Dort*, was ſhut out of that City for fear of his demanding the tenth penny. But at *Rotterdam*, where they would not ſuffer his army to paſs but in ſmall numbers, and with match unlighted, he maſſacred a great many of the inhabitants, doing the like at *Delfs-haven*, out of which place he drove the

Alva *attempts to raiſe the tenth penny at* Bruſſels *by force.*

The Water-Gueuxes *ſurpriſe the* Bril.

Alva *being repulſed at the* Bril, *practiſes great cruelties at* Rotterdam, &c.

[1] *From an authentick Copy of the Prince's Receipt*, &c.
[2] Bor. Lib. VI. *p.* 262. *b.*
[3] Reid. *p.* 10. Hooft. *p.* 227. *ſays, there were but two hundred and fifty men in all, meaning Land-men only.* Reid *ſeems to ſpeak both of Land and Seamen.*

An° Dom. 1569. *Gueuxes.* At *Fluſhing*, the Pariſh-Prieſt, who had no love for the *Spaniards*, had the courage to exhort the people on *Eaſter*-day at High-Maſs, to ſtand up for their liberties; and they liſtened ſo well to him, that they drove out the *Walloon* Garriſon that very day, kept out the *Spaniards*, who thought to have marched in, and afterwards demoliſhed the Fort which was begun to be built there; they likewiſe deputed the Heer *van Erpt* (who had put the Ship Mob of that place into a fermentation with the news of the *Bril*) to the Count for ſome aſſiſtance. They alſo juſtified themſelves in taking up arms at a time when they had heard *Alva*'s tyranny, his violation of the privileges of the land, and his burdening it with unheard of taxes, ſo lively repreſented, without ſpeaking a word of Religion, which ſeemed ſomewhat ſtrange; and they concluded with aſſurances of behaving like faithful Subjects to his Majeſty.

The Walloon *Garriſon at* Fluſhing *is driven out by the* Burghers.

Several Cities embrace the Prince's Party.

On the 4th of *May*, the Town of *Ter Veer* in *Zeland* declared for the Prince of *Orange* as the King's Stadtholder, againſt *Alva*; and on the the 21ſt of the ſame month, the people of *Enkhuiſen* did the ſame, putting their Magiſtrates under confinement. On the 24th, Count *Lewis* of *Naſſau* made himſelf Maſter of the Town of *Mons* in *Hainalt* by ſurprize. *Alva* judged this loſs to be of ſuch conſequence to him, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of *France*, which had occaſioned it, that he, neglecting every thing on the Sea-ſide, immediately bent his march towards *Hainalt*, in order to pluck this thorn out of his foot. In the mean time thoſe in *Holland* and other Provinces had their hands at liberty. Thoſe of *Enkhuiſen* made themſelves Maſters of *Medenblik*. The Town of *Horn* put it ſelf, on the 18th of *June*, under the Prince's protection as Stadtholder. The ſame did *Alkmaer*, *Edam*, *Monikedam*, and *Purmerent*, on the 28th. *Oudewater* was inveſted the 19th of the ſaid month, and *Gouda* the 21ſt. At this laſt place, whilſt the town was taken by leſs than ſixty men, one of the Burgomaſters, in a panick fear, ran to the houſe of a widow to ſave his life, and being ſhut up in a cubbard, aſked if he was ſafe there? To which ſhe anſwered: *O yes, maſter Burgomaſter, for my huſband has been often hid in it from you, when you and others ſought for him, and the Keeper of the priſon ſtood there before him.* This cold reproach was all the revenge ſhe took of him for his cruel perſecuting temper. They took the bones of *Faes Dirkſon*, who had lately ſuffered martyrdom for his Religion, from under the Gallows, and buried them by the body of a certain Prieſt who had been the author of his death. Some were for digging up the carcaſs of the ſaid Prieſt, and treating it in the like manner.

[1] After this, *Leyden* and *Gorkum* declared themſelves for the Prince. The Prieſts, and many of the Popiſh Burghers who fled to the Caſtle, were obliged to ſurrender the next day, on condition only that their lives ſhould be ſpared, others ſay, at diſcretion. But this conqueſt was blemiſhed with all kinds of diſorder, inſolence and cruelty. Nineteen of the Clergy were carried to the *Bril*, and afterwards (except three who abjured the Popiſh Religion) together with the Paſtors of *Heynoordt* and *Munſter*, and a certain Fryer, were, by order of the Admiral *vander Mark*, put to death in a contemptuous and cruel manner, without any regard to the Prince's letters, who had moſt ſtrictly required, that all perſons, as well ſpiritual as temporal, ſhould be protected in their Rights and Privileges.

On the 25th, *Zierickſee* was obliged, by *James Simonſon de Rijk*, then Admiral of *Terveer*, to embrace the Prince's cauſe, and immediately the *Reformed* Religion was publickly exerciſed; but notwithſtanding they were fighting for the cauſe of God, humane paſſions ſoon diſcovered themſelves. *Herman Modet*, who was called to be Miniſter there, being dazzled with his approaching good fortune, and dividing already in his thoughts the plunder of the Church, inſiſted that he might have the management of the Abbey of *Middelburg*, till its revenues ſhould be otherwiſe appropriated. It was repreſented to him with all the reſpect imaginable, that the diſpoſal of ſuch matters did not belong to the Military but Civil powers; however, he fancied that Admiral *de Rijk* was not well affected to him in that buſineſs, and looking upon this excuſe as a denial, [z] began to inveigh againſt him from the pulpit, to the great ſcandal of thoſe novices that came to hear him. Thus raſhly was the *Reformation*, ſo young and tender in theſe parts, expoſed to danger by a perſon whoſe ambition was ſo immoderate as to extend it ſelf, not only to ſpiritual affairs, but even to

z

[1] Bor. Lib.VI. *p.* 276. Hooft. *p.* 244.

to civil and military likewiſe, in which he aimed to govern, as *de Rijk* himſelf declared. The Prince being informed of it, could not brook ſuch an irregularity, and yet not daring to uſe the neceſſary ſeverity, gave way to the times, and under pretence of promoting him to a more honourable ſtation, drew him from thence and made him his own Chaplain. An° Dom. 1569.

In the mean time, the images and altars were demoliſhed, and thrown out of the Churches at *Terveer*, the evening before the Sacrament, by the Soldiers, in ſpite of their Commander, *Jerom van Tſeraerts*, Maſter of the Horſe to the Prince. *Image-breaking at* Ter-Veer.

[1] Thoſe of *Dort* ſtipulated, before they would admit the Prince's forces, or agree to declare *Alva* a publick enemy, *That they might keep to the oath they had ſworn to the King as Count of* Holland, *and be ſecured in all their Rights and Privileges without any alteration or diminution: That all degrees and conditions of men, whether ſpiritual or temporal, all Monks, Nuns, Prieſts, all Magiſtrates and other Civil Officers of high or low degree, ſhould continue in their functions, adminiſtrations and employments, free and unmoleſted. That all the goods and eſtates of the inhabitants, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil, where-ever they lay, ſhould be taken into protection; and that no Churches, Chappels, Convents, Houſes or Places belonging to the Clergy within the City or other parts of* South-Holland, *ſhould be broken up, or in any other manner hurt and damnified.* *The Capitulation of the City of* Dort.

The firſt ſermon preached by the *Reformed* was under a Lime-tree in the *Klevenier Doel*, where the Shooting-houſe now ſtands; but that did not laſt long, nor would they be ſo contented. In a little time, the images were thrown out of the Churches, the altars broken down, and the *Reformed* Religion was publickly exerciſed. But in a certain Journal written at that time, we find that the images in the Monaſtery of the *Auſtin* Fryers were broken down on the 26th of *July*, and that on the next day the firſt ſermon was preached there. The *Baguines* were forced to fly, for the Troopers brought their horſes into their Nunneries. *The* Reformed *Religion introduced at* Dort.

Harlem abandoned the *Spaniſh* intereſt on the 3d of *July*; but by the treaty made with the Prince's Deputies, it was likewiſe agreed; *That no perſons eccleſiaſtical or civil, within or belonging to the City, ſhould be hurt or damaged in body or goods; and that all the Religious Orders ſhould continue in their Convents in the free exerciſe of their Religion, without damage or moleſtation.* [2] The ſame day, the *Reformed* at *Horn* deſired of the Magiſtrates, by a written Memorial, that they would grant them the Great Church to preach in for the future; but the anſwer returned them was; *That whilſt their numbers were ſo ſmall, they might make a ſhift with* our Lady's *Church:* To which were added, out of civility, certain reaſons why it was more for their intereſt ſo to do; but it had no effect upon them. On the contrary, one of the Captains of the Burghers being informed what anſwer was given to their petition, had the aſſurance to go up to the Council Chamber, and aſk them; *Do you ſay we* Gueuxes *are but few in number? If you do not immediately grant our requeſt, I will beat the Drum, and then you ſhall ſee how ſtrong we are.* This bold ſpeech alarmed them, and the Church was granted, but upon condition that the altars and images ſhould be decently removed and laid up together in the *South* part of the Church, till it appeared how things would go. To this end, they called together the next day all the Carpenters and Joyners, both *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*, to prevent exceptions, and ordered them to put in execution the above-mentioned agreement. But moſt of them, who had no affection for that trumpery, handled it very roughly, hacking and hewing to pieces all that came in their way; and if any of the images came down whole, they were treated after the ſame manner. When the Church was thus cleared, a Miniſter named *Leonard*, preached the firſt ſermon. After that, *Clement Martinſon*, who dwelt at *Embden*, was recalled, and ordained Miniſter on St. *James*'s day, with a ſalary of two hundred and fifty Gilders *per annum.* *The Capitulation of* Harlem. *The Great Church at* Horn *is granted to the* Refotmed.

Several Towns, as well in *Gelderland* as *Over-Yſſel*, in the Biſhoprick of *Utrecht*, and in *Freeſland*, were at this time ſubdued by the *Naſſovian* party; and ſome, of their own accord, ſhook off the *Spaniſh* yoke. Theſe were the conſequences of that odium which the exacting the deteſted taxes had produced; [3] and ſome have thought
[a] it worthy of remark, that even the tenth penny, [a] and not Religion, was the firſt cauſe that Cities and whole Provinces ſet themſelves againſt *Alva*; for all that happened

[1] Beverw. *of* Dort. *p.* 350. Bor. Lib VI. *p.* 276. [2] Velij Chron. *p.* 189. [3] Reyd's Hiſt. *p.* 9. Grot. Ann. Lib. II. *p.* 34.

An° Dom. 1569. pened before, had been done only by the Exiles. Thoſe very people of the *Low-Countries*, who before had tamely (and almoſt motionleſs) looked upon the burning of their fellow-ſubjects, the maſſacring of their Magiſtrates, the trampling upon their Laws and Religion, and the diſſolution, as it were, of the Commonwealth, reſolved now at length to revenge what was paſt, and to ward off what was coming upon, or threatened againſt them. That we thus, tho' briefly, touch upon the caſting off the yoke of *Spain*, and the laying the firſt foundation of the Civil Liberty of *Holland* in the midſt of the Hiſtory of our *Reformation*, is not without reaſon; for upon theſe were afterwards built the Liberty of Conſcience, and the free exerciſe of Religion which we now enjoy. To this alſo contributed the Prince's reſolution of protecting and ſecuring even the *Papiſts* themſelves in their Religion; which reſolution he again declared in the inſtructions he gave to *Yonker Diedrik Sonoy*, his Deputy in *Holland*, requiring him, firſt of all, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to deliver the Towns of that Province from *Spaniſh* ſlavery, and to reſtore them to their ancient Liberties, Rights and Privileges, and *further to take care that the word of God might be preached and publiſhed there, and the Religion which was conformable to that word tolerated, in caſe the inhabitants, or any of them deſired it; but yet by no means to ſuffer, that thoſe of the* Romiſh *Church ſhould be in any ſort prejudiced, or that any impediment ſhould be offered them in the exerciſe of their Religion, till ſuch time as he, the Prince, otherwiſe directed, unleſs in caſe of urgent neceſſity, and then not without the conſent and direction of the Governours and the Council of the place.*

The Prince endeavours to protect the Romaniſts *in the exerciſe of their Religion.*

The ſaid *Sonoy* was likewiſe directed *to do his beſt in the mean while, that the people might live in peace and tranquility together, not ſuffering any private aſſemblies, whether by night or by day:* Alſo, *to oblige the Magiſtrates and Inhabitants to ſwear among other things, That they would by no means permit any perſon to be hindered or diſturbed in preaching, or in the reading of the true word of God, according to the preſcription of the Goſpel; or to be examined concerning his faith, or proſecuted on that account by the* Inquiſition, *or any* Placards *relating to it; and that in like manner they would ſuffer thoſe of the* Romiſh *Religion to remain free and unmoleſted.*

In the mean while, the Duke *d'Alva* having his hands full with the ſiege of *Mons*, and at the ſame time being much diſtreſſed for money, declared his kind intentions of excuſing the country from the tax of the tenth penny, provided he might have at leaſt the annual ſum of twenty tuns of gold, which had formerly been offered him. Accordingly he writ to the States of *Holland*, requiring them to meet at the *Hague* on the 15th of *July*.

An Aſſembly of the States of Holland *at* Dort.

The States met on the day appointed, but at *Dort*, and with quite other views, ſuch at leaſt of them as looked upon the *Spaniards* to be their enemies; and even thoſe of the little Towns themſelves. There it was that the Prince of *Orange* was declared the lawful Stadtholder of the King, and *Alva* the Enemy of the Commonwealth: There they entered into an aſſociation for mutual ſupport, and upon the propoſal of *Aldegonde*, who repreſented the ſaid Prince, a ſcheme was formed for finding money for an army which was then raiſing for the ſervice and deliverance of their dear country, and of all the *Netherlands*; for the Prince looked upon this aſſembly as a principal part of the States-General of the *Netherlands*, and conſequently as engaged by their honour and oaths, to defend them from all aſſaults and oppreſſions of foreigners. [1] As for Religion, they were told by *Aldegonde*, that the deſires of the Prince were; *That Liberty of Conſcience ſhould be allowed as well to the* Reformed *as to the* Roman Catholicks: *That each party ſhould enjoy the publick exerciſe of it in Churches or Chappels, ſo as could be moſt conveniently ordered by the Government, without any moleſtation, hinderance or trouble; and that the Clergy ſhould remain free and unmoleſted in their ſeveral functions, provided they ſhewed no tokens of diſaffection: and that all things ſhould be continued on this foot, till the States-General otherwiſe directed.*

Aldegonde *declares the* Prince's *intention with regard to Religion.*

Which is approved by the States.

Theſe deſires of the Prince were entirely agreed to by the States. The Count *Vander Mark* appeared likewiſe at the ſame meeting, and producing his Commiſſion and Inſtructions, was, upon promiſing to conform to them in all points, admitted and declared the Prince's Lieutenant for *Holland*. [2] His inſtructions were, *To protect and defend the* Catholicks *and their* Clergy *in the free exerciſe of their Religion, as well*

Inſtructions given to the Count Vander Mark.

as

[1] Meteren. Lib. IV. *p.* 77. Meur. Lib. VI. *p.* 86. Apol. Pr. d'Orange, *p.* 78. [2] Bor. Lib. VI. *p.* 284.

as the good Proteſtants, *forbidding the one to moleſt the other, on the higheſt penal-* An° Dom. 1569.
ties——— He was alſo himſelf to take care, and to charge all others, upon the ſe-
vereſt penalties, *That no well-affected* Catholick, *or* Eccleſiaſtical *perſon, ſhould be injured in body or goods; nor any Convents, Churches, or Chappels plundered or violated, ſince it tended to produce great diſorders, to the ſcandal and diſhonour of ſo holy an undertaking, as that of the Prince and his forces.* But as to the buſineſs of protecting both the *Catholicks* and *Proteſtants*, the Prince declared in the fourth Article of the Inſtructions, that his meaning was: *That in all ſuch places or Churches, where the exerciſe of either of thoſe Religions was deſired, he, the Count, ſhould cauſe the well-affected perſons on both ſides to agree upon times and places, where each might exerciſe his own Religion, in ſuch manner as not to occaſion any hindrance, trouble, or uneaſineſs to the other party.* To which was added, *That none ſhould take upon them the office of Preacher or Miniſter among the* Proteſtants, *without the knowledge of the Government, or Commander in chief. And that in caſe any were called to that office by the Congregation, or any part of it, they might not be refuſed by the Magiſtrates, without ſpecial reaſons or cauſes.*

Soon after, *viz.* on the 21ſt of *July*, *Alva* cauſed all the *Spaniards* to be drawn out of *Rotterdam*, *Delftſhaven*, and the neighbouring places, and to march to the army before *Mons*. Upon which *Vander Mark* threw himſelf immediately into *Rotterdam*. On the 7th of *Auguſt*, *Woerden* entered into the Confederacy lately formed at *Dort*. Then the Count ſat down before *Amſterdam*; but that City preparing to defend it ſelf, he preſently broke up the ſiege: He reproached the States with having been the occaſion of his retreat, imputiug it to their neglect of aſſiſting him. But others imputed it to his own ill conduct, contempt of military diſcipline, and vile behaviour, whereby the *Papiſts*, and particularly the *Clergy*, were kept and confirmed in their averſion.

Vander Mark ſits down before Amſterdam, but ſoon retires.

Almoſt at the ſame time came the Prince with his army out of *Germany*, diſperſing through the country many copies of a Declaration, containing his views in taking up arms; *viz. The ſecurity of the Rights and Privileges of his Country, and Liberty of Conſcience.* [1] But at the taking of *Roermonde*, which was the firſt action of that army, his ſoldiers treated the Clergy moſt ſcandalouſly. Two *Carthuſian* Monks, two ancient Prieſts, and *Paul van Waelwijk*, the Biſhop's Chaplain, were murdered in the Convent; as likewiſe one Deacon in the Church, and *Reinier Linter* a *Franciſcan*, before the *Pix* that contained the conſecrated Wafer. After a few days, the Deputies of the States brought to the Prince the promiſed money, and at the ſame time they begged that the diſorders of the army might be reſtrained, which were very great on all occaſions, but particularly with reſpect to the Clergy, whom they uſed very ill. [2] To prevent the ſame for the future, the Prince publiſhed a Placard, on the 23d of the aforeſaid month, at *Hellenrade* near *Roermond*, by which the ſoldiers were ſtrictly forbidden, **To moleſt or injure any perſon Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in body, goods, or name, upon pain of ſuch corporal puniſhment as was due to Rebels and Diſturbers of the publick Peace.** The ſaid Placard likewiſe commanded: **That the free exerciſe of Religion ſhould be allowed as well to** Papiſts **as** Proteſtants, **without any moleſtation or impediment**; under the aforeſaid penalties. It further prohibited, **all violation of Churches, and plundering of Monaſteries,** &c.

The Prince takes the field.

Roermonde *taken.*

A Placard forbidding the ill treatment of the Romiſh *Clergy, and permitting the free exerciſe of Religion.*

After this the Prince entred *Brabant*, and directed his march towards *Hainalt*. By the way, together with *Mechelen*, he made himſelf maſter of *Oudenard*, the Bailiff of which place was ſtabbed, and ſome of the chief of the Clergy, and others who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their rage againſt the *Reformed*, (among whom were fifteen or ſixteen Prieſts, and particularly *John Apoſtel*, the Paſtor of *Pameele*) were ſeized, and upon the Prince's army's being obliged to leave the place, bound neck and heels, and ſo thrown into the River, where all but one were drowned. In their way to *Mons*, the news reached them of the Maſſacre of *Paris*, whereby the affairs of *France*, on which the Prince and Count *Lewis* of *Naſſaw* had greatly depended, took on a ſudden ſuch a turn, as was very favourable to the *Spaniſh* intereſt. This, and the ſtrength of *Alva*'s camp, who kept cloſe within his entrenchments, prevented the relief of that place, which ſoon after ſurrendered. The *Naſſovian* army retired over the *Maeſe* and *Rhine*, to *Orſoy*, where the Prince ventured to diſband it, but it

[1] Uitenb. *p.* 172. [2] Bor. Lib. VI. *p.* 291. Hooft, Lib. VII. *p.* 262.

Anº Dom. 1569. was at the peril of his life, when it came to be known that he could not pay their arrears.

The conquered towns were all abandoned, and on the 2d of *October*, the City of *Mechelen* was miſerably plundered, and dreadfully treated by the *Spaniards*, though it ſurrendered in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner.

In the ſame month, *Schoonhoven*, which *Vander Mark* at the deſire of the States of *Holland* had beſieged, was taken by that General, yielding it ſelf upon condition, *that all ſuch as had a mind to remain in the Town, might do ſo without any moleſtation* —— But the moment he was let into the place, he cauſed two Monks, whom he ſpied in the ſtreets, to be hanged up. [1] The *Papiſts* ſay, that two others were knocked on the head by the ſoldiers, and afterwards two more in the caſtle of *Gouda*, by the General's order. They added, that theſe laſt waited on him there, to beg him to reſtrain his men, who ruined their Convent with intolerable exactions. Theſe were ſome of the fruits of *Vander Mark*'s wicked temper, which had been all along growing in him, and now broke out in ſuch deteſtable actions committed by his ſoldiers, not inferiour to their General in ſcandal and villainy.

Vander Mark's *hatred to the* Monks.

Richard Folkertſon Koornhert, who upon his return from baniſhment, was become Secretary to the States of *Holland*, (being the ſame that about this time compoſed the famous Song or Poem called, **William of Naſſau**) received order to ſummon the Scout and Magiſtrates of the *Kennemerland* to *Harlem*, and to inquire into the exactions and extortions which ſome of the Officers had been guilty of, to the end that the money might be refunded by deductions out of their pay, as had been ſtipulated upon their immoderate demands, by an agreement made between the States and the Army; in which *Koornhert*, with two other Deputies, had been employed on the part of the former. But ſome of the Officers, conſcious of what they had done in thoſe Villages, and which was juſt about to be diſcovered, turned all their rage and malice againſt the ſaid Secretary, but covered it with the ſpecious pretence of the publick good. *Koornhert* had declared, that it was juſt and equitable, as well as neceſſary, for the preſervation of the domeſtick union, to obſerve faithfully the ſtipulations and promiſes made to the Catholicks at *Dort*, relating to the exerciſe of their Religion. This was enough to make him paſs for a rank *Papiſt*; and it blackened him to that degree with the General, that he vowed his death, and ordered his ſoldiers to ſhoot him. This forced the poor man to fly for his life, being no where ſafe; nor was the Prince himſelf able (though he ſhould have deſired his protection) to ſkreen him from the reſentment of *Vander Mark*; ſuch an influence had the latter at this time over the army. This obliged him to retire again to *Santen* in the country of *Cleves*, leaving behind him at *Harlem*, what he had obſerved upon the complaints of the aforementioned Villages againſt the Officers, with directions that it ſhould be laid before the States; but it was prevented by the ſiege of that Town, which happened ſoon after, and the papers never appeared ſince. But beſides this danger of his life, two other weighty arguments induced him to reſign his employment. Theſe he would not diſcloſe (as he afterwards declared) to any other but the Lords the States themſelves, by word of mouth, but intimated not obſcurely, that they were ſuch as nearly touched both his honour and conſcience. About this time (though it is uncertain whether before or after his retreat) he publiſhed his three little pieces of the *Permiſſion and Decrees of God*. In the Preface to which, he ſays, "That it was evident to all that knew him that he had always kept himſelf quiet, "had reflected on no body's Religion, but, as far as in him lay, maintained Peace with "all men. This was intolerable to ſome people, who notwithſtanding did not reprove "him to his face, in order to his amendment, but reported behind his back that he "was infected with a peſtilential contagion, and that his principles were impious and "heretical. And this, as he thought, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he could not "come into all the notions of *Calvin* and *Beza*; which put him upon writing thoſe "ſmall tracts, with the deſign of repreſenting to the world ſome of thoſe numerous "reaſons and cauſes that ſtrongly withheld him from ſubſcribing to their opi-"nions; and alſo to prove that thoſe Preachers had groſly and dangerouſly erred in "points of ſuch importance, that *Beza* himſelf calls them, *the only ground of our ſal-"vation.*" He likewiſe oppoſes thoſe Divines in a certain copy of verſes at the end of his Preface, upon their ſentiments concerning *Compulſion of Conſcience*, and the *put-*

An Enquiry ordered to be made into the ill Conduct of Vander Mark's *Officers.*

[1] W. Eſtius *Hiſt. of the Martyrs at* Gorckum, *p.* 348, &c.

ting Hereticks to death; which two things he apprehended their followers designed to introduce here upon the firſt occaſion. An° Dom. 1569.

At *Amſterdam*, the only town in *Holland* which ſtill ſided with the *Spaniards*, the fire of perſecution burnt as furiouſly as ever. For on the 3d of *September*, two Taylors of the Sect of the *Anabaptiſts* were ſentenced to the fire. There were alſo burnt at *Breda* ſix men, and afterwards at *Gant* a Teacher, two Members, and one young woman; and at *Menen* two men of the ſame perſuaſion. *Progreſs of the Perſecution.*

[1] But at *Horn* the Magiſtrates on the contrary ſummoned before them all the Monks and Prieſts, requiring them to declare the *Popiſh* doctrine and worſhip to be idolatry; but only two of them conſented, the reſt deſiring time to conſider of it.

In the ſame month there appeared a new Star, a little below the ſign of *Caſſiopeia*. This afforded matter of ſpeculation to the vain curioſity of ſuch inquirers, who fancied, that in theſe Phænomena God's ſecret councils might be diſcerned, and that the eyes of dimſighted mortals could penetrate into the ſecrets of his infinite providence.

Alva in the mean while endeavourd to regain the Cities that were either taken or revolted. He ſent his ſon *Don Frederick de Toledo* to *Gelderland*, who ſurprized *Zutphen*, and barbarouſly treated the inhabitants: he hanged fifteen hundred of the Burghers upon trees, or drowned them in the *Yſſel*, and ſet fire to the town in eight places. From the reſt he extorted large ſums of money, not ſparing the Church-men themſelves. Hereupon, all that the Prince had gained in *Gelderland* and *Overyſſel*, was abandoned to the Duke's forces; and afterwards all *Freeſland* too: Here the *Reformed* were terribly perſecuted; people were prohibited to receive, harbour, or conceal them, on pain of forfeiting their eſtates, of having their houſes burnt, of being themſelves impriſoned, and even puniſhed with death. *Amersfort* was ſecured by *Boſſu*. From thence Don *Frederick* marched to *Goeyland* and *Narden*, which opened its gates to the *Spaniard*, and begged for pardon; [2] but notwithſtanding the citizens were promiſed it by word of mouth, moſt of them were maſſacred on the 1ſt of *December*, ſo that there were not left alive in all, above ſixty perſons, of whom about forty found means to eſcape, and the reſt were ranſomed. There was no difference made between the innocent and guilty, nor between thoſe of one Religion or the other; the *Papiſt* and *Proteſtant* met with the ſame fate; neither Church, nor Convent, nor Hoſpital, no place, whether ſacred or prophane, was exempt from plundering, burning, murdering. This begot a new averſion and hatred in the minds of many of the Clergy and other *Romaniſts*, againſt the *Spaniards*, (to whom *Vander Mark*'s ill uſage had before in a manner reconciled them) and induced them to make an obſtinate ſtand. [3] But *Frederick* being come from *Narden* to *Amſterdam*, and there preparing for the ſiege of *Harlem*, cauſed ſuch a terror among the *Franciſcans*, who not long before openly exclaimed againſt his father's tyranny, that they preſently turned with the times, and began to threaten ſeveral Burghers, whom they ſuſpected of *Gueuxery*. They extolled *Alva* to the ſkies, and declared all the *Spaniards*, who fell in this civil war, Martyrs for the true Religion. *The* Monks *change with the Times.*

At *Harlem*, the majority of the Council were of opinion, that they ſhould treat with the *Spaniards*, and agreed to ſend privately to *Amſterdam*, three Deputies to diſcourſe with Don *Frederick*. The Governour of the town, *Wybout Ripperda*, being informed of this, ſent for the Officers of the Militia, and ſome others of the chief inhabitants, and ſo clearly and emphatically repreſented to them the cruelty and perfidy of the *Spaniards*, and ſo powerfully inſpired them with his own courage and reſolution, that moſt of them chearfully declared their readineſs to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for their dear country. Two of the Deputies returning afterwards from *Amſterdam*, (for the third ſtaid there) found the Images and *Romiſh* Worſhip entirely baniſhed the Churches, and the Town brought into a poſture of defence; and being immediately ſeized, were ſent away to *Delft*, where one died in priſon, and the other was beheaded, it being declared that none ought to accept of any commiſſion inconſiſtent with their oaths, or with the duty of thoſe from whom they received ſuch commiſſions. *The Council at* Harlem *incline to treat with the* Spaniards. *Images thrown out of the Churches at* Harlem.

Soon after, the Heer *van Aldegonde* was ſent by the Prince, to change the Magiſtracy, which was choſen out of a double liſt laid before him by the Militia; but he at *A Change of the Magiſtracy there.*

[1] Bor. Lib. VI. *p.* 302. | Meur. Lib. VII. *p.* 99, Arcad. Bat. *p.* 494.
[2] Hooft, Lib. VII. *p.* 278. Bor. Lib. V. *p.* 305. | [3] Pontan. Hiſt. Amſt. Lib. I. Cap. 8.

An° Dom. 1569. at the ſame time declared, that this breach upon their privileges was made only through the neceſſity of affairs, and ſhould by no means become a precedent.

Then followed the ſiege. During this ſtate of matters, and whilſt the unanimity of the people was ſo highly neceſſary, in order to make head againſt the common enemy, *Vander Mark* did an unworthy action, which had like to have wholly alienated the hearts of all the *Roman Catholicks* from the Prince. [1] The Monaſtery of St. *Agatha* in *Delft*, had for its Father or Prior, *Cornelius Muſius*, a man of 72 years of age, of more than ordinary learning, of a poetical genius, and very agreeable converſation, without any mixture of the ſpirit of perſecution; inſomuch, that the Prince of *Orange* himſelf had an eſteem for him, and the rather for having formerly aſſiſted in the collection of money for the common cauſe againſt the *Spaniards*. Now when the Prince returned to *Holland*, and took up his quarters with him (as the great men, and particularly the King's Privy-Counſellors were wont to do) the good old man acquainted him that he and his Monks were inclined to abandon their Convent, but being encouraged by the Prince, and aſſured of his protection, they reſolved to ſtay. It happened however, that the Prior took a journey to the *Hague*, at which the Prince ſhewing ſome diſlike, *Vander Mark* offered to follow him and bring him back, which being approved, away he went, and overtaking him, rid along with him to *Leyden*. Being arrived there, the Prior was carried to the houſe of an honeſt Burgher, which was immediately entered by two of *Vander Mark*'s Deputies that were drunk, together with his Chaplain, Provoſt, and the Hangman, who demanded a place for torturing him. The miſtreſs of the houſe enraged at ſuch a demand, directed them to go to the City-Goal, repreſenting to them how unreaſonable and improper it was, to make uſe of Burgher's houſes for thoſe purpoſes. But not regarding her, they made uſe of force, and put the old man to the torture, filling his ſtomach with water, and ſtretching his arms and legs with ropes, till he was ready to breath his laſt under their cruel hands; but could get nothing out of him, which might bring his innocence in queſtion: however, they dragged him, with his diſtorted limbs, that were not able to ſupport him, away to priſon, where, without any tryal or form of law, they hanged him that night, leaving him half ſtrangled, and ſtruggling with the pangs of death. The Prince of *Orange*, as ſoon as ever he was informed of his being ſeized and carried away, diſpatched a meſſenger with orders to releaſe him, but *Vander Mark* commanded the gates to be kept ſhut till he had done the buſineſs, and ſo the Prince's letters were not delivered till it was too late. The corpſe, as the *Papiſts* ſay, was afterwards villainouſly treated, and thruſt into the earth, under the Porch of St. *Peter*'s Church. And to give ſome colour to this horrid fact, a report was ſpread that the ſaid Prior had attempted to poiſon the Prince, and to betray the town of *Delft* to the *Spaniards*. The news of this baſe action coſt the Prince complaints and tears, the States much trouble, and was the firſt ſtep towards the ruin of the inhumane Butcher; for being ſoon after, on account of his many miſdemeanours againſt the Prince and the States, put under arreſt, and on the 5th of *January*, 1573, committed to priſon at *Delft*; he was charged, among other things, with having murdered many eccleſiaſtical perſons, and other innocent people, contrary to his oath and inſtructions, and without due proceſs of law, particularly the abovementioned Prior of St. *Agatha* and *Jooſt Tol* a Prieſt at *Leyden* (a good man, and zealous for the liberties of his country) with ſeveral others; by reaſon of which, many good ſubjects had likewiſe been obliged to fly the country. His Gentleman or Steward, who had been an inſtrument of his cruelty againſt the *Papiſts*, was hanged by order of the States, and he was himſelf to have been proſecuted for his life, but he endeavoured a juſtification, with reſpect to the things laid to his charge, by alledging his zeal for the true Religion, and the like ill treatment which the *Proteſtants* had received from the *Romaniſts*. For which reaſons, and in conſideration of his paſt ſervices, he was on the mediation of the Prince, diſcharged from priſon, and permitted to travel into foreign parts.

Vander Mark is put under Arreſt.

His Steward hanged, but himſelf permitted to leave the Country.

As ſoon as it was known that *Vander Mark* was ſeized, *Boſſu*, the *Spaniſh* General, imagining the Prince would be treated in like manner, writ to *Hugh Janſon van Groenewegen*, Burgomaſter of *Delft*, a *Papiſt*, who headed the Militia, which on this occaſion

[1] Hooft, Lib. VII. *p.* 281. Bor. Lib. VI. *p.* 309. A. vander Myle in Epiſt. Sel. *p.* 574. Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg. *p.* 218. *and* W. Eſt. Hiſt. Mart. van Gorc. *p.* 356.

caſion were called to arms againſt *Vander Mark*, and deſired him *to go on as he had begun, by ſecuring the Prince himſelf, and ſending him to the camp before* Harlem; *for which purpoſe he offered his aſſiſtance, promiſing pardon for all paſt faults, and a reward according to his merit.* But the letter falling into the hands of the Prince himſelf, he ſent for the perſon to whom it was directed, and ſhewed it to him. *Janſon* calling God to witneſs to the ſincerity of his intentions, ſaid, that he was ever inclined to the intereſt of the Prince; and his Country, but that if *Boſſu* had a mind to write to him, it was not in his power to hinder it. The Prince deſired him, in order to remove all ſuſpicion, to return ſuch an anſwer to the Count's letter, as might enſnare him in his own treachery, and ſo diſcourage him from the like attempts for the future. The Burgomaſter, whether averſe to it, on account of his Religion, or whether he made it a point of honour not to deceive the deceiver, though an enemy; declared: [1] *That his conſcience would not ſuffer him to do it.* The Prince replied: *That* Judith *was not ſo nice, when ſhe reſolved to cut off the head of the tyrant* Holofernes, *and to deliver in that manner the people of God from their diſtreſs.* But whatever arguments he uſed, he could not prevail on him to write; upon which the Prince ordered him to be ſecured in his own houſe. An° Dom. 1569.

[2] In the mean while the power of *Spain* met with a foil at *Harlem*, which though obſtinately attacked, was no leſs obſtinately defended, and many acts of cruelty were committed on both ſides. The *Spaniards* having by their parties taken ſome of the Burghers and Soldiers out of the town, hung them up, ſome by the neck, ſome by the heels, without the formality of a tryal. The beſieged enraged by the continuance of their miſeries, and not at all diſpoſed to look upon ſuch an indignity with patience, became guilty of a yet viler action: they erected a Gibbet upon the Ramparts, and went and fetched out of priſon [3] Maſter *Quirijn Dirkſon*, and Maſter *Lambert Jacobſon*, who had both ſerved in quality of Burgomaſters, and were confined upon ſome ſuſpicion, together with *Adrian van Groeneven* a *Harlemer*, who being in the ſervice of the *Spaniards*, had been taken in a ſkirmiſh. This is the account which ſome give of him; but his deſcendants do not allow that he was with the *Spaniards*; but that whilſt he was going from *Harlem* to *Amſterdam* in a ſledge upon the ice, he was taken priſoner (though not in arms) on the 20th of *January*. The Magiſtrates of the town deteſting the intended cruelty, did all that in them lay to hinder it. But in vain were their intreaties, in vain their remonſtrances, in vain were the people told that it was without form of juſtice or ſhadow of reaſon, and that ſuch an action could never be excuſed. They went on with their deſign, and together with the Gentlemen abovementioned, they hanged five Soldiers, one Prieſt, and a young Lad of fifteen years, in the full view of the enemy. The daughter of Maſter *Quirijn*, a *Beguine*, never ceaſed encouraging him to ſuffer ſteadfaſtly for the *Romiſh* Religion, and thruſting into the crowd, till ſhe got under the gallows, ſhe lifted up her voice and eyes, whilſt he was dying, and prayed to God that ſhe might dye ſo holy a death as her father. His wife alſo overwhelmed with grief, never left begging and lamenting for her huſband, whom ſhe followed as cloſe as ſhe could, without fearing danger or the menaces of the enraged mob, who at laſt, with ſtones and thruſts, plunged both mother and daughter into one of the Canals, where they miſerably periſhed. And to provoke their enemies yet more, they brought the images of the Saints, and uſed them in filling up the breaches. But at laſt this miſerable city found it ſelf obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion to Don *Frederic*, on the 13th of *July*, after having withſtood the *Spaniſh* army, and all ſorts of dangers, and even that worſt of all plagues, the extremity of famine for the ſpace of ſeven months, with a *ſaguntine* conſtancy, as far at leaſt as was conſiſtent with Chriſtianity. *The Siege of* Harlem.

[4] Then began the *Spaniſh* rage to ſatiate it ſelf upon the Garriſon, and ſuch of the Burghers as had formerly fled for their Religion, whom they maſſacred by hundreds. They that would go to confeſſion, were put to death by the ſword; they that refuſed, paid for it with a halter. About three hundred were tied back to back in couples, and ſo thrown into the *Harlem-meer*, or lake. Among others they hanged a *Lutheran* Miniſter. *Simon Simonſon*, Miniſter of the town, was beheaded, as alſo the Governour *Wigbout Ripperda*, and his Lieutenant *Cruelties executed againſt the* Harlemers.

[1] Grot. de jure belli & pacis, Lib. III. Cap. I. §. 6, —20.

[2] Hooft, Lib. VIII. *p.* 404. Bor. Lib. VI. *p.* 316. Strada, Lib. VII. *p.* 446.

[3] *This* Quirijn Dirkſon, *alias* Quirinus Taleſius, *was a man of good Learning, having been formerly* Amanuenſis, *Lodger and Friend of* Eraſmus; *ſee about him,* Eraſm. Epiſt *p.* 1162, 1947, *and* 1958.

[4] Hooft, *p.* 305. Strada, Lib. VII. *p.* 447. Bentivog. Lib. VII *p.* 352. Bat. Arcad. *p.* 496.

An° Dom. 1569. Lieutenant *Lewis Horenmaker* of *Gant*, *Yonker John van Duivenvorde*, Colonel of the Burghers, *Simon Schoorel*, Treaſurer of the *Bril*, and *Roſigny*, a natural ſon of Cardinal *Granville*. This young Gentleman, of a diſpoſition quite different from his father, had choſen the Prince's ſide, and reſolved to die rather than make his pedigree known.

But neither was the victory cheap to the *Spaniards*, they having waded to it through a ſea of blood; for it is computed, that about five thouſand of them periſhed by the ſword, and ſeven thouſand more by ſickneſs, hunger and other inconveniences. [1] Many of their wounded were carried to the Hoſpital at *Amſterdam*, where they were frequently heard to cry out in the midſt of the agonies of death; *O Naerden! O Naerden! O St. Jago! O St. Domingo!* ſo heavy lay the maſſacre of *Naerden* on their conſciences when they came to die. The cataſtrophe of *Harlem* extreamly dejected the whole country; but the mutiny of the *Spaniſh* army, which preſently followed, and which laſted ſix weeks, gave them time to recover from their fright; and beſides, the Prince let them ſee he did not yet deſpair. He exhorted all the towns that ſided with him, to do their duty, and daily warned them of the enemies deſigns, for he had friends in all parts that ſecretly favoured him, and almoſt all the *Netherlanders*, as well *Papiſts* as *Proteſtants*, did the like, from the mortal averſion they had to *Alva* and his tyranny. *Sonoy*, and thoſe that were aſſociated to him, writ the Prince word, that the people of *North-Holland* ſeemed to have placed all their hopes in flight, ſeeing no appearance of a happy iſſue of affairs, unleſs he had already made a ſtrict alliance with ſome great Princes, and was in expectation of ſpeedy and powerful ſuccours; in which caſe it was high time to give notice of it to the towns, and ſo to prevent a general flight. Hereupon he returned them an anſwer by letters full of zeal for Religion, and of a wonderful confidence in the juſtice of his cauſe; in which, among other things, he ſaid; *Though God had ſuffered the town of* Harlem *to be involved in ſuch a misfortune, men ought not therefore to renounce or forſake his divine word. Would they therefore maintain, that his mighty hand was ſhortened? Was his Church and People entirely ruined by the deſtruction of one city? Charity ought indeed to excite pity towards thoſe of* Harlem; *but ſince the blood of Martyrs had always proved the ſeed of the Church, therefore the inhabitants and ſubjects of this land, being convinced of the enemies intentions, and obſerving that he trampled on all laws both divine and human, and endeavoured utterly to extirpate the truth, ought the more courageouſly and ſteadily to appear in the defence of ſo righteous a cauſe, and not to forſake it for the loſs of one town only; the rather becauſe it had appeared that it could not be ſubdued by any force of the enemy, and much leſs could ſo many ſtronger towns, which he thanked God ſtill remained to declare his word, and to honour his name, and which were now better prepared than before, to reſiſt the violence of the enemy,* He added, *That they enquired whether he had entered into any alliances with other Princes? He had* (he ſaid) *made a ſtrict alliance with the Prince of Princes, for the defence of the good Chriſtians and others of this oppreſſed Country, who never forſook thoſe that truſted in him, and would aſſuredly at the laſt, confound both his and their enemies. He was therefore reſolved never to forſake his dear Country, but by venturing both life and fortune, to make uſe of thoſe means which the Lord of Hoſts had ſupplied him with.*

The Prince's Letter to Sonoy *on occaſion of the ſurrender of* Harlem.

The Siege of Alkmaer.

The ſtorm fell firſt upon *Alkmaer*, where, after the firſt terror had a little abated, the inhabitants took courage, and with unexpected bravery, reſolved to abide the fury of the *Spaniards*, who came before that town on the 21ſt of *Auguſt*. The reſiſtance, together with the great and continual rains, the opening ſeveral ſluices, and piercing ſome of the Dikes, upon which the waters increaſed, forced Don *Frederick* to raiſe the ſiege, as he did on the 8th of *October*. During this ſiege, the Miniſter, *John Arents*, died there, he who had done ſo much for the cauſe of the *Reformed* as has been related. It is ſaid of him, that being on his death-bed he ſent for his particular friends, Maſter *Nanning van Foreeſt*, afterwards Member of the Great Council, *Philip Corneliſſon*, and others, and earneſtly exhorted them to act with courage and reſolution, comforting them with the aſſurance of an approaching deliverance; *God*, ſaid he, *will give you good ſucceſs, and the enemy ſhall not take the town this time.* A certain *Spaniard* whoſe name was *Jeronimo de Arcibu*, taken in

2

[1] Pont. Deſcr. Amſt. *p.* 98. Hooft. Lib. VIII. *p.* 317.

a ſally of the beſieged, diſcovered to them, through fear of death, and hopes of life, ſeveral matters, which, as it appeared afterwards, he had not invented of his own head. However they did not keep their word with him, but rewarded him with the gallows; which many were diſpleaſed at, being of opinion, *That promiſes made even to an enemy, ought to be kept.* It is related of the ſaid *Jeronimo*, that he ſhould have ſaid; *If they would ſpare his life, he was ready to believe in the devil as well as they.* An° Dom. 1569.

[1] Whilſt Don *Frederick* waſted his time before *Alkmaer*, *Gertruydenberg* was ſurprized by the Prince's people, and a certain Prieſt, named *William van Galen*, cut in pieces in the heat of the ſurprize, and *William vander Gonde*, a *Franciſcan* Fryer, hanged afterwards in cold blood; but the reſt of the inhabitants were ſpared. The Prince appointed *Jerom Tſeraerts* for Governour of this place, who was afterwards murdered in a tumult by his own people, for endeavouring to prevent the breaking of images in the Churches; but it coſt the Aſſaſſines their lives, and the Enſign of Captain *Trillo* was broke and baniſhed for it. The taking *Gertruydenberg*, the raiſing the ſiege of *Alkmaer*, and the bravery of the *Zelanders*, who frequently beat the *Spaniards* by water, and who had taken *Ramekens* from them, and beſieged *Middelburg*, inſpired courage into the *Dutch* Confederates, making them both act and ſuffer for their liberties. [2] Add to this, the engagement in the *Zuider-ſee*, and the defeat of *Boſſu*, whom the *North-Hollanders* brought priſoner to *Horn*. By which loſſes, *Alva*, who at this time reſided at *Amſterdam*, fell into the utmoſt contempt and hatred; inſomuch, that fearing an inſurrection, eſpecially by reaſon of his contracting ſuch great debts among the Burghers, he reſolved to make his retreat as privately as poſſible. With this deſign he gave notice by ſound of Trumpet, that all thoſe to whom he was indebted, ſhould attend him the next day for their money, but went off the night before, to the great diſappointment of his creditors.

Gertruydenberg is ſurprized by the Prince's forces.

Being arrived in *Brabant*, he called an aſſembly of the States, in order to raiſe new taxes for carrying on the war; but the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, on the contrary, took upon them, by a Letter or Manifeſto ſigned by *H. Perchijn*, and which they ordered to be publiſhed at *Delft* on the 12th of *September*, to diſſwade their fellow States from granting any; repreſenting to them, among other things, that the States of the other Provinces in the *Low-Countries* never lived in enmity with thoſe of *Holland*, but had been formerly unanimous in keeping foreigners out of their country, and that the *Spaniards* were alone the occaſion of taking up arms: *Theſe*, added they, *deſign to make us, our wives, and children, their vaſſals and ſlaves, and* **which is yet leſs tolerable, they expect we ſhould be accountable to them for our ſouls and conſciences, over which they would tyrannize according to their pleaſure:** *And though ſome among them hardly know that there is a God in heaven, and have ſcarce even heard or read a word of the Son of God, our only Saviour, yet do they take upon them to find fault with our Faith and Religion, and under that pretence, enſlave us to their* Inquiſition, *which they uſe in* Spain *againſt the* Moors, *the* Jews *and* Apoſtate Chriſtians: *Thus robbing us, under the cloak of Religion, of all our ancient Liberties, Rights and Privileges. Now becauſe we will not bear ſuch things,* Alva *and his adherents endeavour to perſwade you that we are Rebels; and ſo, if poſſible, to ſeparate you from us your brethren and countrymen, to render you the ſervants and tools of their inſolence, the executioners of their cruelty, and defenders of their impure and luſtful deſires.* And they concluded with requeſting them; *That they would rather join with, and aſſiſt them in oppoſing the tyranny and cruelty of the* Spaniards, *and in defending their common liberties.*

A Letter of the States of Holland *to the States of the other Provinces.*

The Prince of *Orange* and the ſaid States complained in a long letter, by way of petition, to the King (which they cauſed to be printed) of the violation of their liberties, under pretence of ſecuring the Church of *Rome*, in which they gave a large and pathetical account of the principal cruelties which the Duke and the *Spaniards* had been guilty of in the *Netherlands*. After which they proceeded in theſe terms; *Since they take a pleaſure in our death, and think it their intereſt to be our murtherers, we will much rather die an honourable death for the liberties and welfare of our dear country, than ſubmit to ſuch a ſlavery, as to be trampled on by inſolent foreigners, who have always hated or envied us. By ſo doing we ſhall at leaſt derive to*

The Prince *and the* States *of* Holland *addreſs a Petition to the* King.

[1] Bor. Lib. VI. *p.* 338. Hiſt. Mart. Gork. *p.* 388. & 398.

[2] Hooft. Lib. VII. *p.* 272. Lib. VIII. *p.* 297, 318. Vel. Chron. *p.* 219.

An° Dom. 1572.

our posterity this fame and reputation, that their ancestors scorned to be slaves to a **Spanish Inquisition,** *and therefore made no scruple of redeeming a scandalous life by an honourable death. We contend for nothing less than* **freedom of Conscience, our Wives and Children, out Lives and Fortunes.** They concluded their Letter after the following manner: *We do not desire to be discharged from our allegiance to your Majesty, but only that our consciences may be preserved free before the Lord our God: That we may be permitted to hear his holy word, and walk in his commandments, to the end we may be able to give an account of our souls to the supreme Judge at the last day.* Therefore they besought him, *that he would at last vouchsafe to deliver this poor nation from the yoke of strangers, from the* Spanish *soldiers, and suffer his faithful Subjects to enjoy the Rights, Liberties and Privileges, which he himself, as well as the Emperor his father and all his Predecessors, had so solemnly sworn to maintain.*

Aldegonde *is taken Prisoner.*

In the mean while, the *Spanish* army sat down before *Leyden*, which was invested on the last of *October*. They took *Maesland-sluice*, and the Heer *van Aldegonde* in it, whom they sent away prisoner to *Utrecht*. The taking of this Gentleman was a very great loss to the Prince and States, on account of his great genius, which rendered him Master of the deepest mysteries of State. [1] Upon this news, the Prince writ immediately to *Sonoy*, that *whatever* Aldegonde *suffered by the enemy*, Bossu *should receive the like treatment.* This was the last act of *Alva*'s administration. The Duke of *Medina Celi*, who was first sent to succeed him in this Government, had slipped his neck out of the collar, which he found was like to be very uneasy to him. But the King being every day more and more convinced, that his affairs had been almost ruined by immoderate severities, appointed Don *Lewis de Requesens*, Governour of *Castile*, supreme Stadtholder of the *Low-Countries*, being, as he thought, a very fit person to redress matters by gentleness and good temper. He made his entry at *Brussels* on the 17th of *November*. And on the 1st of *December*, the Duke of *Alva* surrendered to him the whole Government both civil and military, departing the next day, and taking with him Don *Frederick* his son, and *Vargas*, for *Spain*. In his way home, he lodged one night on the borders of *Germany*, with Count *Lewis van Koningstein*, Uncle to the Prince by the Mother's side; to whom he boasted, as of a noble atchievement; [2] *That he had caused* [b] *above eighteen thousand Hereticks and Rebels to pass through the hands of the executioner, without counting any of those whose blood had been shed in the war:* Yet *Vargas*, at the same time had the impudence to affirm, *that the* Low-Countries *were lost by foolish compassion.*

Don Lewis de Requesens *made Governour of the* Low-Countries *in the stead of* Alva.

Alva *returns to* Spain.

b

A Persecution.

[3] Among those who lost their lives upon a scaffold on account of their faith, there is mention made of a Gentleman of *Gant*, named *Antony Uitenhove*, whom *Alva* roasted alive, tying him, for the diversion of the *Spaniards*, to a long chain, and turning him round the stake, which was incompassed with a circle of fire, till the Guards moved at the painful and tedious sacrifice, dispatched him with their halbards in spite of the Duke.

At *Oudenarde*, two men, *Arnold de Kroos* and *Michel de Sieldrayer*, were condemned to be burnt. When they were chained to the stake, and their mouths padlocked, so that they could not speak, they had the courage to thrust away with their feet, the Monks that endeavoured to pervert them to the *Romish* faith. *Jasper Stevens* was put to death at *Brussels*, and *Maurice van Daelen* at *Gant*; they were both Elders of the *Reformed* Church. *Lieven Uiterveer*, another Elder, was burnt, who during his imprisonment writ several letters of consolation to his wife and children, exhorting them, among other things; *To beware of the Sect of the* Anabaptists, *who* (said he) *deny* Christ, *with respect to his humane nature, though according to the promise which God made by* Isaiah, he *is our* Emanuel, *and brother, and like to us in all things, sin only excepted.* The *Anabaptists* reckon three and twenty of their persuasion who suffered for Religion this year: Eleven at *Gant*; one at *Meenen*; one at *Tillemont*, and nine at *Antwerp*; among whom there were fourteen women. A certain man named *John Smith*, whom the *Gueuxes* released out of a dungeon at *Monikedam*, and who was afterwards taken prisoner by the *Spaniards* on the *Zuider-see*, was condemned to serve at the oar during the siege of *Harlem*; but upon his

2

[1] Hooft. Lib. VIII. *p.* 331. Bor. Lib. VI. *p.* 348. Strada Lib. VII. *p.* 451.
[2] Reid. *p.* 16. Bor. *speaks of* 18000 *men. p.* 350
[3] J. Pontan. *reckons this* Uitenhove *among those that surprized the* Bril. Hist. Amst. Lib. I. *p.* 52.

his ſaying that it was not lawful for him to row againſt ſuch as were not his enemies, he was carried to the camp, and there, upon the ſteadfaſt confeſſion of his faith, was, by order of Don *Frederick*, hanged up by one of his legs, and left in that condition till he died. It is alſo ſaid, that a certain woman of the ſame ſect, named *Mayken van Deventer*, was executed at *Rotterdam*; which execution they ſay happened to be in that city, becauſe *Dort* (for the other neighbouring cities are not mentioned) had ſurrendered it ſelf to the Prince above a year before: from whence it might be inferred, that *Rotterdam* continued thus long in the *Spaniſh* intereſt, whereas it followed the example of *Dort* about a month after; ſo that this woman, in my opinion, muſt have ſuffered between the 25th of *June* of the paſt year 1572, the day that *Dort* ſurrendered, and the 21ſt of *July* following, on which the *Spaniards* abandoned the town of *Rotterdam*. But in all the cities and places of this country which were at war with the *Spaniards*, the forcing of conſcience, and the putting Hereticks to death, was at an end. Indeed the Clergy had their turn of ſuffering here for a while, but it was during the diſorders of war, and againſt the laws as well as the mind of our Governours. Accordingly ſome of the actors of thoſe inſolencies were ſeverely puniſhed. [1] Among theſe diſorders we may likewiſe reckon, that during the dangerous ſtate of affairs, the publick faith was not upon ſome occaſions ſo religiouſly obſerved as it ought to have been. [2] Concerning which there happened a debate between the Heer *Vander Mijle* (who was afterwards employed in the higheſt offices of the Law and Government) and the Elector *Palatine*, *Frederick* III. for his zeal for Religion, called the *Godly*, at *Heidelberg*, on the 18th of *February*. The Elector endeavoured to perſwade *Vander Mijle*, who had abſented himſelf a long while from his country, to return thither; telling him that he had heard from Count *John* of *Naſſaw*, that the Prince of *Orange* was in great want of good and faithful Counſellors: To which the other replied, that this appeared plainly enough from the late management; adding, after having ſpoken at large of the *Low-Country* affairs, *That in particular it was not the reſult of good and wiſe advice, to rob the* Papiſts *in ſeveral towns, of their Churches (whilſt the common enemy was at the door) contrary to the treaty and agreement made with them, and notwithſtanding that they, the* Papiſts, *had oppoſed the tyranny of* Alva *as much as the* Reformed. *Upon which account*, ſaid he, *they openly complained, that if we broke our words in ſo uncertain a ſtate of affairs, it might eaſily be gueſſed what was to be expected, when once the buſineſs ſhould be at an end. From hence*, added he, *there aroſe ſuch an alteration in the minds of men, that ſome of the firſt and chiefeſt, who had before joined with heart and hand bravely to oppoſe the tyranny of* Alva, *ſat down in great anxiety and uncertainty, being doubtful of the part they ought to act.* Upon this the Elector repreſented to him: [c] *That it was a glorious thing when nothing but the pure word of God was preached in any place, and the true Religion only exerciſed. Vander Mijle* replied, *That this was indeed a very good and deſirable thing; but that it could only be brought to paſs by a Prince who was abſolute in his dominions, or who had made himſelf maſter of thoſe of another by his ſword: but that the caſe was quite different, where the people being of ſeveral Religions, and entering into a confederacy, agreed among themſelves to oppoſe a tyrant, and their common enemy, on condition that each ſhould enjoy the liberty of his conſcience.* Upon which the Elector concluded his diſcourſe in the following manner: *Yes, that is true; I am a poor Elector, but if I made a bargain or agreement with any body, I would moſt religiouſly obſerve it.*

A Conference between the Heer Vander Mijle *and* Frederick *the Third Elector* Palatine.

3 Nevertheleſs it was ſoon after reſolved by the States of *Holland*, at a certain aſſembly which they held at *Leyden*, to prohibit the exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion. But when this matter was firſt propoſed, and put in agitation, the Prince would gladly have poſtponed it, and it was ſore againſt his mind when they put it in execution. This he declared in his Apology, publiſhed in the year 1580; but added at the ſame time in juſtification of the States, *That they who at firſt judged it for the intereſt and advantage of the country, that one Religion ſhould be tolerated as well as the other, were afterwards convinced by the bold attempts, cunning devices and treacheries of the enemies, who had inſinuated themſelves among the people, that the State was in danger of inevitable deſtruction, unleſs the exerciſe of the* Romiſh *Religion were ſuſpended*;

A Reſolution taken by the States of Holland *againſt the* Romaniſts.

[1] Hooft, Lib. VII. *p.* 295. Bor. Lib. VI. *p.* 325. Apol. Pr. d'Or. *p.* 84.

[2] Ex Andr. Milij Epiſt. ad Sindil. vid. Epiſt. ſelect. *p.* 572.

[3] Apol. pour le Pr. d'Or. *p.* 78, &c.

An° Dom. 1573.

ſpended; ſince thoſe who profeſſed it, (at leaſt the Prieſts) had ſworn allegiance to the Pope, *(as is every where their practice) and laid greater ſtreſs on their oaths to him, than upon any others which they took to the Civil Magiſtrate.* And a little further, *That it was not juſt, that ſuch people ſhould enjoy a privilege, by the means of which they endeavoured to bring the land under the power of the enemy: They ſought,* added he, *to betray the lives and fortunes of the ſubjects, by depriving them, not of one, two, nor three privileges, but of all the rights and liberties, which for immemorial ages had been preſerved and defended by their predeceſſors from generation to generation.*

Yet the Romaniſts *continue to hold private Meetings.*

The *Papiſts* being thus expelled the churches, did nevertheleſs continue their religious meetings in private houſes, where they were ſuffered to ſay Maſs, and practice the reſt of the *Romiſh* ceremonies and cuſtoms for a long time after. The people of that ſect were alſo not eaſily admitted to any conſiderable offices and employments; not that they were excluded by any law, but only out of prudence, and becauſe they could not be truſted. [1] But almoſt all the old Magiſtrates, though *Roman Catholicks*, were ſuffered to remain in their reſpective ſtations, till ſome of them left the country, or were excluded by the prevalency of the other party at the elections; ſome however continued in the Government till their death.

The Reformed Religion, *according to the practice of the Church of* Geneva, &c. *introduced into* Holland.

About this time, the *Reformed Religion*, as taught in the *Palatinate*, at *Geneva*, and elſewhere, was admitted into the publick churches; with this difference however, that whereas other countries which had embraced the ſaid Religion, would not allow of any variety of ſects, becauſe, ſaid they, *God had appointed ſocieties and government, not only for the defence of the lives and fortunes of the ſubjects, but alſo to the end that he himſelf might be univerſally worſhipped in ſuch a manner as he had commanded; and even many who had neglected their duty in this reſpect, had drawn upon their own heads thoſe puniſhments which they ought to have inflicted upon the impious:* Theſe Provinces, on the contrary, were of opinion, *Not only that all Religions ought to be tolerated, but that all reſtraint in matters of Religion, was as deteſtable as the* Inquiſition *itſelf:* And accordingly they maintained, *That no body erred wilfully, or could believe againſt his conſcience: That none but God could inſpire right notions into the minds of men: That no Religion was agreeable to God, but ſuch as proceeded from a willing heart: Experience had alſo taught them, that heterodox opinions could not ſo effectually be rooted out by human power or violence, as by length of time.* But under theſe pretences, the publick Religion was not only deſpiſed with impunity, but alſo among the evils that are ſometimes produced by liberty, the moſt abſurd and pernicious opinions that tended to corrupt good manners, were frequently obſerved to increaſe.

But with Liberty of Conſcience to thoſe of other perſwaſions.

The reſt of the ſects that endeavoured to promote the *Reformation* according to their own ſentiments, and among them thoſe of the Confeſſion of *Auſburg*, or the *Lutherans*, and all the kinds of *Anabaptiſts*, had likewiſe their ſhare of liberty of conſcience, and the exerciſe of their Religion in private meetings. But at *Woerden* the publick church was granted to the *Lutherans*. [2] There was alſo even among ſuch as were uſually diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Reformed*, and were in poſſeſſion of the publick churches, ſome difference of opinions. [3] For we are told of a certain Miniſter at *Rotterdam*, named *John Ysbrandtſon*, who at the very beginning of the *Reformation*, and as ſoon as he heard of the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, according to *Calvin*'s opinion, preached againſt, and confuted it publickly even at that time: And *Clement Martenſon*, the firſt Miniſter of the *Reformed* at *Horn*, frequently declared, that from the beginning of his Miniſtry he had never entertained nor preached any other doctrine of *Predeſtination* than that of *Melanchon*, which he had imbibed from *Albert Hardenberg*, a diſciple of *Melanchon*, and one of the firſt Miniſters at *Embden*. And though moſt of the Miniſters of this country, through the inſtructions of their Tutors, embraced the opinions of *Calvin* with reſpect to the aforeſaid doctrine; [4] yet it is not leſs certain, that from the very beginning of the war, ſome Miniſters, many of the Magiſtrates, and numberleſs Members of the church, were of a different perſwaſion; nor could it be otherwiſe, conſidering the credit which the writings of *Eraſmus* had in theſe provinces, as alſo the Family-book

The Predeſtination *of* Calvin's, *oppoſed by ſome.*

3 of

[1] Bor. Lib. VI. *p.* 311. Vel. Chr. Horn. *p.* 188. Grot. Ann. Lib. II. *p.* 41.

[2] Bor. Lib. XIV. *p.* 170. Hooft. Lib. XVI. *p.* 686.

[3] Uitenb. Ch. Hiſt. *p.* 48. Grot. Hiſt. Lib. XVII. *p.* 552, &c.

[4] Grot. Apol. Cap. III. *p.* 31. & Ordin. Holland. Piet. *p.* 42.

of *Bullinger*, the Treatiſes of *Melanchthon*, and the *Layman's Guide* of *Anaſtatius Veluanus*. There was likewiſe a remarkable difference between the Prince of *Orange* and the *States* of *Holland* on one ſide, and the *Clergy* of this country on the other. The Prince and States not only abhorred the *Inquiſition* and the bloody *Placards*, but conſidering that many learned and pious men having obſerved the great abuſes which had crept into the Chriſtian Religion, had been panting after a *Reformation*, or a Reſtoration of matters to their primitive ſtate, for above one hundred years, they heartily inclined to it, without confining themſelves to any particular ſet of principles or opinions, in which thoſe perſons who thought the *Reformation* ſo very neceſſary, were far from being unanimous: Whereas on the contrary, the Clergy being biaſſed by their paſſions and inclinations for thoſe Maſters at whoſe feet they had been brought up, and in whoſe writings and leſſons they had been inſtructed, endeavoured with all their might to conciliate authority to their reſpective opinions. This difference of ſentiments was the more increaſed among the ſtateſmen, foraſmuch as they had been informed of the abuſes in Religion by reading the books of *Eraſmus* of *Rotterdam*, who had always promoted peace and moderation. But the Miniſters on the other ſide, had chiefly ſtudied the books of *Calvin*, and ſome others, who zealouſly propagated their own opinions. From hence it proceeded, that the word *Reformation*, or the *Reformed Religion*, was underſtood in one ſenſe by the Laity, in another by the Clergy; many of the latter meaning nothing elſe by it, but **an agreement in all points with their Teachers or Tutors**; but the former, **a religious worſhip, purged from great abuſes, and not too much limited with reſpect to opinions about diſputable points.** Wherefore to avoid the equivocation, thoſe who were in the Government, had much rather it ſhould have been termed the *Chriſtian* or *Goſpel Religion*, or at leaſt, that the word *Reformed* ſhould have been explained by that of *Evangelical*, being deſirous *to confine Religion to the Doctrine of Chriſt, that is, to the Goſpel, and not to uncertain gloſſes and interpretations.*

An° Dom. 1573.

What ſort of Reformation *was favoured by the* Prince *of* Orange *and the* States *of* Holland.

The word Reformation *taken in two different ſenſes.*

What the States *underſtood by it.*

Theſe different views of the ancient Governours of the land, and of their contemporary Churchmen, produced in time very different effects; the Eccleſiaſticks aiming only at *Deciſions* and *Definitions*; the Magiſtrates at *Peace* and *Mutual forbearance* in the diſputes that happened among us; the former endeavouring *to ſhut up the* d *Church by limitations in many doubtful articles*; the latter, d *to ſet it open as wide as poſſible, for all Chriſtians of unblameable lives.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK XI.

An° Dom. 1574.

AS the States of this country endeavoured to promote their affairs by gentleneſs and conceſſions, ſo the *Spaniards* went forward (or rather backward) with their violences and cruelties. *John de Luk* was hanged at *Axel*, with his mouth ſcrewed together, on the 25th of *April*, 1574, on the account of Religion.

A General Pardon.

[1] After the battle on the *Mookerhide*, gained by the *Spaniards*, Don *Lewis* cauſed the town of *Leyden* to be inveſted the ſecond time; and ſoon after, to temper his ſeverities, he publiſhed at *Bruſſels* a general pardon in the the King's name, but upon condition that none ſhould have the benefit of it, but ſuch as ſhould go to *Confeſſion*, and receive *Abſolution* from a Prieſt, within the ſpace of two months: out of which pardon nevertheleſs ſeveral perſons were excepted, to wit, fifty four in the province of *Holland* only; among whom *Richard Folkertſon Koonhert*; as alſo the Miniſters, *Martin Dirkſon* at *Harlem*, *Cornelius Johnſon* at *Narden*, *Peter Corneliſon* at *Alcmaer*, *Hubert* and *Lambert Gerbrantſon* at *Edam* and *Monikedam*, and *Barent Hendrikſon* at *Medenblik*. Pope *Gregory* XIII. confirmed the ſaid pardon with the addition of a Bull, for the benefit of the penitents. But all this had little effect. Thoſe on the ſide of the States remained ſteady in the deſign of aſſerting the liberties of their country to the laſt extremity, eſpecially at *Leyden*, where during the ſiege they made Paper-Money of 14 and 28 Styvers value, for want of ſilver: the ſmaller ſort was ſtamped on one ſide with a Lion holding a ſword and a ſhield, with this Motto: **Pugno pro patria,** I fight for my country: the bigger had a Lion alſo holding a hat upon a ſpear, with the following legend: **Haec libertatis ergo,** All this for liberty: meaning, that they acted and ſuffered for liberty. [2] But the Preachers did not ſcruple to laſh their Governours from the pulpit, and to call them *Libertines* and *Free-thinkers*; being of opinion that they ought to have ſaid: **Haec religionis ergo,** This is for Religion: as if the free exerciſe of Religion were not compriſed in the general expreſſion of *Liberty*; and as if others out of horror for the *Inquiſition* and *Spaniſh Government*, had not fought as bravely for their country, though they were not *Proteſtants*.

Paper-Money at Leyden.

The Miniſters oppoſe the Magiſtrates at Leyden.

One of the Miniſters declamed ſo furiouſly about this time againſt the above-mentioned Mottos, that a certain Officer of the town, a man of great boldneſs and courage, ſitting by the Burgomaſter *Vander Werf* in the Magiſtrates pew, drew out a

[1] Bor. Lib. VII. *p.* 27. Hooft, Lib. IX. *p.* 368 Lib. XI. *p.* 95. *From an oral account of* P. Scriver.

[2] *Juſtification of the Magiſtrates of* Leyden Grot. Apol.

a loaden piſtol from his pocket, ſaying, *Shall I fetch him down?* but the ſaid Burgo- An° Dom. 1574.
maſter prudently diſſwaded and hindered him.

The firſt Synod of Dort.

1 About the ſame time, that is from the 16th to the 28th of *June*, the Clergy of *Holland* and *Zeland* held their firſt Provincial Synod at *Dort*, which was not appointed by the States of the land, but by the Clergy themſelves, though (2 as they affirmed) with the knowledge and conſent of the Prince of *Orange*, in order to regulate their matters, and to draw up ſome inſtructions for the government of the church. Among other things it was concluded: **That the** Heidelberg Catechiſm **ſhould be taught in all Churches: that the Miniſters ſhould ſubſcribe the** Netherland Confeſſion, **and oblige themſelves to obey the** Claſſes. **That all Schoolmaſters ſhould ſign the aforeſaid** Confeſſion, **ſubmit to the Diſcipline, and teach the ſaid Catechiſm to the children: the Elders and Deacons were to ſubſcribe to the Articles of Church Government, as well as to the Confeſſion. For the extirpation of falſe doctrine, the Miniſters were to exhort the people from the pulpit, to the diligent reading of the ſcriptures, and the avoiding heterodox and heretical books, in the naming of which, they were to be very cautious. They were likewiſe to admoniſh the Bookſellers of their own perſwaſion, not to print nor ſell any ſuch books: and when they viſited any of their congregation in private, they were to enquire whether they kept any heterodox or unſound books in their houſes, and to adviſe them to put them away. Such Monks and Prieſts as were deſirous to embrace the Reformed Miniſtry, were obliged not only to renounce** Popery, **but** their own Orders **too; and thoſe who were firſt admitted into the Miniſtry, were to be asked, whether they owned the Bible to be the word of God, and the only compleat doctrine of ſalvation, which was ſummarily contained in the Catechiſm, and faithfully taught in the**
e Reformed Churches? e **The Pſalms turned into metre by** Peter Dathenus, **with the other Hymns annext to them, were only to be uſed in the Churches, till it ſhould be otherwiſe ordered in a general Synod. As to Feſtival-days, it was agreed that they ſhould be abrogated, and that no other ſhould be obſerved but** Sunday. **But upon the Sunday before our Saviour's Nativity, the Miniſters might preach upon the uſual ſubject of the** Incarnation, **and inform the people of the reaſons for not keeping** Chriſtmas-day. **On** Eaſter **and** Whitſunday, **the Preacher ſhould be at liberty to treat of the** Reſurrection, **and of the** Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. **In** Baptiſm **it was thought moſt convenient to make uſe of** Sprinkling. **As to the** Anabaptiſts, **the Magiſtrates were to be exhorted and intreated neither to receive nor tolerate any of them that would not take the oaths to the Government according to law. They ordained that ſuch of them as were already ſettled here, ſhould be admoniſhed to come and hear the word of God, and to ſuffer their children to be baptized: But in caſe of refuſal, they ſhould be ſummoned and commanded to declare and juſtifie their opinions in the preſence of a Miniſter. And the Miniſters were to endeavour to gain admittance into their private meetings, in order to convince them that they were in the wrong. As for thoſe who were fallen away to the** Mennonites or Anabaptiſts, **they were to be reſcinded or excommunicated from the church. And as for the** Romiſh Prieſts, **who baptized and married in private, application ſhould be made to the Magiſtrates of the reſpective places, to obviate the ſame in the moſt effectual manner; and in caſe they neglected to do their duty, complaint ſhould be made to the higher powers. And no uſurer was to be admitted to the Lord's Table.**

Theſe Canons, or Eccleſiaſtical Rules, were not approved by the States of *Holland*, who did not much concern themſelves with the Synod. 3 Two Miniſters who attended the States of *Holland* and *Zeland* with the ſaid Canons, met with the following anſwer: *That when their Lordſhips deſired to ſee them, they would give them notice of ſuch their deſire.* 4 And thoſe Canons or Rules were liable to many objections, as has been obſerved by others: particularly people were ſurprized at their rigour againſt the *Anabaptiſts*, in a ſituation of affairs, which was ſtill ſo tickliſh, and expoſed to ſo many impending dangers. For beſides the diſtreſs in which *Leyden* was then involved, the *Spaniards* this ſummer had reduced the towns of *Workum*, *Leerdam*, and *Aſperen*, forcing thoſe of *Leerdam*, who had ſtipulated the preſervation of their lives and eſtates, for fear of being cut in pieces, to diſcover their Miniſter *Jooſt de Yong*, and the Schoolmaſter *Reinier Jooſten*, who were both of them hanged, together with a Miniſter of another town, one *Quirine de Palme*, who had imagined himſelf ſafer there than in his own town.

[1] Koolhaes *ſhort Relation.*
[2] Bor. Lib. VII. *p.* 50.
[3] *From the Relation of the Miniſters againſt* Koolhaes *p.* 6.
[4] Uitenbog. *p.* 166.

Such

An° Dom. 1574.

The Spaniſh *Cruelties make the people deſperate.*

[1] Such cruelties occaſioned them terrible enemies, who endeavoured to repay them in their own coin, eſpecially the *Zeland* Mariners. Theſe people marching into *Holland* for the relief of *Leyden*, wore ſilver Creſcents or Half-moons on their hats, with this inſcription: *Rather* Turks *than* Papiſts; meaning that the *Grand Seignor* offers leſs violence to conſcience, and has more regard to his word, than the Pope. Thus were they inſtigated by a double hatred againſt the infringement of their native Liberties, and againſt compulſive Religion; but they did not conſider how the children of *Chriſtians*, torn from the arms of their parents, are made to imbibe the doctrine of the *Alcoran* in *Turky*.

A Perſecution.

[2] In this year there were about ſixty *Anabaptiſts* condemned by the bloody tribunals of the *Spaniſh* faction, and put to death in ſeveral places. At *Workum* in *Freeſland*, *Henry Spruit*, a Schipper, was ſeized with his ſhip, and owning himſelf an *Anabaptiſt*, they took him, and daubing his body all over with tar, threw him into a tarry Schuit, or Boat, where ſtretching out his arms and faſtening them to both ſides of the veſſel, they then fired it, and directed it ſea-wards; but the poor man having gotten his arms looſe, would have extricated himſelf, if the *Spaniards* obſerving it, had not followed and ſtabbed him.

About this time ſome of the *Reformed* perſuaſion were martyred at *Antwerp* and elſewhere; *viz.* *Gots de Tinnegieter* of *Bois le Duc*, *Jaſper de Metſer* of *Vilvoorde*, *Peter Cotterel* Advocate at *Tournay*, *Nicolas Pluquet* Teacher near *Liſle*, *Peter Tirerguin* an Elder, *James Monceau* a Miniſter, and *Giles de Sor* an Elder of *Antwerp*. *Monceau* was burnt in company with an *Anabaptiſt*, whom he zealouſly exhorted at the point of death to believe and confeſs the incarnation of *Chriſt*. A Monk ſtanding by, called out to the *Anabaptiſt*, *Believe like* Monceau, *and you ſhall be ſaved*. Some of thoſe that were preſent, aſked, *Why then ſhould* Monceau *die?* To which the Monk knew not what to reply. *De Sor* being brought to *Bruſſels*, underwent great tryals and temptations: they pretended they would diſcharge him, and made him believe it; they perſuaded him likewiſe to ſend for his wife, but when ſhe came, conducted by *Robert du Four* of *Tournay*, they murdered the man, his wife, and friend.

"Opsterland in Friesland in the Sevenwouden.

The Homſter *Peace concluded between certain of the* Freeſland *and* Flemiſh Anabaptiſts.

In this ſame year, after a conference held between ſome of the *Freeſland* and *Flemiſh Anabaptiſts*, inhabitants of a part of the province of *Groningen*, called "*Homſterland*, there was a peace or accommodation made upon certain trivial conditions, which has been ſince named the *Homſter* peace. Moſt of the *Freeſlanders* weary of the ſchiſm, looked upon this with pleaſure, ſilently waiting to ſee how others would underſtand it: But moſt of the *Flemings* deſpiſed and oppoſed it; inſomuch, that it laſted ſcarce four years.

After the relief of *Leyden*, the Miniſter, *Jaſper Koolhaes*, who had been called to that town by the Magiſtrates ſome months before, but was excluded by the ſiege, went and accepted his call. It was the ſame perſon that about nine years before, had aſſiſted with great temper, in introducing the *Reformation* at *Deventer*; and had afterwards been a preacher of the Goſpel at *Eſſen* in the *Palatinate*, and at *Gorkum*. This Miniſter, aſſiſting at the late Synod holden at *Dort*, had oppoſed certain Propoſitions, which, as he thought, ſavoured too much of the ſpirit of *Popery*. However, when he was ſettled at *Leyden*, he joyned with his Colleagues in all their opinions, as far as he thought it lawful. *Chriſtmas*-day fell this year upon a *Sunday*, upon which day the *Leyden* Miniſters agreed to preach; but on the ſecond and third holy-days, they refuſed, with deſign to aboliſh thoſe feſtivals, as had been reſolved in the ſaid Synod. However, there were ſermons on thoſe days at *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, *Delft*, and the *Hague*. The children were likewiſe baptized at *Leyden*, by ſprinkling, in compliance with the Synod's orders, but there was not a church in *Holland* or *Zeland*, that followed their example.

An Univerſity founded at Leyden.

A little while after, *viz.* on the 8th of *February* of the year 1575, as a reward of the bravery and conſtancy of the ſaid town, a Univerſity was founded there, and the firſt publick Divinity-Lectures were read by the Miniſter *Koolhaes*, and continued by him, till *William Feuguereæus*, who was called to be Profeſſor, arrived from *France*. [3] This Gentleman had publiſhed a little Tract, in the year 1570, in which extolling the Prince of *Orange*, to whom he dedicated it, he ſaid of him, among other things: *That*

[1] Bor. Lib. VII *p.* 41. Hooft, Lib. IX. *p.* 367.
[2] *Hiſt. of* Anab. *Mart.* p. 729, &c. Hiſt. van Meteren, f. 99.
[3] Meur. Athen. Bat. Lib. II. *p.* 250. Uitenb. *p.* 177. E. Præf. op. Feuguer.

That in propagating the Reformed *Religion, he did not make uſe of all kind of men, nor all kind of means. He believed,* he ſaid, *that religion ought to be planted, and cultivated too, but not by ſuch methods as are deſtructive both to the country and to religion it ſelf; being convinced,* **that men in that caſe may be led, but not driven.** An° Dom° 1574.

'Among the firſt profeſſors of Divinity in this city, was *Johannes Holmannus Secundus*, who in the buſineſs of *Predeſtination* was of the opinion of *Melanchon*: He was recommended to the Univerſity by the famous *Theodore Beza*, who thought that *Melanchon*'s Divinity was the fitteſt and the moſt edifying for this nation. It is related of this Profeſſor, that in a publick diſputation againſt *Donellus*, who maintained the opinions of the Church of *Geneva* concerning Predeſtination, he ſaid, *Vos facitis Deum tyrannum & carnificem: You make God both a tyrant and an executioner.* The ſaid *Holmannus* who, in the book which *Meurſius* has left behind him, wherein he gives an account of the Univerſity of *Leyden*, is ſtiled an *Extraordinary Man*, lived till the year 1586; and at his death bequeathed all his books to the library of the ſaid Univerſity, for the uſe of the ſcholars.

On the 11th of *April* a Synod of the *North-Holland* Miniſters was holden at *Alkmaer*, where matters of Doctrine and Church-Government were treated of, and ſome differences among the Clergy compoſed. At this meeting Yonker *Richard Sonoy* was to have been preſent, in order to influence matters by his authority; [2] but being hindered by the expedition to *Barndegat*, he appointed *Philip Corneliſſon*, Burgomaſter of *Alkmaer*, his Deputy.

A Treaty of Peace at Breda.

In the mean time ſome overtures of peace were made between the *Spaniards* and the *Hollanders*, at *Breda*. On the part of the States it was deſired, that the King would withdraw his *Spaniſh* forces; and as for the buſineſs of Religion, and whatever elſe was in diſpute, it was offered to be ſubmitted to the deciſion of the States of the whole *Netherlands*. [3] *Reid* acquaints us, that *Elbertus Leoninus*, one of the Deputies of the *Spaniſh* ſide, propoſed that the King ſhould tolerate both Religions, provided all the *Popiſh* churches were reſtored; and that there ſhould be a ceſſation of arms or truce, for four or five years, to the end that in the mean time the differences of religion might be accommodated by a meeting of the States-General: He adds, that the Prince and the States of *Holland* were inclined to both thoſe propoſals. But when it came to the point, the *Spaniards* would only allow the *Proteſtants* time to diſpoſe of their effects, and to leave the nation. It was, ſaid they, the moſt unreaſonable thing in the world, to attempt to deprive ſo great a Monarch of the power of ordering matters of Religion according to his own good pleaſure, ſince every little Prince in *Germany* aſſumed ſuch an authority to himſelf. The *Netherlanders*, they ſaid, had nothing but kindneſs and favour to expect from his Majeſty, provided they would firſt deliver up the towns, forts and ſhips they had ſeized upon.

Theſe conditions were looked upon to be more intolerable than the war; and it was agreed, that being urged by the utmoſt neceſſity, relief was to be ſought by arms. Upon this reſolution, the States appointed the Prince of *Orange* to have the ſupreme direction of all affairs during the war, to the end that he might defend the liberties, privileges, and laudable uſages of the land, as alſo the legal Magiſtrates and Officers.

What Authority was claimed by the States of Holland *in Church-Affairs.*

They particularly charged him with reſpect to religious matters: **That he ſhould not allow of any** Conſiſtories **or** Church-Aſſemblies, **but with the approbation, nomination, and appointment of the Senates of the reſpective towns or the States of the land.—That he ſhould maintain the exerciſe of the** Reformed Evangelical **Religion, putting a ſtop to that of the** Romiſh, **and appoint for the promoting of the aforeſaid** Reformed **Religion, three or four proper perſons, as General Commiſſioners for religious affairs, to take care of the qualifications and fitneſs of the Miniſters, and to provide for their maintenance, without ſuffering an** Inquiſition **into the opinions and conſciences of people, or that any one ſhould be moleſted and injured on that account; and that he ſhould with the advice of thoſe Commiſſioners, make ſuch good orders and regulations, concerning the exerciſe of Religion, as, according to the different ſituation of affairs, might be found to contribute moſt towards the publick tranquility, and to be conſiſtent with the honour of God.** And laſtly, **in caſe of need, that he ſhould conſult with the States themſelves in theſe matters.**

[1] P. Bert. Orat. in obit. Armin. Bor. Lib. VIII. p. 103.

[2] Bor. Lib. VIII. 58. Hooft, Lib. X. *p.* 401. Grot. Annal. Lib. II. *p.* 44.

[3] Reid. Lib. I. *p.* 16.

An° Dom. 1574.

From all which it may be obſerved what power and authority the States aſſumed to themſelves in the direction of eccleſiaſtical affairs; [1] and particularly that the Conſiſtories were obnoxious to them, becauſe they ſeemed to be calculated, as ſome thought, for regulating Church-matters, excluſively of the Civil Powers, and for oppoſing other Sects; and it is believed, that this was the only reaſon why Conſiſtories were ſo much diſreliſhed by the States, that they were very near taking a ſolemn reſolution of aboliſhing them all at once. For even at that time there wanted not people who inſtead of approving of Conſiſtories (or Aſſemblies compoſed of Miniſters Elders and Deacons, for governing Church-affairs) were rather deſirous of confining the Miniſters only to preaching, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, admitting every one to the Lord's Table upon his own credible profeſſion, and leaving to the Magiſtrates the power of putting in and turning out the Miniſters, and of governing the Church in all other matters as they ſhould think beſt and moſt proper. This they judged would tend to the preſervation of liberty of conſcience. They likewiſe affirmed, that this deſign of the Clergy was nothing but a *New Monkery*, whereby in time they would ride the Civil Government again, as was done in the times of *Popery*. [2] There were alſo ſome Miniſters who already began to ſhew very little reſpect to higher powers, ſome of them in the beginning of the war calling the Lords the *States*, the Lords the *Stakes*, publickly in their pulpits, becauſe they thought them too ſtiff, or not pliable enough to their humours.

Their Averſion to Conſiſtories.

Cruelties of the Spaniards *at* Oudewater.

In this ſituation of affairs, the *Spaniards* recovered *Buren*, *Oudewater*, *Schoonhoven*, and *Krimpen*. At *Oudewater*, which was taken by ſtorm, there was a moſt dreadful ſlaughter of the inhabitants, in which neither women nor virgins were ſpared. [3] Among the reſt who left their lives in that place, were the mother, the ſiſter, two brothers, and other relations of *James Hermanſon*, ſince ſo well known by the name of *Arminius*, then a ſtudent at the Univerſity of *Marpurg*, under his countryman *Rudolfus Snellius*. The Miniſter *Johannes Gelaſius*, after having ſeen his ſon murdered before his eyes, and his wife wounded in ſeveral places, was carried away priſoner unknown, and ranſomed for 500 Gilders; but in the mean while being diſcovered by a Beguine Nun, they hanged him on the Gallows. *Chriſtian de la Cueillerie*, the *French* Miniſter, gave out that he was one *Antony* a ſoldier, and ſo got himſelf redeemed for one hundred Crowns.

[4] At *Schoonhoven* the Paſtor, *Peter Janſon Uitenbogaert*, eſcaped out of the *Spaniards* hands after a wonderful manner, and was afterwards called to *Delft*, where he faithfully ſerved the Church ſeveral years till he died.

There were this year at *Antwerp* and *Bruſſels*, two men, two women, and two maidens, all *Anabaptiſts*, put to death for Religion.

Certain Anabaptiſts *retire to* England.

Some of this ſect retired from *Flanders* into *England*, thinking to enjoy the freedom of their opinions under Queen *Elizabeth*, but ſoon found their miſtake, being obliged to fly to *Holland* and *Zeland*, there having ariſen a ſtorm againſt them in that nation, of which we ſhall here give ſome account. Their meetings were diſturbed, ſome of them were impriſoned, five were prevailed upon, after many debates and menaces of death, to embrace the *Reformed* Religion, notwithſtanding which, they were obliged to do penance at St. *Paul*'s, each of them bearing a faggot on his ſhoulder, as a ſign that he deſerved to be burnt for a Heretick. Fourteen women were put on ſhipboard, a boy was whipped at the cart's tail, and all of them baniſhed upon pain of death if they returned. Five other men were kept in a deep ſtinking dungeon, where one of them ended his days. The Miniſters of the *Dutch* and *French* Churches in *London* endeavoured to bring over the reſt of them to their perſuaſion. The Biſhop of that city preſſed them very hard to ſign the four following Articles: I. *That they ſhould renounce their own opinions, and confeſs that the Devil had led them into them; and with heart and tongue believe and own that* Chriſt *had aſſumed his fleſh and blood, from the ſubſtance of the fleſh and blood of the Virgin* Mary. II. *That young children ought to be baptized.* III. *That a* Chriſtian *may diſcharge the office of a Magiſtrate. And* IV. *that a* Chriſtian *may take an oath.* But they continued to reject them all, gave their reaſons in writing, and petitioned the Queen that they might be releaſed. But ſhe was ſo incenſed againſt them by the inſtigation of hot men, that ſhe refuſed to

They are ill treated.

2 receive

[1] Vid. Epiſt. Clar. Viror. ab Heinſ. edit. *p.* 756. Hooft, Lib. XII. *p.* 495.
[2] Grot. Apol. Lib. IX. *p.* 95.
[3] Bor. Lib. VIII. *p.* 121. Hooft, Lib. X. *p.* 424. Bert. Orat. in ob. Armin. *p.* 3.
[4] *Pref. to the Life of* Uitenb *p. b.* iv.

receive their petition, believing that they denied *God* and *Chriſt*, that they rejected all Government as impious, and propagated ſeditious and rebellious doctrines. The Biſhop alſo (as *James de Somere*, a Member of the *Reformed* Church, and afterwards Penſionary of the City of *Gant*, writ to his mother from *London*) publiſhed by her Majeſty's directions, certain Articles or Poſitions, among which was one: **That a Chriſtian Government may puniſh Hereticks with death.** And all foreigners were required to ſign theſe Articles, or elſe to give ſecurity that they would appear when ſummoned, in order to be examined, and upon conviction, puniſhed according to their demerits. Moſt of the foreigners ſubſcribed. [1] At laſt, on the 22d of *July*, the two oldeſt of the priſoners, viz. *John Peterſon* and *Henry Terwoordt* (notwithſtanding great application was made for pardon by many of the moſt diſcreet, godly, and learned of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* nations) were executed in *Smithfield*, (a place where the *Reformed* uſed to be treated in the like manner) being both of them burnt to aſhes at the ſame ſtake, without Gunpowder or ſtrangling. They died with great terror, ſhreeks, and groans. [2] It is reported of one of them, that he cried out: *I acknowledge that* Jeſus *is the* Chriſt, *God and Man, and born of* Mary, *according to the fleſh*; or ſomewhat to this purpoſe; inſomuch, that had he not been almoſt conſumed, they would have ſaved his life. The eldeſt, *John Peterſon*, was a poor man, of fifty years, with nine children: his firſt wife had been burnt at *Gant* for her religion, and he was now married to another woman, whoſe firſt huſband was likewiſe burnt on the ſame account. Theſe things had been fully repreſented to the Biſhop, and the man had petitioned for leave to depart with his wife and children, but all in vain. [3] This ſeverity, which was not the firſt that had been practiſed in *England* ſince the *Reformation*, appeared to many *Proteſtants*, who were ſtill under the Croſs in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, both ſtrange and incredible. [4] They lamented that thoſe, who not long before had been perſecuted themſelves, were now harraſſing others for the ſake of their religion, and offering violence with fire and ſword to the conſciences of other men, though they had before taught, and that with great truth, *that it did not belong to any mortal man to lord it over the conſciences of others: that faith was the gift of God, and not to be implanted in the minds of men by any external force, but by the word of God, and illumination of the Holy Spirit. That Hereſy too was not a carnal, but ſpiritual crime, and to be puniſhed by God alone. That error and falſhood was not to be overcome with violence, but with truth. That the obligation which the children of God lie under, is not to put others to death for the faith, but to die themſelves, in bearing witneſs to the truth. Laſtly, that the ſhedding of blood for the ſake of Religion is a mark of* **Antichriſt**, *who thereby ſets himſelf in the judgment-ſeat of God, aſſuming to himſelf the dominion over conſcience, which belongs to none but God only.* The other two *Anabaptiſts* after having lain ſome time in priſon, were releaſed: the reſt, who were obliged to leave the nation, retiring to *Holland* and *Zeland*, found there a ſure azylum of unfortunate exiles, and the free exerciſe of their religion.

An° Dom. 1574.

Two Low-Country Anabaptiſts *burnt at* London.

[5] There happened ſomething in *North-Holland* about this time, which will appear a bloody ſpot in our hiſtory: Divers *Popiſh* houſekeepers were at the inſtigation of *Sonoy*, very inhumanly treated by an extraordinary Tribunal or Court of Judicature, in order to diſcover a ſuppoſed plot, upon the forced and improbable evidence of certain felons, who all of them recanted their accuſation at the point of death. One of the ſaid *Papiſts*, named *Koppe Corneliſon*, was tortured to death, his ſon *Nanning* was ſtretched on the rack two or three and twenty times, with new invented cruelties, notwithſtanding he atteſted his innocency every time he was taken down; and at laſt was quartered, his heart being torn out of his body. A little before his death, when he ought to have been allowed ſome time to think of heaven, and the condition of his ſoul, the Judges gave him ſweet wine, to confound his ſpeech and underſtanding, which he through faintneſs and thirſt greedily ſwallowed; however, it did not ſo far deprive him of ſenſe, but that when he mounted the ſcaffold, he again declared his innocence. But the Miniſter, *Jurian Eppeſon*, under pretence of ſtrengthening him with arguments from ſcripture, interrupted him with noiſe and clamour; reproving him for denying the crime, and affirming that he had owned it before. Upon which the Patient cited him to appear before the tribunal of God within three

Cruelties againſt the Papiſts *in* North Holland.

[1] *Hiſt of* Anab. *Mart.* p. 749. vid. *Chron. of* England, Edm. Holm, *p.* 678; *printed by* Dawſon, 1615.
[2] Gaſp. Grevinkhov. *of the Liberty of the Sects*, p. 23.
[3] A. U. Korput's *Divine Tribunal*, Part I. p. 160.
[4] *See* de Somere's *Letter in the Hiſt. of* Anab. *Mart.* p. 764.
[5] Bor. Lib. VIII. *p.* 106. Hooft, Lib. X. *p.* 412. Vel. *Chron. of* Horn. Lib. IV. *p.* 247.

An° Dom. 1576. days, or as others ſay, within four or five. The ſaid Miniſter returned home after the execution of *Nanning*, much troubled in his mind, continually complaining of the ſummons given him, and taking his bed, became a corpſe within the time limited. In like manner *Peter Nanningſon* was moſt cruelly tortured no leſs than four or five and twenty times upon the rack; and after him *John Jeromſon* and *Peter Ellertſon*, both of them *Popiſh* Burghers of *Horn*, were apprehended upon the extorted confeſſion of *Nanning*, and being carried to priſon, the latter of them was racked four times in two days.

[1] But the Prince of *Orange* being informed of the whole affair by the Magiſtrates of the town, who carried their complaints to him, as being the Stadtholder of the province, put a ſtop to the progreſs of the Court abovementioned, which had already drawn upon it ſelf the nick-name of the *Bloody Tribunal*; and ſome time after, the Court of *Holland* ordered the priſoners to be releaſed from the houſe of *Scagen*, whither they had been ſent, and to be removed to *Delft*, where they were ſet at liberty upon giving bail for their appearance. This procured the Prince no ſmall honour: *It was he*, ſaid the people, *who had blunted the ſharpneſs of* Sonoy, *and expoſed the ſhamefulneſs of his tribunal; embracing with fatherly tenderneſs and impartial juſtice, all good men of what perſwaſion ſoever.* And indeed the affection of all the people was highly neceſſary at this juncture, in order to bear up againſt the *Spaniſh* violences which daily increaſed. They endeavoured to divide *Zeland* from *Holland*, and had gotten footing in the iſland of *Schouwen*. *Brouwerſhaven* and *Bommenee* were taken, and *Zierickſee* beſieged. Hereupon the States found themſelves obliged to look abroad for help. [2] The Prince of *Orange*, who had married for ſecond wife the daughter of the Elector of *Saxony*, a perſon of a very diſorderly life, and had divorced her for adultery, and was again engaged in the ſtate of matrimony with *Charlotte* of *Bourbon*, daughter of the Duke of *Montpenſier*, a lady of the blood royal of *France*, was inclined to ſeek for ſuccour from that nation; but Queen *Elizabeth* endeavoured to draw him from *France*, firſt by means of *Daniel Rogers*, and afterwards by *John Haſtings*. But *Peter Viners* the *French* preacher, who had gained much credit with the Prince, was very averſe to the *Engliſh*, ſaying and writing, [3] that the Queen had not one General to whom ſhe could intruſt an army, excepting the Earl of *Suſſex*, who was no great friend to the *Proteſtant* intereſt. [4] He likewiſe endeavoured to make it be believed, as it had been ſuggeſted to him by the Admiral *Coligny*, that if once the *Engliſh* ſet foot in the *Low-Countries*, they would revive their ancient hatred againſt the *French*.

Nevertheleſs, the troubles and civil war in *France*, forced him to turn his thoughts towards *England*; and in the beginning of the year 1576, the ſovereignty of *Holland* and *Zeland* was tendered to the Queen. [5] At firſt ſhe returned no favourable anſwer to the Ambaſſadors ſent upon this errand, who were *Philip de Marnix*, Lord of *Aldegonde*, *Paul Buis*, and *Francis Malſon*, telling them one time, among other things: [6] *that the* Dutch *were to blame, to occaſion ſo much miſery to their country on account of the Maſs. They ought not to have ſet themſelves ſo obſtinately againſt their King for the ſake of that. As long as he did not force them to believe in the Maſs, they had nothing elſe to do, but to conſider it only as a Puppet-ſhow. And ſuppoſe*, ſaid ſhe, (being at that time cloathed in white) *that I ſhould act a Play in this dreſs, would you think it a ſin to look on?*

But fearing however, that they would have recourſe to the *French*, ſhe at laſt gave the Ambaſſadors good words, and leave to carry out men and arms for their money.

Soon after died Don *Lewis*, and the management of affairs was intruſted to the Council of State.

A ſtricter Union between Holland *and* Zeland. At the ſame time *Holland* and *Zeland* made a ſtricter alliance with each other: [7] *by which the Prince of* Orange *was not only authorized to put a ſtop to the exerciſe of the* Popiſh *Religion, but alſo of all other perſwaſions and opinions inconſiſtent with the Goſpel; yet without ſuffering any inquiry into the faith of others: and to make ſuch other regulations and diſpoſitions in religious matters as he ſhould find requiſite, and in caſe of need, to take with him the advice of the States.*

[1] Bor. Lib. VIII. *p.* 116. Hooft, *p.* 419.
[2] Hooft, Lib. IV. *p.* 153. —— Lib. XII. *p.* 520. A. Korput's *Relation of* Peucer, *p.* 770.
[3] Cambd. Annal. *p.* 253.
[4] Thuan. Lib. LIII. *p.* 1072.
[5] Bor. Lib. VIII. *p.* 132.
[6] Reid. Lib. VI. *p.* 178. Hooft's Henry *the Great*, p. 104.
[7] Bor. Lib. IX. *p.* 140. Uitenbog. *p.* 132.

After

After this, *Zierickſee* was obliged to ſurrender to the *Spaniards*; upon the loſs of which there aroſe great differences with the *Engliſh*, which had like to have broken out into an open war, and ſo diſtreſſed the Prince, that he propoſed to fill the ſhips with all the men, women and children who had the liberty of their country at heart, and with the beſt of their moveables; then to burn all the Mills, to break down all the Dykes and Dams, and to lay the whole country under water; to the end, that as ſeveral nations of old had practiſed, they might poſſeſs themſelves of ſome other corner of the world, and paſs their lives in it, free from the ſlavery either of body or mind: But he was ſoon delivered from this diſtreſs by the mutiny of the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers in the iſland of *Schouwen*; which they abandoned, and, joyning with other diſcontented perſons, committed ſo great inſolencies in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, that the Council of State declared them Traytors and Enemies to the King. This gave the Prince an opportunity to make one in the quarrel, and to offer his help and ſervice to the people of *Brabant* againſt the *Spaniards*. He writ to them accordingly, and aſſured them, *That neither he, nor the people of* Holland, *would introduce any alteration in Religion againſt the will of the other provinces of the* Low-Countries, *nor attempt any thing elſe that might infringe the Rights of others, ſince he and the States of* Holland *had only taken up arms for defence of their juſt and lawful Liberties.* In like manner, the States of *Holland* writ ſeveral letters to the ſame purpoſe to thoſe of *Utrecht*, aſſuring them, *That they would not introduce any change in their Religion, ancient Cuſtoms and Privileges.*

An° Dom. 1576.

The likelihood of a rupture between England *and* Holland, *occaſions a* deſperate propoſal *of the Prince of* Orange.

Offers made by the Prince to the States of Brabant.

Offers made to thoſe of Utrecht.

[1] About this time, the Magiſtrates of the town of *Horn* called one *Bartoldus* to the ſervice of the Church in that place, againſt the mind of the *Claſſis* and the other Miniſters. After he had preached ſeveral times, the Miniſters of *Delft* inſiſted, that the Prince ſhould interpoſe, and ſummon *Bartoldus*, with others that had concerned themſelves in the matter, to that place, in order to his taking cognizance of it, and referring it to ſome proper arbitrators. But the Heer *van Aldegonde* happening to be then at *Delft*, diſſwaded them from proceeding in that manner. He adviſed them firſt to make uſe of ſofter methods, by preſenting a Memorial to the aforeſaid Magiſtrates, who he thought might be much ſooner brought to their duty by reaſon and civil treatment, than by interpoſing the authority of the Prince, which perhaps they would oppoſe out of diſdain and anger. He was of opinion, that this was the beſt method in that juncture of affairs, becauſe if any difference, though never ſo ſmall, had ariſen by the reſiſtance they might have met with from thoſe of *Horn*, it would have tended very much to the diminution of the Prince's authority, as well as to the weakning of that Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline which they endeavoured to ſtrengthen and eſtabliſh by thoſe methods; *for you know* (ſays he, in a letter to the Heer *Adrian vander Myle*) *how odious the name of a* Conſiſtory, *and of a* Claſſis, *and almoſt of* Religion *it ſelf, is.* [2] There is likewiſe another letter which the ſaid Heer *van Aldegonde* writ ſome months afterwards to the Miniſter *Jaſper vander Heyden*, to the following purpoſe:

A diſpute between the Magiſtrates *of* Horn *and the* Claſſis, *about the calling of a Miniſter.*

I Underſtand by your letter, my deareſt brother, that you are embarraſſed about the buſineſs of Bartoldus; *what I have done in that matter, and what Mr.* Taffin *has approved, is ſufficiently known. What you aim at only is, that the ſcandal which has been given, ſhould be taken away by a publick recantation: God grant you may obtain it! But what if he ſhould refuſe to give ſuch ſasisfaction, and ſhould rather chuſe to abſtain from his miniſtry? Perhaps you may think, that it would be for the advantage of the Church. But how will the Magiſtrates behave in the mean while? Or do you imagine, that all offence will be removed, as ſoon as he has laid down his miniſtry? In truth, I fear it will rather kindle a new fire, by the flames of which no ſmall part of the Church may be conſumed. I am ſure that moſt of the Magiſtrates and a great part of the States are highly averſe to this diſcipline of yours. This might be obviated without much difficulty, and by moderation and forbearance turned to the great advantage of the Church, for which I think we ought more eſpecially to labour; for ſince this ſevere rule is not ſo plainly and diſtinctly preſcribed in the word of God, I cannot ſee why there may not be ſome more conceſſion or yeilding ſometimes practiſed, according to the circumſtances of affairs, and with the wiſe approbation of the Officers*

[1] Ph. Marnix. Epiſt. ad A. Myl. in Ep. Sel. Cent. II. *p.* 711--12.

[2] Epiſt. Select. Cent. II. *p.* 753.

An° Dom. 1577. *of the Church, unleſs you'll pretend it is ſufficient yielding, to draw the ſtring tighter, which till now has been too ſlack. I know that* Bartoldus *has done amiſs, and I ſhall teſtifie as much in a publick manner if he does not confeſs it; but I ſee too, that you, with great danger to the Church, inſiſt upon his doing that, from which you might releaſe him without any prejudice, eſpecially ſince he has acknowledged his fault under his hand in the preſence of the Magiſtrates and the whole Conſiſtory, and begged pardon for it. I do not however pretend, that my opinion ſhould prevail in this matter: follow that of the Church. I will take care that no obſtacles ſhall be thrown in your way on my part. As for what you deſired of me, that I ſhould diſcourſe with the Heer* vander Mylen *and other godly perſons about this, I have already done it, and find that the ſentiments of the moſt prudent and moderate men do all concur with mine. Nevertheleſs, if more can be obtained, without hurt to the Church, I ſhall be very glad of it.*

The ſequel and event of this difference with the ſaid *Bartoldus* does not appear; only we find by what is recorded of the proceedings of the *North-Holland* Synods holden at *Horn* and *Alkmaer* in the years 1584 and 1587, that he continued in his miniſtry, *Bartoldus Wilhelmus*, Miniſter of *Horn*, being there mentioned, as having a place and vote in the ſaid Synods; but ſome years after we find him ſtiled Miniſter of *Beverwiik*.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws *drawn up and publiſhed in the name of the Prince of* Orange *and the States of* Holland.

In the ſaid year 1577, there were certain Canons or Church Laws drawn up and publiſhed in the name of the Prince of *Orange* as Stadtholder, and of the States of *Holland* and *Zeland* and their Confederates, from which we may be informed of their ſentiments and views in Eccleſiaſtical matters. Thoſe Laws were of the following tenor:

WE William Prince of Orange, by the authority of the invincible King Philip of Spain, Governour of Holland, Zeland, Freeſland, and of the province of Utrecht; and we the States of Holland and Zeland, with our Allies, having nothing more at heart (as it is but reaſonable) than that the doctrine of the Holy Goſpel may be propagated in its utmoſt purity in the towns and other places of our juriſdiction, have thought fit, after mature deliberation, to make the following Rules, which we will and require to be inviolably obſerved; and we have judged it neceſſary, that the ſaid Rules ſhould chiefly relate to the adminiſtration of Church government, of which there are to be found in Holy Scripture four principal kinds, to wit, 1. That of Paſtors, who are likewiſe ſtiled Biſhops, Preſbyters and Miniſters, in the Word of God, and whoſe office chiefly conſiſts in teaching the ſaid Word, and in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments. 2. That of Doctors, to whoſe office is now ſubſtituted that of Profeſſors of Divinity. 3. Of Elders, the main of whoſe buſineſs was to watch over mens morals, and to bring tranſgreſſors again into the right way by friendly admonitions. And, 4. Of Deacons, who had the care of the poor and ſick.

I.

Concerning Miniſters.

The Magiſtrates of every chief town, ſhall, upon the information, and with the advice of the Miniſters, chuſe Miniſters for their own town, and for all other places under their juriſdiction.

II.

To thoſe towns of which we are poſſeſſed, or ſuch others as ſhall hereafter embrace our ſide, Miniſters ſhall be ſent from elſewhere, till ſuch time as the Magiſtrates of the ſaid towns (being qualified by proper oaths) do take upon themſelves the protection of the Reformed Religion.

III.

The Magiſtrates of the leſſer towns that have declared for us, ſhall have a right to chuſe their own Miniſters, till their capital cities have likewiſe acceded to us.

IV.

No perſon ſhall preſume to intrude into the Reverend and Holy Office of a Miniſter, untill he be choſen, called or ſent, unleſs he has a mind to be rejected with ſhame, or even reproachfully puniſhed, according as the caſe ſhall require.

V. An° Dom. 1577.

Every elected Miniſter of a city or town ſhall be examined before the Elders, whether he be endowed with ſufficient learning, eloquence, and above all, whether he be of ſuch an upright and pious converſation as becomes that holy Office.

VI.

Being thus qualified, he ſhall be preſented to the Magiſtrate for his approbation, in order to his preaching to the people.

VII.

But before any perſon be admitted into the pulpit, his name ſhall be publiſhed from thence three ſundays ſucceſſively, to the end, that if any man has ought to object againſt him, or can ſhew any cauſe why he ſhould not be admitted, he may have time to do it.

VIII.

In caſe no body oppoſes his admiſſion, or cannot alledge ſufficient reaſons againſt him, he muſt make a promiſe in the following form, and confirm the ſame with an oath, in the preſence of the Magiſtrates, before his introduction.

An oath to be required of Miniſters.

I Swear by the almighty God, and by our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, that I will bear true allegiance to the King of *Spain*——to the Prince of *Orange*, his Stadtholder in theſe Provinces —— and likewiſe to the Magiſtrates of this place; in all things not contrary to the will of God, or the obligations of my office; and that I will endeavour, to the beſt of my power, that the people under my care ſhall behave themſelves dutifully and quietly: Moreover, I ſwear, that I will preach and teach the word of God after the pureſt manner, and with the greateſt diligence, to the end it may bring forth much fruit in this congregation committed to my charge; and that I will not labour to wreſt the ſaid word according to my own paſſions or affections, nor thoſe of any others, but expound it with the utmoſt integrity, conſulting only the honour of God, and the good of the people. Laſtly, that I will do all things with that ſincerity which becomes a true and faithful ſhepherd, and with which he ought to act; neither will I forſake this miniſtry on account of any advantage or diſadvantage.

IX.

At his confirmation, one of the other Miniſters ſhall make a diſcourſe concerning the ſacred function; after which prayers ſhall be made, that God would vouchſafe ſtrength to the new Preacher for the due diſcharge of his office; and this we think ſufficient, ſeeing, that the ancient ceremonies are degenerated into abominable ſuperſtitions.

X.

The Preachers of every chief town, and of the places thereunto belonging, ſhall meet every fortnight in the ſaid chief town, and confer about religion, to the end that their doctrines may be pure and uniform.

Of the meetings of Miniſters.

XI.

In caſe any of the Miniſters ſhould not appear (not having a juſt cauſe of abſenting themſelves) it ſhall be a note of infamy on them; and if they obſtinately perſiſt in keeping away, they ſhall be compelled to come in a proper manner.

XII.

And to the end that it may be known how diligent every man is in his ſtudies, the Miniſters, when they come together, ſhall, each in his turn, expound ſome text in holy writ, which the reſt ſhall be free to contravert, in caſe any thing wrong be maintained.

XIII.

If any diſpute about doctrines ariſe among them, the other Miniſters ſhall endeavour to compoſe the ſame; and if the matter require it, they may likewiſe call in the Elders to their aſſiſtance; but if they cannot agree even then, the buſineſs ſhall be laid before the Magiſtrates, whoſe care it muſt be, that the ſame be duly accommodated.

Of determining diſputes among Miniſters.

XIV.

A Miniſter, convicted of any immoral or diſhoneſt action, and degraded from his office for the ſame, ſhall be puniſhed according to the laws of the land.

Of the Miſdemeanours *of* Clergymen.

An° Dom. 1577.

XV.

A person accusing a Minister, and not able to make good the charge against him, shall undergo the punishment due to the calumny.

XVI.

Those misdemeanors of Clergymen, to which the law has annexed no punishment, and which yet may occasion scandal, such, for instance, as unusual and unjustifiable expositions of the scripture; curious enquiries into vain questions; the introduction of any novelties among the people; neglect of their studies; too gentle reproofs for faults; buffoonish behaviour; lying; slandering; lascivious and wanton discourse; knavish practices; avarice; immoderate anger in disputations or in reproofs; want of charity for those of different opinions; extravagancy in cloaths, in behaviour, and other things with regard to the way of living, and the like: If they be accused and found guilty of any of these matters, the Elders shall give notice thereof to the Magistrates, and at the same time declare how they ought to be dealt with, provided that the last resort be in the magistracy.

XVII.

In smaller faults, which may not deserve more than a simple admonition, the methods prescribed by Christ shall be put in practice, so that at the last the matter shall be laid before the Rulers of the church.

XVIII.

And to the end that all Ministers, as well those of capital towns as of other places belonging thereunto, may reform the defects and abuses of their respective assemblies, as far as possible, they shall make a strict enquiry into them every three months; and if they can discover any thing amiss, they shall timely apply the proper remedies against them.

XIX.

Of the Visitation *of* Parishes. Two of the Elders of every capital town, and one or two of the Ministers, shall make a yearly circuit through the country which depends on the same, to inform themselves how the Ministers of every place behave; and in case they find any thing amiss in any of them, they shall render an account of it to the Magistrates of the said chief town, to the end that it may be seasonably redressed, as occasion requires.

XX.

The same persons, and particularly one of the Ministers shall exhort the people in a sermon, diligently to repair to divine service, and to order their lives according to the commandments of God.

XXI.

Of Preaching. The Magistrates of every place shall, by the advice of the Ministers, give directions, when and how often sermons are to be there preached; so as that in all publick places there may be a sermon three times a week at least; and in the afternoon of sundays the Heidelberg Catechism shall be expounded in all churches.

XXII.

Of Baptism. Baptism shall be administred by none but a Minister, and it shall be done according to the form annexed to the catechism, and not till after sermon; and whenever children are brought to be baptized, none of them shall be rejected.

XXIII.

It is pious and praise-worthy for the fathers themselves to bring their children to be baptized; but if they neglect it, baptism shall not therefore be refused.

XXIV.

People shall not be obliged to bring witnesses to the baptism of their children, but every one then present shall be allowed to be a witness.

XXV.

The names of such as are baptized, and of the parents, shall be entered on a publick register.

XXVI.

If any that are weak in the faith should desire that their children being sick might be baptized at home, they shall be indulged in that matter, provided, that if possible some godly persons be admitted to be present.

XXVII.

Of the Lord's Supper. The sacrament of the Lord's supper shall be celebrated four times yearly; to wit, on Easter and Whitsunday, on the first sunday in September, and the sunday after the birth of our Lord.

XXVIII.

An° Dom. 1577.

The Sunday before the celebration of the Lord's supper, the Minister shall give publick notice of it, to the end that such children as are then to be admitted to receive it for the first time, may repair to him, and give an account of the confession of faith according to the catechism; and the said Minister shall at the same time exhort in general all those who perhaps may desire to be more fully instructed, to come likewise to him; and he shall earnestly press every one to examine and try himself, that he may not appear at the Lord's table unworthily, nor eat and drink judgment to himself for want of discerning the Lord's body.

XXIX.

Where the congregation consists of a great number of persons, the Minister shall give each of them the sacrament as he passes by them.

XXX.

Of Marriages.

The Minister shall publish from the pulpit three Sundays following, the names of all affianced persons (of whose right to marriage he is convinced;) and if in the mean time none of the congregation oppose, or object any reasons against the same, he shall confirm the marriage, whether it be on a Sunday, or any other day, when there is a sermon, except sacrament, or publick days of prayer and fasting.

XXXI.

The Magistrates of every place shall decide all matters relating to matrimony, according to the laws which we lately made about the same.

XXXII.

Of visiting the sick.

The Ministers shall not refuse personally to assist and comfort any sick persons, or instruct them.

XXXIII.

The Ministers shall not be obliged to attend sick persons but at proper seasons, and when they are free from other parts of their function.

XXXIV.

Of Burials.

The Magistrates of every town shall give proper orders and directions about the places of interments, and therein have a due regard to health and decency, and especially ward against all occasions of superstition.

XXXV.

Of visiting prisoners.

The Ministers shall not neglect the care of such as are detained in prisons; yet they may not attend them without the leave of the Magistracy.

XXXVI.

Of Professors of Divinity or Doctors.

Whereas Professors of Divinity do now succeed in the place of Doctors or Teathers; we have likewise instituted such in our university of Leyden, after the same manner as the Professors of other arts and sciences; and we shall take care that they form and breed up learned and worthy Pastors, by expounding the holy scriptures purely and truly, according to the rules prescribed to them, which it is not necessary here to rehearse.

XXXVII.

But the Magistrates of every town shall take care to provide godly Schoolmasters for their youth, whose business it shall be to instill into them principles of true religion, as well as learning, and to teach them to sing the usual psalms.

XXXVIII.

Those Schoolmasters that are not of the Reformed Religion, shall by no means be allowed to instruct children.

XXXIX.

Of Elders.

The Magistrates of every place shall chuse from among themselves, more or fewer persons, according to their numbers, good men, and such as are not unexperienced in the business of religion, in order to be assisting to the Pastors in church affairs, and to be present at their meetings, to the end that if any thing should be transacted there, of which the government ought to be informed, they may give an account of it, and do such other things as the law has annexed to their office.

XL.

Of Deacons.

Since all kinds of poor are particularly well provided for in these provinces, so that we do not think there may be occasion lightly to alter any thing, either with regard to the incomes, or to the persons that distribute them; yet however, the Magistrates must take care, that fit and godly Stewards be appointed, who understand

An° Dom. 1577. how to aſſiſt the poor according to their neceſſities: by which means the trade of begging may be prevented, and the poor contained within the bounds of their duty: this will be eaſily brought about as ſoon as an end ſhall be put to our miſeries by peace and publick tranquility, which God, the fountain of all good, grant us as ſoon as poſſible. Amen.

The Reaſons *and* Motives *which induced the Prince and States to draw up thoſe* Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

At the ſame time there were alſo certain Reaſons of the preſcribing theſe Eccleſiaſtical Laws, drawn up in the name of the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, which were very remarkable, and of the following ſubſtance:

'THAT godly Rulers have always appropriated to themſelves a right of making 'Laws about religion, is out of diſpute; and accordingly God was pleaſed to 'give ſuch laws, not by the hands of *Aaron*, but of *Moſes*; and ſo it always continued 'a cuſtom among the people of *Iſrael*, that the ſupream authority, and power of 'thoſe laws, ſhould be veſted in their Judges, Kings and Princes, examples of which 'the books of the Old Teſtament abound with. But at the time of the writing the 'books of the New Teſtament, the Magiſtrates and Rulers were not only ſtrangers 'to the true religion, but very great and implacable enemies of it; inſomuch, that 'men of piety were obliged to keep themſelves apart or ſeparate, and in caſe any re-'gulations were wanting in matters of religion, they made them of their own pri-'vate authority; and in this ſtate they remained for ſome hundreds of years; but 'when the chief Monarch of the world, *Conſtantine*, had embraced the Chriſtian re-'ligion, he himſelf ordained and appointed every thing that was neceſſary towards 'the promoting and ſupporting the ſame, as alſo his ſucceſſors have ſince done for 'many hundreds of years. Hence it is that we find in the firſt book of the *Codex*, 'ſo many long Titles about religion; and in the Novels of *Juſtinian*, not a few In-'ſtitutions as large as books; and *Leo* the Philoſopher, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, (as 'appears by his Novels) followed the ſame method: and, that the reſt of the Empe-'rors continued ſo to do, *Zonaras* teſtifies in *Photij Nomocanonicis*. In the mean while 'the Biſhop of *Rome*, in the *Weſt*, by degrees aſſumed the ſame authority in Spirituals, 'as well as uſurped a Temporal government, thereby becoming the reverſe of what 'he was, and ought to be; which was the cauſe that Chriſtians found themſelves redu-'ced to the ſame ſtreights as they were in during the reigns of the *Heathen* Emperors, 'ſo that they were forced to return to their ſecret aſſemblies on account of the exerciſe of 'their religion, and to provide for themſelves all that was neceſſary to that end. Therefore 'ſince God has given us the grace to throw off the ſlavery of Irreligion and Superſtition; 'and the courage to profeſs the pure Faith, we have thought it our bounden duty to 'frame laws for the government of the church, agreeable to the minds of our people; 'in doing which we have followed the examples of thoſe powers who have openly em-'braced the true religion in this age, who have all of them preſcribed a Rule and Me-'thod, according to which their churches are to be governed. Now that our Paſtors 'and Miniſters at *Dort* have anticipated theſe Methods, and preſcribed ſuch Rules as 'to them ſeemed moſt convenient in church matters, is indeed a laudable argument of 'their care and diligence; but why the ſame have not been received nor approved 'by us, there will appear weighty reaſons when we ſhall have diſcovered thoſe that 'have induced us to make theſe regulations concerning religion.

'Now the reaſon why we have committed to the Civil Magiſtrate the authority of 'chuſing Miniſters (by which we make the *Paſtorſhip* ſubordinate to them, as are all 'other offices) is, becauſe the *Paſtorſhip* is of the nature of thoſe offices that receive 'their ſtipends or wages out of the publick income of thoſe places where they are diſ-'charged; and in caſe any body elſe ſhould have a right of appointing them, it 'would ſo far interfere with the authority of the Civil government, and ſo there would 'be two different Juriſdictions or Magiſtracies in one city or place, which, how 'dangerous it is, we need not uſe many arguments to ſhow; neither is this a new 'thing, ſince all thoſe Princes and States that have been engaged in the Reformation 'of Religion, do appropriate the ſame right to themſelves: and what is more, the 'Emperor *Juſtinian* ordained, that the chief men of the cities ſhould be preſent 'at the election of Biſhops, and ſays, that he ordained it ſo, becauſe the laws had ſo 'directed. But ſome will ſay, there be few among the Magiſtrates that are devoted 'or well affected to religion. Whether there be few, or whether there be many, it is 'much alike, for they have all of them ſolemnly ſworn to defend it; and we have

'taken

'taken ſufficient care that no danger ſhould reſult from thence, by having ordained Anº Domi. 'that the election of Paſtors ſhould always be made with the advice and counſel of 1577. 'the Clergy.

'But the reaſons why we have decreed that the Magiſtrates of every capital town 'ſhall provide all the places under their juriſdiction with Miniſters, are theſe; *firſt*, to 'ſecure to them their ancient privileges; and, *ſecondly*, that unworthy Miniſters may 'not be impoſed on them from other parts. Yet ſince there are many Miniſters in the 'capital towns, we think fit that they be conſulted, and that they recommend to the 'vacant places in the reſpective juriſdictions, to the end that they may be the better 'provided; and in this matter we have thought fit to have no regard to the diſtribu-'tion or nomination of the Miniſters by the Claſſes, ſince that cannot be practiſed 'without the confuſion or interfering of juriſdictions, which is ſo obvious that it wants 'no explanation, eſpecially if more authority ſhould be aſſumed by the Miniſters and 'Elders, in their reſpective offices. And from hence the equity of the *firſt* article of 'our laws ſufficiently appears, as alſo of the *ſecond* and *third*, which depend upon 'the firſt.

'The reaſonableneſs of the *fourth* is very plain; for if thoſe who intrude into any 'kind of office without lawful authority, are not tolerated in ſo doing, much leſs, 'to be ſure, are they to be tolerated who intrude without authority into ſo eminent 'an office; and ſo indeed is it meant by the Synod of *Dort*, only that they ſeem to 'have excepted ſecret meetings, and thoſe of Exiles, but by no means publick con-'gregations, that enjoy full liberty under the Civil government of any country. This 'may ſeem to make our Laws and ſynodical Canons differ conſiderably, but in reality 'they are much the ſame.

'Thoſe of *Geneva* have chiefly had regard in their Eccleſiaſtical laws, to the churches 'which had their own Magiſtrates in the diſtricts to which they belonged, and we 'have juſtly copied after them, ſo that we in a manner agree with each other. There 'are ſome other matters, which the ſituation of our affairs will not admit of yet; 'neither did they at firſt abſolutely decree matters relating to the government of 'churches.

'Whereas in capital cities there muſt be more Miniſters, and thoſe men of greater 'abilities than in other places, they may probably ſuffice for Examinations; and the 'Elders, who by virtue of their office are to aſſiſt at ſuch Examinations, may like-'wiſe give the Magiſtrates an account of all proceedings: and this may ſerve to ex-'plain the *fifth* and *ſixth* articles.

'The *ſeventh* article appeared ſo neceſſary to the Miniſters of the city of *Geneva*, '(men who, whether we conſider their learning or piety, have not their equals) 'that when the practice of it had been for ſome time diſcontinued, they themſelves 'petitioned the Magiſtrates, in the year 1560, that it might be re-eſtabliſhed; pro-'teſting that they did not in the leaſt aim at their own advantage, but rather that they 'and their ſucceſſors might be more reſtrained and limited: and this matter is alſo 'mentioned in the Eccleſiaſtical laws of the ſaid city. And even *Juſtinian* himſelf in 'the preamble to the Canons, approves of the cuſtom of propoſing to the people the 'Biſhop that was to be made, and allowing every one of them to object againſt 'him.

'Scarce any publick offices are entered upon without a previous oath; and ſince 'no office is of ſo great advantage to the community as that of a Miniſter, it is but juſt 'that he ſhould be ſworn by the Magiſtracy; this we mention on account of the '*eighth* article.

'Why the antient Ceremonies uſed in the introducing of Paſtors, are now omitted, 'will plainly appear in the 24th article of the ſynod of *Dort*, which ſolves our '*ninth*.

'It is very juſt and neceſſary that the Preachers of ſo excellent a doctrine, ſhould 'frequently meet to exerciſe and commune with each other: which makes good the '*tenth*, *eleventh*, and *twelfth* articles.

'And why ſhould not the Magiſtrates help to compoſe the differences and quarrels 'among the Miniſters in caſe of need? for though they may not be all favourers of 'Religion, yet they are all ſworn to maintain it; and in caſe there ſhould be any thing 'which they do not underſtand, they may lay the caſe before us; and in this the '*thirteenth* article conſiſts.

An° Dom. 1577. ‘ The reproof of Immorality chiefly belongs to the Clergy, therefore they are ‘ obliged to take great care that the manners of their people be pure and blame- ‘ leſs: and ſince the eyes of the world are fixed upon them more than upon any ‘ others, their faults will become examples, and are upon that account worthy of ſeverer ‘ puniſhment; and for this reaſon none ſhall diveſt the Magiſtrate of the authority of ‘ puniſhing them; in which the equity of the *five* following articles chiefly conſiſts.

‘ The uſe and benefit of the *nineteenth* and *twentieth* articles is as clear as the ſun ‘ at noon.

‘ The Magiſtrates of every place are the fitteſt perſons, with the advice of the ‘ Miniſters, to order all matters relating to preaching, ſince they cannot be ignorant ‘ of the wants of the place and people; nevertheleſs care ought to be taken, that there ‘ be as little diſagreement as poſſible with other places; and this anſwers to the *twenty ‘ firſt* article.

‘ Such is the nature of our Government, that even the *Papiſts*, who on account of ‘ the common cauſe have embraced our ſide, are faithful to us by virtue of ſolemn ‘ promiſes; for which reaſon we ought alſo to have permitted the publick exerciſe ‘ of their religion, were it not that the Prieſts and Fryers, our ſworn enemies, had ‘ inſtigated them to tumults and riots; nay, we tolerate even the *Anabaptiſts* them- ‘ ſelves, being convinced that the orthodoxy of religion is the gift of God, and that ‘ men ought not to be driven to it through the fear of baniſhment, or other puniſh- ‘ ments; but invited and allured with charitable exhortations from the word of ‘ God.

‘ In the mixture of ſeveral religions, we could not avoid ordering ſome things ‘ otherwiſe than perhaps would have been endured in a country where the people ‘ were uniform in religious matters; we would have it underſtood, that it is for this ‘ reaſon that we do not ſuffer Baptiſm to be denied to any; defending our ſelves by ‘ the example of our Saviour, who would not permit them to keep little children ‘ from him; therefore we have juſtly required that baptiſm ſhould not be refuſed on ‘ account of the parents: in which matter if any be contentious, they will be the ‘ occaſion of obliging the *Papiſts* privately to ſend for Maſs-Prieſts from abroad to ba- ‘ ptize their children, and at the ſame time their affections will be alienated from us. ‘ The office of the Paſtor, in theſe confuſions is, after *Paul*'s example, *to become ‘ all things to all men, that he may gain many.*

‘ It may likewiſe ſeem, that we allow of all ſorts of witneſſes in baptiſm; but we ‘ have not been induced to it by any leſs weighty reaſon, than that which induced the ‘ people of *Bern*, in the year 1560, to make the witneſſes of baptiſm common between ‘ them and the *Papiſts*; *viz.* for the preſervation of amity among people of different ‘ perſwaſions. We ſhall therefore think our ſelves at liberty to do the ſame for main- ‘ taining and increaſing unity among thoſe that are thus intermixed. The profeſſed ‘ enemies of all religion might indeed have been excepted under this head, but there ‘ is no danger of their offering themſelves to ſtand as witneſſes at Baptiſm. Beſides, as ‘ to our allowing of private baptiſm at home, this muſt be imputed to the weakneſs ‘ of ſome, allowances for which are ſo much recommended in holy writ. And this may ‘ ſuffice as to baptiſm.

‘ *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide* are in ſuch veneration among Chriſtians, that unleſs we ‘ had permitted the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper to be adminiſtered at thoſe ſea- ‘ ſons, it might have given great offence to the people. The like reſpect is ſhown to ‘ the Nativity of *Chriſt*; but by ordering the adminiſtration of the ſacrament on the ‘ following Sunday, the offence is in a great meaſure taken away. And the reaſon ‘ why we celebrate the ſame but four times a year, is, becauſe we judge that to be ‘ enough at preſent, and becauſe the more frequent uſe of it in former times, has ‘ been the occaſion of deteſtable ſuperſtitions; and thus much for the *twenty ſeventh* ‘ article.

‘ *Chriſt* was pleaſed to ſuffer *Judas*, who he knew would betray him, to partici- ‘ pate of his ſecret Supper; but he did it, as he himſelf teſtifies, that the ſaying of ‘ the Prophet *David* might be fullfilled, *He that hath eaten of my bread, hath lifted ‘ up his heel againſt me*, Pſal. xl. But this was not ſet a pattern to us; becauſe as ‘ *Chriſt* ſays elſewhere; *we ſhould not give holy things to dogs, nor caſt pearls before ‘ ſwine*, Mat. vij. Now as this indeed had its view, ſo neither can our towns nor ‘ many of our villages admit of too much ſtrictneſs in the matter of the ſacrament; ſuch

'as, for inſtance, the Examination of all thoſe that are deſirous to partake of it; the making Confeſſion of faith; the regiſtringand publiſhing of Names; the obliging people to bring Witneſſes with them, and the like; for how many are there among ſuch numbers of people that fail in theſe matters? *Paul* ſeems rather to inſiſt upon the examining ones ſelf, when he ſays in the firſt epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, chap xj. ver. 28. *Let a man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup.* Now if this be not done, are not all the reſt hypocritical actions and grimaces, which have nothing in them of the true preparation for the Lord's Supper? Beſides, the number of our people obliges us to ordain that the Bread and Cup ſhall be given them in paſſing along; which method is not without example, it being likewiſe the practice of thoſe of *Geneva.* An° Dom. 1569.

'Since the proper office of Miniſters is of ſuch a nature, that by reaſon of the manifold labours and occupations that attend it, the whole man is required, we have thought fit to eaſe them of all thoſe burdens which might be born by others; wherefore we have veſted in the Civil Magiſtrate the cognizance of all matrimonial cauſes, which would have occaſioned much trouble to Miniſters, whereas it will add but little to the general buſineſs of Magiſtrates. But to the end there might be rules at hand, whereby to judge of thoſe matters, we have preſcribed certain laws, which we have adapted (as far as our Age and Cuſtoms permit) to the laws of God, and of the Empire. And thus much for the articles relating to matrimonial affairs.

'The laws which relate to viſiting the Sick and Priſoners, together with thoſe that concern Interments, are ſo plain as to want no comment.

'And ſo undoubtedly are thoſe which regard the Doctors or Teachers.

'As it belongs to the Magiſtracy to diſpoſe of all other offices, ſo that of Elders is conſequently ſubject to them: neither can they allow to others the power of chuſing them, without admitting two co-ordinate juriſdictions; beſides, that when thoſe Elders are appointed by the Civil Magiſtrates, their authority will be greater and better eſtabliſhed, and will meet with more reſpect and veneration. But the confuſion of Religions and unſettled ſtate of our Republick, do not ſuffer us at preſent to annex any other powers to their office than what are contained in our laws. The exerciſe of the authority which they are wont to have over every particular perſon with reſpect to his manners, ſhall be recommended to them in general by the Magiſtrates; to the end that as far as is poſſible they may reſtrain all licentiouſneſs, and reſtore the Commonwealth to its ancient luſtre.

'The advice of wiſe men is, that when the Adminiſtration of the Government muſt be changed or amended, the old Form ſhould be retained as far as may be: now if this be reaſonable, as it ſeems to be founded on very clear reaſons, certainly that ought not to be altered, which has been ſo well inſtituted, that it can hardly be improved. Since then our Anceſtors have left ſufficient maintenance for all ſorts of Poor, and have preſcribed a fit diſtribution of it, we ought not to alter any thing in that affair, without very juſt cauſes and motives. But becauſe the war has put ſome ſtop to thoſe incomes, and the calamities and miſeries which attend it, have increaſed the numbers of our poor, we ſhall connive at the collections made for them in churches, till peace ſhall reſtore all things to their former ſtate; which bleſſing may God ſpeedily grant us, through his infinite mercy. *Amen.*

Theſe were the Reaſons and Juſtification of thoſe Eccleſiaſtical laws which had been projected by the States; but the proceeding farther in them at that time was interrupted by the treaties of peace with the other provinces, and by the departure of the Prince of *Orange* for *Brabant.* For almoſt all of them entered into mutual combinations againſt the mutinous *Spaniards*, and ſought and obtained the aſſiſtance of the *Hollanders.* *Beverwijk*, the caſtle of *Aſſenburg* and *Sparrendam* in *Holland*, and *Zierickzee* in *Zeland*, were abandoned by the *Spaniards*; [1] but *Antwerp* being forced by them to ſubmit, was terribly treated with fire and ſword. Which barbarous and inhumane uſage is recorded by the name of the **Spaniſh Fury** or **Rage.** The Clergy, even the Prieſts and Fryers, were as little ſpared as the Laity. *The* Spaniſh Fury *at* Antwerp.

Not only the treaſure, but the conſecrated veſſels, and all the rich things belonging to the churches, and the ornaments of the altars, were taken away, and the Saints themſelves

[1] *Novemb.* 4. Bor. Lib. IX. *p.* 183. Hooft, Lib. XI. *p* 455.

An° Dom. 1577. ſelves ſtript and impoveriſhed by the very people who were continually boaſting of their great veneration for them. They compelled poor Prieſts to beg a ranſom for their lives in the neighbouring monaſteries. Thoſe who were confined in the *Steen* or the city priſon, though it were for the crime of *Anabaptiſm*, or difference of opinion in points of faith, were releaſed for money; and thoſe that could raiſe none, were left to ſhift for themſelves. But one of the *Anabaptiſts* that had been impriſoned, refuſed to make his eſcape, ſaying: *Where would you have me to go? I have been ſo maimed by the Rack, that I cannot earn my bread.* He therefore ſtaid behind, but was however put to death, when this *Fury* was over. *John Bret* of the ſame ſect was likewiſe burnt there, his lips being firſt ſcrewed together. And at *Gant*, not long before, ſeveral *Anabaptiſts* were maſſacred, *viz. Raphael van de Velde* and *Jerom Schepens*. *Raphael* had been grievouſly tortured on the Rack, yet would he not accuſe or diſcover any body. He writes thus in one of his letters: *I thought in my ſelf, O Lord, how ſhall I be able to undergo theſe torments, if they ſhould laſt long! but then it came into my mind that the torments of hell are more grievous, and laſt for ever. I therefore took courage and called upon God, O help me in this extremity, and let me not involve my neighbour in the ſame diſtreſs: and the Lord inſpired me with ſo much reſolution, that I choſe rather to die upon the Rack.* —— And a little after: *The Lord continually freed me from my pain, for when I was tortured that I thought it was impoſſible to bear it, my limbs became ſtupid or benummed. To God be thanks, and praiſe, and glory!* ——— *My heart is unchangeable and immoveable* — *I am prepared not only to be tormented, but to ſuffer my fleſh to be conſumed with fire.* This courage and conſtancy remained with him to the laſt. In another letter which he writ to his wife, after thanking her for her ſervices and kindneſſes to him, he recommends her and their ſon to God, in the following expreſſions: *I ſend you this letter againſt our approaching ſeparation, but it is not ſuch a Bill of Divorce as* Iſrael *writ through hardneſs of heart, and with an intent of forſaking you, my deareſt, in ſuch a manner; for this leaving or forſaking you, is for the love of God, on whoſe account we muſt forſake all things. It was God that joined us, and it is he that parts us. To him I recommend you and your child, as to a faithful Huſband and Father. Do you continue faithful to him, and he will take care both of your ſoul and body.* With ſuch tranquility were theſe people wont to abandon all that was deareſt to them for the ſake of their religion.

The Pacification of Gant. The fourth day after the *Spaniſh Fury*, which was the 8th of *November*, a treaty of peace and alliance was concluded at *Gant*, between the States of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Hainalt*, and other countries, on the one part; and thoſe of *Holland* and *Zeland*, together with their Confederates, on the other. [1] 'By virtue of this agree-
'ment, all damages, injuries, miſchiefs, and wrongs, on account of the late tumults
'and uproars, were to be forgiven and forgotten. And the provinces mutually en-
'gaged to unite with each other for expelling the *Spaniards* and other Foreigners
'out of the land, and afterwards to promote the calling together and aſſembling of the
'States-General, in the ſame manner as they were convened at the Reſignation of the
'Emperor *Charles* V. to the end that they might regulate the affairs of the nation,
'as well with reſpect to the free exerciſe of religion in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Bommel*, and
'the places in alliance with them, as with regard to the reſtoring the Forts, Arms,
'Ships, and all other things belonging to the King, and taken by them during the
'Troubles, or otherwiſe in their poſſeſſion: Both parties agreeing *bona fide* to ſubmit
'to the deciſion of the ſaid States. The ſubjects of both were at liberty to go and re-
'turn, to traffick and dwell wherever they thought fit. But neither the *Hollanders*, *Ze-*
'*landers*, nor any others, might preſume to attempt any thing out of their own countries
'to the prejudice of this treaty, and particularly againſt the *Roman Catholick Religion*,
'and the exerciſe of it; nor to wrong, affront, or ſcandalize any one upon the ſaid
'account, by word or deed, on pain of being puniſhed as diſturbers of the publick peace.
'However, to the end that none might be eaſily brought into trouble, or cunningly
'enſnared on account of the Placards formerly made againſt Hereſie, nor by thoſe
'bloody Edicts of the Duke *d'Alva*, it was agreed, that the ſaid Placards and Laws
'ſhould be ſuſpended, till the States-General ſhould otherwiſe direct.

'The Prince of *Orange* was to continue Admiral at ſea, and Stadtholder of *Holland*,
'*Zeland*, and *Bommel*, and the places in alliance with them, in order to command

[1] Bor. Lib. IX. *p.* 191. Hooft, Lib. XI. *p.* 467.

'every where, as he then did, till ſuch time as the ſaid States, after the expulſion of 'the *Spaniards*, ſhould otherwiſe direct. An° Dom° 1577.

'But as for thoſe towns and places, mentioned in the Commiſſion which he re- 'ceived from the King, but which were not as yet under his command, that article 'ſhould be poſtponed, till thoſe towns and places joining themſelves to this Confede- 'racy, ſhould have full ſatisfaction in all thoſe points, in which they found them- 'ſelves aggrieved under his government, as well with reſpect to the exerciſe of re- 'ligion as otherwiſe.

'The Prince and all the Exiles, and their Heirs, ſhould be reſtored to, and re-eſta- 'bliſhed in their honour and eſtates; and all tryals, judgments, and ſentences, paſſed 'ſince the beginning of the troubles, in the year 1567, both with regard to religion 'and to the taking up of arms, ſhould be reverſed and raſed out of the Records.

'All Prelates, and other Eccleſiaſtical perſons, whoſe Sees, Abbies, and Religious 'houſes, lay out of the provinces of *Holland* and *Zeland*, and yet had eſtates belong- 'ing to them within the ſame, ſhould be again put in poſſeſſion of them.

'But as for the Monks and others of the Clergy who were conſecrated and en- 'dowed with eſtates in the aforeſaid provinces, but abſented themſelves, or were re- 'tired from thence, (ſince the moſt part of their eſtates were already alienated) 'they, together with ſuch as had ſtaid behind, ſhould enjoy either a competent main- 'tenance, or ſo much of their eſtates as remained, at the choice of the States, and by 'way of proviſion, till upon further enquiry the States-General ſhould otherwiſe 'direct.'

After the publication of this Treaty, the Exiles returned; but it was previouſly reſolved by the States of *Holland*, that at their return and re-eſtabliſhment, they ſhould ſwear, *To be faithful to the King, as Count of* Holland; *to the Prince, as* Stadtholder; *and to the States; alſo to help maintain the liberties of their country; to oppoſe the* Spaniards; *not to be adviſing or aſſiſting in any wiſe againſt the* Reformed *religion and the exerciſe thereof, nor to endeavour to introduce nor profeſs any other religions in the province of* Holland, *than ſuch as were then openly tolerated by the government, till the time that the* Spaniards *being expelled, it ſhould be otherwiſe ordered by the States-General lawfully aſſembled.* *The Oath required of the Exiles at their Return.*

The Prince of *Orange* was of opinion, that the Exiles ought not to have been burthened with the foregoing oath, nor obliged to any thing more than a promiſe of maintaining the articles of the treaty. But the reſolution of the States was however put in practice.

In the mean time came Don *John* of *Auſtria*, the King's baſtard-brother, being deputed by him to govern the *Low-Countries*. He by no means reliſhed the Pacification of *Gant*; but the States ſuſpecting what he moſt diſliked in it, procured a declaration from the Divines of *Louvain*, that they having maturely weighed all the articles of it, together with the condition of affairs at that time, found it advantageous to the *Romiſh Religion*. The Profeſſors of Law were of the ſame opinion; and almoſt all the Prelates, Abbots, Deans, and Paſtors of the *Low-Countries*. *The* Pacification *of* Gant *judged to be advantageous to the* Romiſh Religion.

Not long before, the *Spaniards* had alſo quitted *Oudewater*.

Now in order to induce *Amſterdam* to receive the Pacification of *Gant*, and to unite it ſelf with the reſt of the cities of *Holland*, the States writ a pathetick letter to the Burgomaſters and military Officers of that place, in which among other things they ſaid: *It is true indeed there may be ſome diverſity and diſagreement between you and us, but it is a matter of no ſuch conſequence to the common cauſe of the nation, or with reſpect to the polity, privileges, and welfare of our native country, that we ſhould remain at variance on that account; ſince we have always declared, and do now again declare, that we did not take up arms for religion, but have referred thoſe matters to the determination of the States-General; having never intended to offer violence to any man's conſcience, or compel him to embrace our religion; that be far from us!— We are contented to leave you at entire liberty in ordering matters of religion among yourſelves as you ſhall think moſt proper; or as ſhall beſt tend to the quieting your conſciences, and thoſe of your people.———* [1] But the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* returned no anſwer to this letter; and their obſtinacy was ſo great, that they afterwards plainly declared: *That they not only could not admit of any publick exerciſe of the* Reformed religion, *Letter of the States of* Holland *to thoſe of* Amſterdam, *concerning the* Pacification *of* Gant.

[1] Hooft, Lib. XI. *p.* 496. Bor. Lib. X. *p.* 240.

An° Dom. 1577. religion, *but even not ſuffer thoſe who profeſt it to be interred either within the city or its liberties.*

An account of ſeveral famous men who died this year.

This year was remarkable for the death of ſeveral men of reputation in the *Low-Countries*; particularly *Cornelius Janſenius van Hulſt*, the firſt Biſhop of *Gant*, who, [1] according to the opinion of a great man among the *Proteſtants*, deſerved, by his Expoſitions on the four Evangeliſts, the title of *the moſt Elegant Interpreter, and the moſt Pious Expoſitor of the Text of the Goſpel:* And, as another ſays of him, *one who had not his fellow among the* Netherland *Biſhops*. He died the 11th of *April*. [2] *Franciſcus Sonius*, who had prevailed with the Pope to create new Biſhopricks in theſe provinces, and who himſelf was the firſt Biſhop of *Bois le Duc*, and afterwards of *Antwerp*, a man who was not leſs learned than violent and ſevere againſt thoſe of a different religion, ended his days on the 30th of *June*. *John Knife*, formerly a *Franciſcan*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Groningen*, died of the Plague on the 6th or 7th of *October*. He was a very covetous perſon, and upon his death-bed ſhowed great concern about a debt of four thouſand Dollars, which he pretended the people of *Antwerp* owed, but would not pay him; but as to the reſt, he was not blood-thirſty, but a good-natured man, and an enemy to Informers; inſomuch, that at a certain time when the Heer *van Billy* intended to ſeize a great number of people who were ſuſpected of Hereſy, he oppoſed him with all his might, and hindered him from doing it.

Among the Dead we muſt not forget the Emperor *Maximilian* II. who died the 12th of *October*; becauſe his death, though it happened out of theſe provinces, yet proved ſo great a loſs to them. Upon the news of his deceaſe, when a certain Burgomaſter of *Alkmaer* ſaid in the preſence of the Prince of *Orange*, *Then is there a Trimmer gone:* the Prince replied immediately; *I have loſt a Father in him.* His moderation in matters of Religion is highly praiſed. He did not ſcruple bringing upon himſelf the ill-will both of the warmeſt *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* too, whilſt he did his utmoſt to preſerve peace among them, and to hinder them from hurting one another. [3] He had obtained of the Pope the uſe of the Cup at Maſs for his ſubjects, and frequently urged him, though in vain, to reſtore to the Clergy the liberty of Marriage. We have formerly taken notice of his project by the means of *Caſſander*, to re-eſtabliſh the peace of the Church. [4] And it is ſaid, that Cardinal *Granvelle* would have poiſoned him whilſt King of the *Romans*, becauſe of his moderation in matters of faith. This made him dread the *Spaniards* ſo much, that he durſt not publickly profeſs what he ſecretly believed. [5] *Paul* IV. alſo looked upon him as a favourer of *Hereticks*. Being once exhorted by *Pius* IV. to be ſteady in the *Roman Catholick* religion, with a promiſe, that if he was, the ſaid Pope would promote his acceſſion to the Imperial Crown: He anſwered him thus; *He thanked the Pope for his good inclinations towards him, but added, that the ſalvation of his ſoul was much dearer to him than the whole world.* But this, ſay the Devotees to the *Romiſh* Court, was the language of the *Lutherans*, and ſufficiently diſcovered how much he was alienated from the Papal Chair. [6] When he was Emperor too, he was very favourable to the *Auſburg-Confeſſion*. His Motto was *Abraham*'s expreſſion; *God will provide*. He abhorred all force of conſcience, ſaying one time to a certain Biſhop of *Olmutz*: *There is no greater ſin than the lording it over mens conſciences*. [7] And upon another occaſion, to *Henry* III. of *France*; *They who undertake to rule conſciences, thinking it the way to gain heaven, do often loſe even what they poſſeſs upon earth.* But he expreſſes moſt clearly the ſweetneſs of his temper in one of his letters (which are the true pictures of his mind) about two years before his death, to *Lazarus Schwend*, which I ſhall not think it a trouble to inſert here at length, and the rather, becauſe it makes mention of the *Low-Country* troubles. He writes therefore in the manner following:

[8] Dear *Schwend*,

A remarkable Letter of the Emperor Maximilian II. *to* Lazarus Schwend.

I Have received and peruſed your Letter. Your ſincere and chriſtian lamentations, by which you teſtify how much you are concerned for my illneſs, are very acceptable

[1] Epiſcop. *upon* Matt. *p.* 398.
[2] Val. Andr. *p.* 286. Bor. Lib. IX. *p.* 174. *b.*
[3] Thuan. Lib. LXII. *p.* 180. Caſſand. Op. *p.* 1218. & Epiſt. Sel. Cent. Lib. I. *p.* 376.
[4] Apol. pour le Pr. d' Or. *p.* 26. Hooft. Lib. XVII. *p.* 722.
[5] P. P. Pol. Hiſt. Con. Trid. Lib. V. *p.* 385.
[6] Sambuc. in Epiſt. Sel. Cent. I. *p.* 304.
[7] Bor. Lib. IX. *p.* 177.
[8] *This Letter may be found among the pieces of* H. Coringius, *at the end of* G. Wicelij via Regia, *printed at* Helmſtad 1650. *p.* 278. *It was firſt publiſhed at* Hanaw *in* 1603, *and afterwards in the* 2*d Tome of the Imperial Conſtitutions, being tranſlated by* Goldaſtus.

able to me. Let the Almighty, who has all things in his hand, deal with me according to his fatherly will; for I bleſs him for all that befals me, ſeeing that he alone knows beſt what is good and profitable, and what is hurtful to me. I therefore patiently acquieſce in his divine pleaſure; for as to the courſe of worldly affairs, there is little content or tranquility to be found in them; one meets with nothing but trouble, perfidy and knavery in all parts. The Lord be merciful to us, and vouchſafe to avert theſe evils from Chriſtendom! *Certainly then it is no wonder if one's head turns round in ſuch a ſituation of things; upon which it were eaſy to expatiate. I begin, through God's mercy, to recover gradually, and to walk with the help of a Cane. Glory be to him in all his works! As for that ſtrange action ſo tyrannically committed by the* French *upon the Admiral and his Confederates, I can by no means approve it, and it is with great ſorrow of heart that I am informed that my ſon-in-law ſuffered himſelf to conſent to ſo foul a maſſacre. Now though I know that others govern more than he, yet that will not excuſe the fact, nor palliate the villainy. O that he had adviſed with me firſt! I would have given him faithful and paternal counſel; I would never have conſented to ſuch an action. He has ſo ſtained his honour with this piece of work, that he will not eaſily waſh out the ſpot. May God forgive thoſe who have had hand in it; for I very much apprehend that, in courſe of time, the ſame treatment will be returned to them; and it is really ſo, as you wiſely ſay;* **Matters of Religion are not to be ordered nor decided by the ſword.** *No body that has the leaſt ſpark of virtue and piety, or in whom there remains any zeal and love for peace and tranquility, can be of any other opinion. Chriſt and his Apoſtles never taught us otherwiſe; for their ſword was the tongue, the doctrine and the word of God, and a life worthy of Chriſt. Their example ſhould invite and allure us to follow them in the ſame way, and as far as they followed Chriſt. Not to mention, that this fooliſh generation of men, now, after ſo many years, ought to have ſeen and experienced even by the nature of things, and by the ſucceſs or event it ſelf, that this buſineſs is not to be compaſſed by cruel puniſhments, nor the diſeaſe cured by cauſticks or amputations. In ſhort, their actions do by no means pleaſe me, nor will I ever be brought to praiſe them, unleſs poſſibly (which I earneſtly beſeech God may never happen) I ſhould be deprived of my ſenſes. Neither will I diſſemble to you, that there are ſome ſuch lying and ſhameleſs wretches in the world, who dare maintain, that whatever the* French *have done in this matter, has been with my knowledge and advice; whereas I call God to witneſs, that they do me great injuſtice; but theſe lies and ſlanders are not new to me, who have formerly been forced to digeſt the like treatment; but I leave all to* God, *who can in his own time both remove theſe wrongs and revenge them.*

As for the Netherlands, *I can as little approve the immoderate proceedings in thoſe parts: on the contrary, I very well remember how often, and what I have written to the King of* Spain, *and the good advice I have given him. But what need I ſay more? The* Spaniſh *counſels were more pleaſing than my faithful advice; and now they are conſcious of their miſtakes and falſe ſteps, and that they themſelves are the chief cauſe of all thoſe evils. My intentions were good: I would fain have prevented the miſerable deſtruction of thoſe brave and noble Provinces; and though they would not follow my advice, which is provocation ſufficient to me not to trouble my ſelf any more about them, yet I ſhall not ceaſe imparting to them the moſt ſincere counſel I am able to give. God grant it may produce the deſired effect, and that they may forbear to uſe ſuch ſharp remedies, and reſume their former conduct! But to conclude, let the* Spaniards *and* French *proceed as they pleaſe, they muſt one day give an account of all their actions to* God *the righteous Judge. As for me, I will always, with* God's *help, act honourably, chriſtianly, faithfully, ſincerely and juſtly, being firmly perſwaded that God will aſſiſt me with his bleſſing and grace ſo as to make me uſeful both to himſelf and mankind in all my counſels and actions; and in ſo doing I ſhall not value a wicked and unworthy world. Herewith I recommend you to God, and may he direct every thing according to his own good pleaſure, for the welfare of* Chriſtendom *and of us all.*

Anno Dom. 1577.

Vienna, Feb. 22. 1574.

MAXIMILIAN.

An° Dom. 1577. [1] A few days after the Emperor, *viz.* on the 14th of the same month, died *Frederick* III. Elector *Palatine*, a Prince endowed with great virtues, and who, since his death, has been honoured with the epithet of the *Godly*. [2] It was he that first introduced into *Germany* the *Swiss* Confession of Faith, and caused the *Heidelberg* Catechism to be composed by some of his Divines. He likewise supported, both by word and deed, the affairs of the Protestants, as well in the *Low-Countries* as in *France*, employing his sons, the Dukes *Christopher* and *John Casimir*, in their interests. In his last Will, he exhorted his children to avoid litigious and hot-headed Ecclesiasticks in very pathetick terms. *Particularly*, says he, *let our sons beware of turbulent Ministers and Professors; of such as take upon them now a-days, here and elsewhere, to stir up all sorts of scandalous disputes and contentions about words, and to pass injurious sentences and anathema's in matters of faith and religion, in christian churches and universities, against those who nevertheless agree with us in the chief and fundamental articles of our true christian belief, and build their hopes of salvation, even as we, upon the sole merits of our Lord and Saviour* Jesus Christ. *Now these disputes and controversies are the effects of meer ambition, or false zeal and ignorance of affairs, but cloaked with a right of correcting and punishing, which they pretend to derive from the Holy Ghost: whereas in the mean time they aim at nothing less than to tyrannize over the consciences both of Princes and their Subjects, (as in the times of the accursed* Papacy) *and so to erect a new primacy for themselves; from whence would follow nothing but schisms, and the imbittering of mens minds; and at last, a total desolation and destruction both of Civil and Ecclesiastical government. And it would also give a handle to the* Pope *and his adherents, to persecute our true christian faith with fire and sword, with banishments and numberless martyrdoms; and so to establish his own tyranny upon the ruins of the Protestant interest.*

Exhortation of Frederick III. *Elector* Palatine *to his sons.*

Several Cities declare for the Prince, on condition that the Romish Religion *should be tolerated.*

[3] Upon the first day of the year 1577, the town of *Muyden* declared for the Prince and State, but upon this express condition: *That they should from thenceforwards enjoy the free exercise of the* Romish Religion, *but without disturbing or offering violence to the consciences of others. Wesep* came in on the same foot. And it was upon the same terms, of exercising the *Romish Religion* without any hindrance, that the towns of *Harlem*, *Schoonhoven*, and *Tertoolen*, likewise surrendered.

About this time the fires were again kindled at *Antwerp* for the *Anabaptists*. The first that was burnt, was a shoemaker of *Delft*; and the next *Hans de Ruiter*, a Teacher of their congregation, with his wife and daughter.

A Persecution of the Anabaptists.

This Sect began likewise to be ill treated by the *Reformed* on the other hand. Upon their scrupling to take the usual oaths of a Burgher at *Midelburg*, endeavours were used to deprive them of the freedom of the town, and consequently, by this roundabout way, to oblige them to leave it. But the Prince of *Orange* granted them a Protection under his hand and seal, of the following tenor:

The Prince's Protection granted to the Anabaptists *of* Midelburg.

Whereas a Petition has been presented to his Excellency, on the behalf of certain inhabitants of the town of Midelburg, complaining that the Magistrates of that town did, not long since, cause their shops to be shut up, and consequently forbid them to follow their respective trades and employments, which are the only means they have to maintain their families; the pretence of which prohibition was, that they had not taken that oath which their fellow citizens had taken, notwithstanding that the said inhabitants remonstrated to the said Magistrates, that without ever taking the said oath, they for many years chearfully supported all civil burthens, contributions and taxes equally with other citizens and inhabitants of the said place, and were never wanting therein, or in other circumstances of their duty; and that therefore they ought not to be now molested, any more than formerly, upon that account; especially since they aimed at nothing more thereby, than to live with freedom of conscience, on account of which this present war was entered into against the King of Spain by his subjects, and all religious ceremonies and institutions, inconsistent with the said freedom of conscience, are still opposed: in which war, by God's assistance, the success has been such, that our religious liberties have been obtained and preserved. For which reasons it would be very unreasonable that the petitioners

3

[1] Thuan. Lib. LXII. *p.* 180. [2] Uitenbog. *p.* 177. [3] Hooft, Lib. XI. *p.* 481.—XII. *p.* 496. Bor. Lib X *p.* 201.

tioners should be deprived of what they themselves have helped to recover, by paying tares and contributions, and by bearing their share of other burdens, and by even hazarding their lives. And whereas, upon their representing all these matters to the Magistrates, no other answer was made them but, that they must conform themselves to the Polity and Customs of the said town. Whereby the said Magistrates seem to design not only to drive them the said petitioners with their wives and children, now residing at Midelburg, out of these provinces, to their utter ruin; but consequently an infinite number of others of that persuasion in Holland and Zeland, who by virtue of the Placards have put themselves under his Excellency's protection. Which proceedings can be profitable to none, but may be very pernicious to the country, by lessening the trade of it every where: On which accounts the said petitioners have most humbly besought and intreated his Excellency to look down upon their case with compassion, and to give the necessary orders therein, and especially since they are contented to be punished as perjured persons, as often as they be guilty of any thing contrary to the contents of the said oath. An° Dom. 1577.

His Excellency having taken the premisses into his most serious consideration, and having previously advised with the Governour and Council of Zeland, does ordain and decree, by these presents, that the abovementioned petitioners shall be permitted to make their solemn affirmation, as they have offered, in lieu of the oath, before the Magistrates of the aforesaid town; provided that all of them who transgress the said affirmation shall be punished as forsworn persons. And His Excellency requires and commands the Magistrates of Midelburg, and all others whom it may concern, not to burden or disquiet the consciences of the petitioners with the said oath, or otherwise; but to suffer them to open their shops, and follow their business as formerly. But all by way of provision, and until it shall be otherwise ordered upon mature deliberation, and in a more peaceable situation of affairs.

Thus signed and sealed by His Excellency in the Town of *Midelburg*, January 26, 1577.

The Subscription was

William of *NASSAW*.

And Lower, By my Gracious Lord the Prince.

Signed, *de Baudemont*. } And the Seal affixed to it was of red wax, with a double Label.

Notwithstanding this, some of the Clergy did all that lay in their power, by the means of *Philip de Marnix*, Heer *van Aldegonde*, to exasperate the Prince against them; particularly at the Meeting of the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, holden at *Dort* in *March* following. [1] But that which passed between the Prince and *Marnix* on this occasion, may be seen in a certain extract of a letter, written by the said Gentleman to *Jasper Heidanus*, a Minister, and bearing date from *Dort*, the last day of *March*. It runs thus: 'The business of the *Anabaptists* was treated of yesterday 'with the illustrious Prince, after the receipt of your and *Taffin*'s letters; and really 'I find it much more difficult than I expected. For at *Midelburg* he gave me 'great hopes that all such as refused the oath should be excluded from the Burgher-'ship, or at least not admitted as formerly had been practised. Now he alledges 'that this cannot be done without exciting new troubles in the Church; since the 'States will never consent to the passing a law, which they think will by no means 'tend to the advantage of the Commonwealth. Nay, he further says, that this was 'the only cause why the Consistories or Church-meetings were formerly so disagree-'able to the *States*, that they were very near putting them all down at once by a 'Placard. Wherefore to revive the same affair, would, as he verily thought, turn to 'the great damage of the Church, especially at a juncture in which many of the *Popish* 'Mungrels would strive to make their advantage by it. When I warmly urged that 'those who dissolved the bands of all humane society, might fairly be cast out of it, 'even under the shew of preserving civil order, and at the same time subjoined, with

A Conference between the Prince and the Heer van Aldegonde *concerning the* Anabaptists.

[1] Aldegond. in Epist. Sel. Cent. Lib. II p. 755. Hooft, Lib. XII. p. 495.

An° Dom. 1577. 'how great danger both the Church and State might be attended by iſſuing ſuch a 'Placard, which could not but be impious in it ſelf; he replied pretty ſharply, that 'their *Affirmation* might ſerve for an Oath, and that we ought not to preſs this matter 'further, unleſs we would own at the ſame time, that the *Papiſts* were in the right, 'in forcing us to a religion that was incompatible with our conſciences. And further, 'that the people of *North-Holland* would never conſent to, nor endure what I pro-'poſed. In ſhort, I do not find we can do any thing in this matter, which indeed 'troubles me the more, in that I obſerve the minds of many good men ſo imbittered, 'I might ſay, ſo deeply wounded, by the intervention of I know not what unſeaſon-'able offences or ſcandals, that they are the leſs favourable to thoſe who endeavour to 'promote the affairs of the Church to the utmoſt of their power. In truth, the Prince 'has reproached me, partly on his own account, and partly on account of the *States*, 'as if there were a deſign in the Clergy to lord it over our conſciences, and that they 'were endeavouring to bring every body under the yoke of their laws and inſtitutions. 'And upon this occaſion he commended the ſaying of a Monk that was here not long 'ſince, who, upon ſeveral objections brought againſt his religion, anſwered: **that 'our Pot had not been ſo long upon the fire as theirs, whom we ſo much blamed; 'but that he plainly foreſaw that in the courſe of a pair of hundred years, Eccleſia-'ſtical dominion would be upon an equal foot in both churches.** Theſe things make 'great impreſſion on the Vulgar, nay, they puzzle the Wiſe, and if timely care be not 'taken, will occaſion no ſmall miſchief. Therefore, as far as in me lay, I have both 'now and at all times done my utmoſt to remove this prejudice out of the minds of 'men, by which they are alienated from us, whether it be through the ignorance, 'deceit, or wickedneſs, of ſuch as maintain that we are ſetting up a *new Monkery*. 'For I labour to convince them that we do not oppoſe nor condemn any thing but 'what the Law of the Lord, expreſſed in Holy Writ, oppoſes and condemns; and 'in other matters make uſe of chriſtian liberty; which rule, above all others I look 'upon to be of very great importance to the building up of the church; for experi-'ence, the beſt miſtreſs, has taught me ſo. I have likewiſe frequently obſerved at '*Bruſſels*, how great offence the opinion of our rigidneſs, which is riveted in the 'hearts of the *Papiſts*, daily occaſions. And what is there more common or uſual in 'theſe our churches, than for the chiefeſt of the Nobility, and infinite numbers of 'the Commonalty, to keep away from our aſſemblies, only becauſe they are afraid 'of a new tyranny and yoke of ſpiritual dominion. The Prince himſelf when I ad-'dreſſed to him, ſome years ago, oppoſed this ſhield only againſt all my arrows. In 'truth, abundance of the *Germans* join themſelves purpoſely with the Heterodox, be-'cauſe they dread our inſufferable Rigidneſs.'

This letter rendered almoſt verbatim from the *Latin* original, may teach us of what importance the Prince of *Orange* and the States of *Holland* and *Zeland* thought liberty of Concience to be at that time, and what it was in our *Reformation* that diſpleaſed many in thoſe days.

In the other provinces of the *Netherlands* in the mean time, Don *John*, upon making the treaty of *Marche en Famine* (whereby the Pacification of *Gant*, and the Diſmiſſion of the *Spaniards* were ratified) was received as his Majeſty's Stadtholder.

[1] Whilſt he was at *Mechelen*, in the month of *June*, a certain Taylor named *Peter Panis*, was tried before the Magiſtrates of that place, who produced to them very advantageous teſtimonials of his life and converſation: he confeſſed he had heard a Sermon of a reformed Miniſter, in a little village not far from the city; and continued ſteadfaſt not only in his faith, but in refuſing to charge others that had been likewiſe preſent; which provoked his Judges the more againſt him. His neighbours uſed all their intereſt to ſave him, with the *Scout*, whoſe name was *William de Klerk*, Heer *van Boevekirk*, in *Engliſh*, *Rogues-Church*, a title that ſeemed juſtly to belong to him for the raſh and impious anſwer with which he rejected their applications; telling them, *that there was no mercy for ſuch an obſtinate Heretick, that would not diſcover his aſſociates to ſave himſelf either from the Gallows or the Stake: whereas I*, ſaid he, *would not thruſt one of my fingers into a lighted candle for the ſake of my religion.* The Prince of *Orange* writ very kindly and earneſtly in favour of him, exhorting them not again to open the old Theatres of tyranny, that had occaſioned the ſhedding rivers

[1] Bor. Lib. X. *p.* 247. Hooft, Lib. XII. *p.* 507. *Hiſt. of Mart.* f. 496.

of blood, and such a multitude of evils besides. Notwithstanding which, the poor man was beheaded by order of Don *John*. This occasioned him much blame, especially on the part of the *Reformed*, who measured the sequel of his Government by this cruel action. Nor was it long before he broke his treaty, by seizing upon the Castle of *Namur*. Upon which the States-General of the *Netherlands* requested the *Hollanders* to come to their assistance, and the Prince of *Orange* went in person to *Brabant*, and being arrived at *Brussels* in *September*, gave them formal assurances under his hand, not only on behalf of himself, but also of the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*; *not to consent that any thing should be attempted against the publick peace and tranquility, and especially to the prejudice of the* Roman Catholick Religion, *and the exercise of it.*

AN° DOM. 1578.

The Prince of Orange *goes to* Brussels.

Soon after, the Province of *Utrecht* entered into the treaty of *Gant*, and returned to the Prince's Stadtholdership, but with this express condition; *That the* Romish Religion *should be preserved inviolably among them. That he should not enter the city with any Troops, nor bring in any Ministers for the exercise of the* Reformed Religion. *That he should bestow no Spiritual employments but upon such* Roman Catholicks *as the Archbishop should allow to be qualified. That he should protect them in the enjoyment of all their Rights and Privileges, and leave the jurisdiction of the Archbishop in its full force.*

An Agreement *with those of* Utrecht.

The *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* ratified this Convention under their seal. Matters being in this situation, the Prince was chosen *Ruward* of *Brabant*. But some of the Nobility, to balance the power of the Prince of *Orange*, invited Archduke *Matthias*, the Emperor's brother, to accept the Government: Don *John* being declared an enemy to the country by the States.

The Queen of *England* observing the growth of power among the *Netherlanders*, began to shew them a better countenance, and to assist them, in order to secure her self against the attempts of Don *John*. [1] *She exhorted them to unity, and not too hastily to abolish the* Romish *religion*; and accordingly on the 11th of *December* there was a stricter union formed between the provinces of both Religions for their mutual security and defence.

[2] On the 20th of *January* the Archduke *Matthias* was declared and admitted Governour of the *Netherlands*, and the Prince of *Orange* Stadtholder of *Brabant*, both of them promising upon oath to preserve the privileges of the people stipulated in the Treaty of *Gant*, and not to permit any thing to be attempted against the common tranquility, and particularly against the *Romish* religion. The Archduke likewise chose the Prince for his Stadtholder General over all the other provinces.

The Archduke Matthias *is declared Governour of the* Netherlands.

A few days after this, happened the defeat of the *States* army at *Gemblours*, and the loss of *Louvain*, and some other little towns. [3] Pope *Gregory* XIII. sent at the same time a Bull for all those that fought under the Banners of Don *John* against Hereticks, heretical Rebels and Enemies of the *Romish* faith (these were his expressions;) by which he granted them plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins, provided they went once in their life-time, on one certain day, which they might likewise chuse themselves, to Confession and to Mass, and assisted at the same at the hour of death. The like sort of Bulls were formerly given out by the Popes to stir up the *Christians* to go to *Jerusalem* in the holy War against the *Sarazens* and *Turks*. He likewise consented to Don *John*'s imposing a tax on the Clergy for the support of his war, as being undertaken for the defence of the *Romish religion*. The Ensigns of Don *John* had a Cross, with the following inscription; *In hoc signo vici* Turcas, *in hoc signo vincam* Hereticos; and it is reported that he said, *The King had rather be lord only of the ground, of the trees, shrubs, beasts, wolves, waters and fishes of this country, than suffer one single person that has taken up arms against him, or at least that has been polluted with heresy, to live and remain in it.*

The Pope grants a Bull *in favour of Don* John.

Amsterdam had as yet kept it self on the side of the *Spaniards*, but now at last, after many sollicitations and one fruitless attempt on it, declared for the States of *Holland* on the 8th of *February*, by the mediation chiefly of those of *Utrecht*, on which occasion, among other conditions, was stipulated: *That no other religion besides the* Roman Catholick *should be preached or exercised within the city, liberties and jurisdiction of* Amsterdam; *and that none should presume to oppose the same either by word*

[1] Grot. Annal. Lib. III. *p.* 63. Meteren Lib. VII. *p.* 139.

[2] Bor. Lib. XII. *p.* 10. Hooft. Lib. XIII. *p.* 543.

[3] Bor. Lib. XII. *p.* 143. Hooft. Lib. XIII. *p.* 548

An° Dom. 1578.

word or deed. That the Placards about religion ſhould be ſuſpended purſuant to the treaty of Gant. *That none ſhould be moleſted or hindered from repairing to the ſermons and other exerciſes of the* Reformed *religion, in the day time and at ſeaſonable hours, provided it was without the town and liberties thereof. That the* Reformed *ſhould have a place allowed them to bury their dead, not conſecrated, but decent and convenient, and the interments ſhould be performed without any pſalms or funeral orations, or other external ſolemnities, and the corpſe attended but with ſix and twenty perſons at moſt. That all Citizens and Inhabitants who had been baniſhed, driven away, or had voluntarily retired out of the town, ſhould be allowed to return, and be reſtored to all the rights and privileges they formerly enjoyed. That they would ſwear true allegiance, and obey the King as their Count, and the Prince as his Stadtholder. That as for the Clergy, they ſhould receive their directions in theſe matters from the Biſhop of* Harlem. Upon the news of this agreement, the Exiles of *Amſterdam* returned from all parts to their paternal city; and then it was that *John Huigen*, Counſellor of the town of *Hamburg*, a friend to the liberties of the *Low-Countries*, and one that had been very familiar with thoſe Refugees, gave the following moſt ſerious admonition to ſome of the chief of thoſe Gentlemen, and that were qualified for the higheſt offices of the city, particularly *Egbert Rolofſon* and *Adrian Paeu*, whom we have had ſo many occaſions to mention above; to wit, [a] *That they ſhould beware of that rock which the people of* Hamburg *and other* Eaſt-Country *towns, had already ſplit upon, and* **not ſuffer the Clergy to meddle or make with thoſe matters that did not belong to their office.**

An Aſſembly of the Flemiſh Anabaptiſts *at* Embden, *occaſioned by the* Homſter-Peace.

Till about this time, the agreement called the *Homſter-Peace*, made four years before, between ſome of the *Freeſland* and *Flemiſh Anabaptiſts*, had been obſerved; but now many of the *Flemiſh* Teachers met at *Embden* to conſider, whether the ſaid agreement ſhould remain in force, or be diſſolved. Moſt of them were for breaking it; but *Peter van Keulen*, and ſome others, all partiſans of the *Flemings*, oppoſed it, and maintained, that the agreement, as a good beginning, ought likewiſe to be received by the other congregations with ſome amendments. During this controverſy about a precarious Peace, the Miniſters of *Embden* being informed that ſo great a number of *Anabaptiſt* Teachers were aſſembled there, challenged them to a publick diſputation concerning their doctrines and notions, offering, that the Magiſtrates or their Deputies ſhould preſide at the conference. The *Flemings* chiefly relying upon one of their Teachers, named *Hans the Weaver*, or *Buſſahart*, accepted the challenge; but they had ſcarce begun the conference, when the Weaver was baffled and ſilenced by the Miniſters; and had they not had *Peter van Keulen*, who in the buſineſs of the *Homſter-Peace* was their adverſary, for their champion (as *J. H. V. P. N.* who was their Secretary, tells the ſtory) they muſt have quitted the liſts with ſhame and diſgrace: but this *van Keulen*, who was an acute and eloquent man, and one that ſtuck cloſe to his point, held the Miniſters ſo well in play, that *Helmerus Diurken*, a Doctor of Law, who preſided at this diſpute on the part of the Count of *Eaſt-Freeſland*, ſaid to him: *I aſſure you*, Peter, *if you had our learning, you would diſpute us all out of the church.* However, the *Flemings* were terribly foiled by the Miniſters in this conference (which laſted twelve weeks) upon the points of *Excommunication* and *Separation*, particularly that between *Huſband* and *Wife*.

A diſpute between the Reformed *and the* Anabaptiſts *at* Embden.

The Homſter-Peace *is broken.*

After it was ended, the *Anabaptiſt* Teachers of the *Flemiſh* party went to *Groningen*, where they broke and diſſolved the *Homſter-Peace* in ſpite of *Peter van Keulen* and the reſt of the more moderate Brethren, ſeparating themſelves a-new from the *Freeſlanders:* And ſuch *Flemings* who during the ſaid Peace had intermarried with thoſe of *Freeſland*, were obliged to do one of theſe things; *Either to quit their Conſorts, or to bring them to the* Flemiſh *congregation in order to be rebaptized.* Some time after, *Peter van Keulen* himſelf, who had done ſo much ſervice to the *Flemings* in the conference at *Embden*, was likewiſe caſt out, and excommunicated, for having ſpoken againſt them in ſome matters relating to Excommunication. He afterwards joined with that party of the *Freeſlanders*, who for a while were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Peaceful*. His diligence and zeal in promoting peace, and defending the common intereſt of his ſect, have been much commended; and it is related of him, that he had the addreſs always to procure copies or extracts of whatever was

[a] *From the Annotations of the Heer* P. C. Hooft.

propoſed or concluded in the Synods and Aſſemblies of the *Reformed* againſt the *Anabaptiſts*. After the diſſolution of the *Homſter-Peace*, the moſt moderate of both parties made ſome attempts towards a reconciliation in *Freeſland* and *Holland*; but the *Freeſlanders* were the more hearty of the two. Thoſe who at firſt were the hotteſt in promoting the Separation from, and Excommunication of the *Flemings*, were likewiſe firſt ſenſible of their fault, and the moſt earneſt in ſeeking peace. At laſt, by the joint endeavours of the beſt men on both ſides, matters were brought ſo far, that an aſſembly was appointed at *Horn* in *North-Holland*, to treat about a reconciliation and union. It is thought, that the *Flemiſh* Teachers did not bring along with them hither a diſpoſition to treat and agree, but came only out of complaiſance, and to ſatisfy, in ſome meaſure, thoſe among them that were inclined to peace. It was propoſed on the part of the *Freeſlanders*, that all the paſt abuſes and miſtakes, ſhould (as they expreſſed it) be conſumed by the flames of love, and that there ſhould be a mutual acknowledgement of guilt, and aſking pardon of each other, but eſpecially of God, with an humble confeſſion of their having ſinned againſt him. But the *Flemings* ſtifly inſiſted on the juſtice of their cauſe; and their propoſal was, that the whole matter that lay in debate between them ſhould be reviſed and ſcanned, and that after full examination into it, they who appeared to have been the more faulty, ſhould bear the heavieſt cenſures. This, in the opinion of the other party, was to reject peace and renew the war. Where ſhould they meet with impartial Arbitrators, ſaid ſome of them, that could judge between them, ſeeing there were no congregrations or churches of *Anabaptiſts*, that were neuter, or were not parties in the quarrel? In fine, they broke up *re infectâ*, and both parties went home, where the *Flemings* made the beſt they could of the matter, to ſtop the mouths of ſuch of their own people as inclined to peace.

An° Dom. 1578.

A Treaty *of* Peace *between the* Anabaptiſts, *holden at* Horn.

John van Ophooren, a Teacher at *Embden*, being returned to *Eaſt-Freeſland*, gave the following account of his journey, and of the ſucceſs of the treaty: *We have been at* Horn, ſaid he with a compoſed countenance, caſting his eyes on the floor, *and have been plainly convinced that our adverſaries deſigned nothing but to lay crafty and deceitful ſnares, nets, and ambuſhes for us, in order to catch us, requiring that all paſt unrighteous actions and dealings ſhould be buried in one common grave; but the Lord preſerved us: ſo that diſcovering their craftineſs, we refuſed to comply with their propoſal. I will relate to you*, continued he, *a Parable of the church of God: There was a woman who had brought forth and educated many fine children; then there came ſome barbarous wretches that murdered almoſt all theſe good children. The woman bare other children and brought them up in like manner. Afterwards the ſame murderers returned and offered to make peace with theſe children, deſiring that all paſt hoſtilities might be forgiven; to which they, not fully inſtructed of the aſſaſſination of their brethren, had like to have conſented: but the mother, and the reſt of the elder children that had eſcaped, being ſtill mindful of their villainy, would not hear of any peace or accommodation.* From this ſpeech we may learn what a ſpirit they were of, that refuſed the offers of peace. And it was this ſame *Ophooren*, who, after having zealouſly promoted the buſineſs of Excommunication, which ſtrengthened the ſchiſm between the *Flemings* and *Freeſlanders*, bewildered himſelf ſo far in his own whimſies and odd fancies, that he declared all the reſt of the *Flemiſh* Teachers to have forſaken the truth, and that only he and his wife, like *Elijah* of old, remained the true worſhippers of God. But upon this, he was rejected by the *Flemiſh* Congregation, and then he went and ſettled at *Norden*, where, for want of followers, he was reduced to ſo great neceſſity and diſtreſs, that he who had baniſhed his former friends, as far as in him lay, out of heaven, was obliged to ſeek their aſſiſtance here on earth, where, being maintained and ſupported by their alms, he lived in miſery, and died in poverty.

A ſtrange whimſy of John van Ophooren, *an* Anabaptiſt *Teacher.*

The more averſe the *Flemings* were to peace, the more earneſt were the *Freeſlanders* to heal the ſchiſm; in conſequence of which, they drew up in writing a frank confeſſion of their errors and falſe ſteps, with reſpect to their diviſions, as far as they were ſenſible of them, and laid them before the *Flemings*. But *James Keeſt*, a great ſtickler for the *Flemiſh* party, having dropped it out of his pocket at *Harlem*, it was taken up in the ſtreet, and printed by ſome of the *Reformed*, tending very much to the praiſe of the *Freeſlanders*, by ſhewing their love of peace. Others ſay, that propoſals for Peace were likewiſe made by ſome of the *Flemings*, which, though very reaſonable, were rejected by the *Freeſlanders*; ſo that each ſide offered peace, but neither would accept it.

In

An° Dom. 1578.

A Peace concluded between the Freefland *and* German Anabaptiſts.

In the mean time there paſſed both written and verbal conferences between the *Freeſland* and *German Anabaptiſts*, which ended in a mutual agreement and toleration in the year 1591. But ſome of the narrow-ſpirited *Freeſlanders*, particularly *John Jacobſon*, obſerving that their brethren were more moderate in the buſineſs of Excommunication and Separation, became more ſtiff in the matter, and dividing from *Peter Jelties* and others, who oppoſed their notions, perſecuted them with Excommunications, rejecting their Baptiſm, and rebaptizing all that had received it. Hence aroſe two new Sects, of which one followed *John Jacobſon*, and the other adhered to *Peter Jelties*; and the Sect of *John Jacobſon*, upon very ſlight occaſions, produced yet another, which took its name from *Thijs Gerrits*. The reſt of the *Freeſlanders* have been ſince called the *Moderate Party*, or from the name of one of their Teachers, the followers of *Lubbert Gerrits*.

A Schiſm among the Freeſlanders.

A Schiſm among the Flemings.

The *Flemiſh Anabaptiſts* fell likewiſe from time to time into new confuſions and quarrels. *Thomas Bijtgens* one of their Teachers at *Franeker*, having bought a houſe, had inſerted in the writings a litigious and enſnaring clauſe, to avoid paying the Quitrent: thus ſome relate it: But others ſay, he bought it for another, and fraudulently got it for himſelf. Others again relate the ſtory differently, and to his advantage. From this quarrel a new Sect ſprung up alſo, under the name of *Thomas Bijtgens*'s people, or the *Houſe-buyers*. The other party, though they retained the names of *Flemings*, were likewiſe ſtiled *Jacob Keeſt*'s people, but afterwards they ſplit themſelves into other Sects. The *Houſe-buyers* ſeparated from one part of their people, nicknaming thoſe whom they rejected, *Bankrupts*; nor did they ſtop here: but I am tired with inquiring how ſome of the aforementioned Sects have ſince ſubdivided themſelves into ſmaller parts, and how one ſchiſm begot another; and the rather, becauſe their ſeparations aroſe for the moſt part from cauſes either of very ſmall importance, or ſuch as were obſcure and not eaſily diſcovered. I ſhall only ſay with [1] a Writer of great name, that *the* Anabaptiſts *conſiſt at preſent of ſuch a number of Sects, that ſcarce any body can reckon up all the names of them.*

Leaving therefore the ſequel of theſe confuſions, which have carried me beyond the thread of my Hiſtory, I return to the tranſactions of the year 1578. At which time *Richard Folkertſon Koornhert* being come back into *Holland*, found himſelf engaged in a controverſie at *Delft* with two Miniſters, to wit, *Arnoldus Cornelius* and *Reinier Donteklok*, touching the *Characteriſtics of the True Church*. He happened to be in company with a man that boaſted mightily of his leaving the *Romiſh* Church, and embracing the *Reformed Religion*; giving ſuch poor reaſons of his converſion, that it was eaſily perceived he knew as little of the church he came over to, as of that he had quitted. This occaſioned *Koornhert* to ſay to the man, *it may be a doubt whether you have found or rejected the beſt.* This was told again in ſomewhat harſher terms, and gave birth to the diſpute. *Koornhert* maintained, that the churches which followed and believed the doctrine of *Calvin* and *Beza*, were not true churches; and this he pretended to prove from three articles which they maintained, viz. *Predeſtination*, *Juſtification*, and *puniſhing Hereſy with death*. But the Conference was hardly begun when it was broke off, and pohibited by a ſpecial Order of the States of *Holland*, tho' afterwards reſumed publickly at *Leyden* on the 14th of *April*, by permiſſion of the ſaid States, who appointed certain Deputies to preſide at it. However it did not laſt above one day and a half, foraſmuch as *Koornhert* complaining how he was treated too magiſterially, would proceed no further. [2] Thus we find it related by *Bor* and *Uitenbogaert*. But in a certain manuſcript letter of the ſaid *Koornhert*, dated the 18th of that month, which has fallen into my hands, and in the printed relation of the diſpute, we meet with more particular accounts of it. There it is ſaid, that though forced to follow the Miniſters in the order of the diſpute, and to anſwer their queſtions and propoſitions, (without being allowed to ſpeak concerning the puniſhing Hereticks with death) he nevertheleſs puſht one of them ſo far, to wit, *Corneliſſon*, who was the ſpokeſman, that he, [3] being entangled in his own net, began to fall into a paſſion, and to aſſume a ſtrange countenance (his cheeks glowing with heat) and coughing, hemming, and faultering in his ſpeech, he at laſt was ſtruck quite dumb in the ſight of all that were preſent. But when afterwards his aſſiſtant *Donteklock* was going to ſecond him, coughing and ſtammering, and ſeeming to be as much at a loſs as his friend,

A Diſputation between Richard Folkertſon Koornhert *and two Miniſters of* Delft *at* Leyden.

3

[1] Grotius *in his Oration to the people of* Amſterdam, p. 52.

[2] Bor. Lib. XIII. *p.* 82. Uitenbog. *p.* 198.

[3] *See* Koornhert's *Works*, Part. III. f. 168, &c.

friend, the following words dropt from *Koornhert*, *the doctrine of* Calvin *and* Beza: upon which the Commiſſioners thinking it a good opportunity to relieve the two embarraſſed and diſtreſſed Miniſters, they turned to *Koornhert*, and threatened him with the diſpleaſure of the States, for having thus mentioned the two names above, ſaying, *you know very well that the thus naming thoſe two Divines, is diſagreeable to the States*; adding at the ſame time, that he deſigned to make a ſchiſm among the people. There likewiſe ſtood up a certain *French* Doctor of Divinity (he thought it was *Feugueræus*) complaining of his naming thoſe two great men; and as he underſtood no *Dutch*, aſking what that *Hollander* ſaid concerning them? Whereupon *Koornhert* made him ſuch a reply as ſoon ſilenced him, and then proceeded to ſay in the *Dutch* tongue; *What does this mean? One may name God, and one may name the Devil too, with impunity*; *and may we not mention the names of thoſe two men?* This occaſioned high words again, and repeated menaces from the Commiſſioners, who called to him more than once, *We will not ſuffer you to harangue thus:* To which he replied, *nor will I ſuffer any man to lord it over my Faith:* he alſo ſubjoined to the Miniſter *Donteklok*, *I do not pretend to govern any man's Faith, but am ready to bear with you, and all others who differ in opinion from me: why ſhould they not then bear with me? Were I to be an enemy to all ſuch as think otherwiſe than I do, who is there to whom I ſhould not be an adverſary? Can you find ten men in one town that believe alike in all things?* he had ſaid before, *I own for brethren all thoſe godly men who hold* Chriſt *for their Corner-ſtone, whether they be* Prieſts, Monks, Baptiſts, Reformed, *or* Lutherans. An° Dom. 1578.

In fine, he took his leave of them, openly declaring in the hearing of hundreds of witneſſes, that he never intended to return, but to go home and leave diſputing, ſince they would not allow him the freedom of anſwering. However, the Miniſters met after his departure, and ſo did the Commiſſioners, at the ſame place where the Conference had begun, and making as if they ſtaid for *Koornhert*, ſent for him to his Inn: all which grimaces ended in giving out that he had quitted the field, and loſt the day. Thus *Koornhert* himſelf relates the ſtory, with circumſtances too long to be repeated. But others tell it to the advantage of the Miniſters, ſaying, that *Koornhert* not being able to anſwer the arguments of the Miniſters, betook himſelf to flight. [1] The States being apprehenſive of further quarrels, ordered him by the Magiſtrates of *Harlem*, *not to publiſh any thing in print concerning this diſpute:* He was alſo forbidden *to trouble the Miniſters of* Delft *with letters or otherwiſe, upon pain of the utmoſt ſeverity.* Some time after, the Miniſters of *Alkmaer*, *Horn*, and other places, had him up in their pulpits; railing at him by name, and repreſenting him as a *Heretick*, an *impious fellow*, and a *Free-thinker*. Upon which he petitioned the States, ſetting forth *his faithful ſervices, the occaſion of his diſpute with the Miniſters, the States commands to him, and his ſilence*; *notwithſtanding which the Miniſters had publickly charged him with falſities from the Pulpit. He therefore humbly prayed he might be heard, and doubted not to prove his innocence*; *hoping that they, the States, would ſilence ſuch ſcandalous tongues. If he could not obtain that favour, nor enjoy the liberty of his conſcience, and the protection of juſtice, according to the treaty of* Gant, *he beſought them to permit him to go and live out of their dominions.* Koornhert's *Repreſentation to the States.*

The States returned this anſwer to his petition; *That if he would comport himſelf peaceably, dutifully, and faithfully, like other ſubjects, and not publiſh any thing relating to religious controverſies, unleſs with the allowance of the States*; *then he ſhould enjoy the benefit of the Pacification of* Gant, *and in conſequence of it, be ſecured from all trouble and danger.* This anſwer, and the forego ingorders not to moleſt the Miniſters, were not very ſatisfactory to *Koornhert*; for he was of opinion, that although theſe *Reformed* had rejected ſome Papal errors, yet they maintained others, and thoſe no ſmall ones, particularly that of putting Hereticks to death; and that they likewiſe introduced other errors, which he was forbidden to expoſe; and this he thought was the beginning of a new *Inquiſition*, or force upon Conſciences in *Holland*. *Their Anſwer.*

[2] The States of the other *Netherlands*, who were now at war with Don *John*, did not only forbid by Placards all Paſtors, Curates, Miniſters, and others to preach, ſpeak, write, publickly or privately, any ſcandalous words or things tending to ſedition, contrary to that reverence which they owed to the Archduke, the Prince, and States; adding, that every one ſhould forbear diſturbing the publick tranquility, and *Seditious Sermons prohibited.*

[1] Bor. Lib. XIII. *p.* 28. Koorn. Pars I. f. 469. [2] Bor. Lib. XII. *p.* 24. *d.* Hooft, Lib. XIII. *p.* 563.

An° Dom. 1578. *An Oath required of the Clergy, &c.*

doing any thing to the prejudice of the *Romiſh* religion; but beſides, they required that all Officers, Magiſtrates, and Clegymen, ſhould ſwear to obſerve the Treaty of *Gant*, and to oppoſe Don *John*. [1] The Secular Prieſts at *Antwerp* took the oath, but the *Jeſuits* flatly refuſed it, being, as they affirmed, bound by oath to the Pope, who was a favourer of Don *John*. The *Franciſcans* likewiſe ſcrupled to ſwear, but twenty of them bethought themſelves, and did it, though nineteen ſtill perſiſted in refuſing it; upon which they, together with the *Jeſuits*, were on *Whitſunday* led ſafely out of the city. This treatment was, in the opinion of the common people, too gentle for them, and they began to murmur, and cry out: *that the whole tribe ought to be turned out of the town.* But the hanging two of theſe Zealots, who went armed with an ill deſign againſt the Monaſtery, quieted the tumult.

To avoid the aforeſaid oath, the whole ſociety of *Franciſcans* quitted the city of *Utrecht*. The ſame happened in ſeveral other towns. [2] We do not find that the oath met with any oppoſition from the *Franciſcans* at *Bruges*, no not even from Brother *Cornelius*, who ſtill reſided there. [3] But certain of that Order being charged with the vile ſin of Sodomy by ſome of the Lay-brothers, and impriſoned, three of them were condemned to the fire, two to be whipt, and one baniſhed. The like wickedneſs was diſcovered at *Gant*, where four *Franciſcans* and one *Auſtin* Fryer were burnt, and ſome whipt. And ſince theſe people were now almoſt generally deteſted, they forthwith baniſhed the four begging Orders out of the city.

The Monks *driven out of* Gant.

The ſending of Annates *to* Rome *forbidden.*

After this, the States prohibited, by a ſtrict Placard, the ſending any more *Annates* to *Rome*. Thoſe *Annates* were yearly ſums of money which the Prelates paid the Pope at the time of their Conſecration.

[4] Many of the *Reformed* obſerving how things went in their favour, and how the *Romaniſts* were divided by ſuſpicions and miſunderſtandings among themſelves; and laſtly, how neceſſary they, whoſe ſtrength daily increaſed by the return of the Exiles, were become to the Government againſt the *Spaniards*, proceeded to give a remarkable inſtance of humane inſolence and pride in proſperity; which may ſerve for a ſure proof, that it is eaſier to bear bad fortune than good; for miſery ſharpens the mind, and adverſity may be wreſtled with and conquered; but the fumes of proſperity aſcend to the brain, ſtifle our reaſon, and extinguiſh the light of diſcretion. They therefore forgetting themſelves, were guilty of many unjuſtifiable actions in ſeveral places and manners.

A Tumult and Revolution at Amſterdam.

The firſt extravagance they committed was at *Amſterdam*, on the 26th of *May*, which cannot be ſo much imputed to the inſolence of the common people, as to the deſign and contrivance of many of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants, who were returned from their baniſhment. For they having a ſuſpicion that the *Papiſts* of that city had an eye towards the *Spaniards*, ſtirred up the rabble, poſſeſſed themſelves of the *Dam* and the *Stadthouſe*, dragged the *Scout* and the Magiſtrates, both old and new, either from thence or from their own houſes, committing them to cuſtody at the Weigh-houſe, together with ſeveral Prieſts and all the *Franciſcans*; from thence they carried them to the river's ſide, attended with the ſhouts of the mob, who cried, *carry them to the Gallows, whither they have ſent ſo many others.* But they put the Laity into one veſſel, and the Clergy into another, (who expected no better treatment than to have been ſunk to the bottom) and landed them on St. *Antony*'s Dike. All this was without effuſion of blood. But their zeal and rage ſpent it ſelf on Images and Altars, and worſt of all upon the Monaſtery of the *Grey-Fryers*, or *Franciſcans*, on account of their former malice againſt the *Proteſtants*. The third day after, the Burghers choſe a new Senate or Council, and the Senate new Burgomaſters and Schepens. The Churches were ſhut up for a week. Then the new Magiſtrates taking ſome Carpenters with them, went and removed the Images; upon which the *Reformed* began to preach, firſt in the Old, and ſome days after in the new Church. The firſt Miniſters that were called, were *Johannes Keuchelinus* and *Petrus Hardenberg* from *Embden* and thereabouts. Beſides theſe who had taken poſſeſſion of the publick Churches, the *Lutherans* and *Anabaptiſts* met likewiſe openly, and exerciſed their ſeveral Religions, with the knowledge and conſent of the Magiſtrates, who alſo allowed the *Papiſts* the private exerciſe of theirs, though ſome of the *Reformed* were diſpleaſed at it.

The Reformation *introduced at* Amſterdam.

[1] Hooft, Lib. XIII. *p.* 568. Bor. Lib. XII. *p.* 27.
[2] Hooft, Lib. XIII. *p.* 569.
[3] Bor. Lib. XII. *p.* 27.
[4] Hooft, Lib. XIII. *p.* 569.

[1] There

'There likewiſe happened ſomething ſoon after at *Amſterdam*, from whence it ſeemed to appear how little duty and reverence thoſe of the *Conſiſtory*, or Church-Council, paid to their Governours even in theſe early times. It had been the cuſtom to marry at the church in the evenings, and it was now thought proper that it ſhould be done in the day-time. Upon which it happened about ſix or ſeven months after the Revolution in that city, that one of the moſt conſiderable Burghers, who was afterwards of the Council, and ſeveral times a Burgomaſter, being about to marry, and appearing before the Commiſſioners for matrimonial cauſes, in order to be regiſtered, ſignified his inclination to be married there, ſince the Bride being very young, ſcrupled to be married in the church openly, and in the day-time. The Commiſſioners, who were *Egbert Roloffſon*, *Reinier van Nek*, Members of the Council, and *Cornelius Floriſon van Tielingen*, all three of them not long after Burgomaſters, ſaid to the Bridegroom, *You are an old Patriot, and have been long wandering out of your country; it would not therefore be decent in you to marry out of the church; but we will take care that the ceremony be performed there after Evening prayer.* But when the time came, the Miniſters were unwilling to join them. Thereupon the Bridegroom was forced to appear before the Conſiſtory, which was made up chiefly of foreigners; where after ſome diſpute on both ſides, they told him, *That they would not for his ſake break the reſolution they had ſo lately taken*; plainly declaring, *that the Magiſtrates who had made him ſuch a promiſe, had no power to controul them in that matter.* The Bridegroom upon this, gave the Heer *Egberts*, who lived neareſt to the church, an account of all that had happened to him; who going immediately to the Conſiſtory, with much difficulty prevailed on them to comply with what the Magiſtrates had promiſed. But none of the City Miniſters would perform the ceremony, ſo that they were forced to make uſe of a Country Miniſter. ANNO DOM. 1578.

2 Soon after this change of affairs at *Amſterdam*, the people of *Harlem* roſe on a Sacrament day, and proceeded on the ſame foot, committing great inſolencies; they were the Soldiers that began the diſturbance, a ſort of people not much famed for civil behaviour. Whilſt the Clergy, on account of the tumult, were preparing a proceſſion with burning tapers within the Great Church, three companies of ſoldiers forced the door, and killed one *Peter Balling* a Prieſt, thruſting him through the body behind with their ſwords, and wounding ſeveral others; then they plundered St. *Mary*'s Church, and the *Franciſcan* and *Dominican* Convents. After this, the church which the ſoldiers had ſhut, was opened by a Commiſſioner of the States, in favour of the *Reformed*, and taken poſſeſſion of by them; *Johannes Damius* preaching the firſt Sermon. Before this, the *Reformed* had obtained the church on the *Bakeneſs*, and afterwards the *Carmelite* church in the middle of the town. The murtherer of the Prieſt was, by order of the States of *Holland*, puniſhed with death, and the other ſoldiers, after a ſtrict charge by beat of drum and ringing of the town-bell, to reſtore what they had ſtoln, were ſent away. And here alſo a promiſe was made to the *Papiſts*, by a publick Declaration, that they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion. *A Tumult at Harlem.*

3 In *Flanders* and *Brabant* the *Reformed* abſtained from violences, but they daily took greater liberties. At *Antwerp*, on the 16th of *March*, they had preached in fifteen places, and adminiſtred the Sacrament in fourteen; and the Prohibition made in *April* before was little regarded, though the States had expected other things. At *Gant* there were meetings in ſeveral places, of four, five, and ſix hundred perſons, with as little concern as if it had been by permiſſion of the government; ſailing thus with a proſperous gale, and their numbers and riches increaſing daily, they had the boldneſs to aſk the free exerciſe of religion, upon the advice of thoſe to whom it was equal to promote it by any methods. But it is no leſs credible, that there were ſome among them, who having an averſion to the ſcandal of violent actions, towards which they perceived ſo general a tendency, embraced this as the milder way. 4 And this method was approved by a national Synod of the *Reformed Dutch*, *German*, and *Walloon* Churches, which met at *Dort* on the 2d, and ſate till the 18th of *June*. *Meetings of the Reformed in Brabant and Flanders.*

5 It is ſaid of this Synod, that their aſſembling without the leave of the States has been *The firſt National Synod at Dort.*

[1] *From the Notes of one of the chief Magiſtrates of* Amſterdam.
[2] Bor. Lib. XIII. *p.* 118. Hooft, Lib. XII. *p.* 572. Schriv. Harlem *p.* 114.
[3] Bor. Lib. XII. *p.* 37.
[4] Bor. Lib. XII. *p* 47.
[5] *From the Juſtification of the Reſolution of the* States *of* Holland, *Auguſt* 4. 1617. p. 88.

A^N^ DOM. 1578. *A Petition of the* Reformed *for free exerciſe of Religion.*

bee no ſo very pernicious conſequence. The Repreſentation or Petition drawn up by conſent of the Synod, and delivered to the Arch-duke *Matthias* and Council of State on the 22d of the ſaid month, was of the following tenor: [1] 'They ſhewed 'their reaſons for ſeparating from the church of *Rome*, extracted out of ſeveral printed 'books, and from their Confeſſion of faith, confirmed by the conſtancy of many 'who had ſigned their teſtimonies with their blood. They proved that the cruelties 'practiſed againſt them, produced nothing but an increaſe of Believers; with the 'loſs nevertheleſs of the nation's welfare, with the deſolation of its cities and towns, 'by baniſhing and forcing the inhabitants to fly, and with the impoveriſhing of the 'Community, by a ceſſation or removal of trade and manufactures. That in order to 'redreſs all theſe evils, and to ſhake off the yoke of *Spaniſh* ſlavery, they had never 'grudged to expoſe their lives and fortunes. But that all their labours, and all their 'ſufferings were in vain, if they muſt be brought back again to the ſlaughter-houſe; 'the dread of which was a heavy load upon their ſpirits. The refuſal of a free ex-'erciſe of religion, was an occaſion of diſtruſt, and of the attempting ſome things 'which were not equally agreeable to all the *Reformed*. That they had long ex-'pected the States would have made ſome regulations with reference to the buſineſs 'of religion, in which reſpect the *Reformed* were reduced to this *Dilemma*; either 'that they muſt live without any religion, or that they themſelves muſt force 'a way to the publick exerciſe of it. The firſt of theſe would be ſo pernicious to 'the Commonwealth, that nothing could be more hurtful, being attended with the 'contempt of God, and all that is ſacred, an impious and epicurean life, and conſe-'quently a violation and rejection of all divine and humane laws. The ſecond might 'produce a breach of the union of the Provinces, and poſſibly a diſſolution of the pre-'ſent Government. But if the Rules of the Ancients, who were eſteemed wiſe and 'judicious men, were of any weight, they could not do better than to learn of their 'enemies; for, whilſt the buſineſs of a diverſity in religion was the enemies beſt 'weapon, whereby he endeavoured to enſlave the *Netherlands*, care ought to be 'taken that the ſaid diverſity in religion might not be uſed for a battery, in order to 'make a breach between thoſe of differing perſwaſions, and through it to intro-'duce Tyranny. And ſince the experience of paſt years had taught them, that by 'reaſon of their ſins they could not all be reduced to one and the ſame religion, it 'was neceſſary to conſider how both religions might be maintained without damage 'or prejudice to each other, in ſuch manner however, that the union and mutual 'engagements of the ſeveral provinces of the *Low-Countries* might ſuffer no infracti-'on. They prayed, that no ear might be given to thoſe who ſhould object againſt 'this, that the Treaty of *Gant* ought to be obſerved, that two Religions cannot be 'conſiſtent in one nation, and that if this were allowed, the Clergy would remain on 'a precarious footing. For the Treaty of *Gant* had been perfidiouſly broken by the '*Spaniards*. They might be even with them, and not break their faith, foraſmuch 'as in that agreement and contract, the provinces were no otherwiſe than recipro-'cally bounden, and what they had ſo bound, they might reciprocally unbind or 'ſlacken more or leſs for the good of the nation, and for countermining the ſecret 'ſtratagems of the enemy. But they did not intend to do any thing in prejudice of 'the ſaid Treaty; and therefore prayed that the States-General might make proviſion 'for the free exerciſe of religion purſuant to the ſame. As for the objection, that two 'religions were incompatible in one country, it had been refuted by the experience 'of all ages. The *Heathen* Emperors had found their account more in tolerating the 'Chriſtians, nay, even in uſing their ſervice in their wars, than in perſecuting them. 'The *Chriſtian* Emperors had alſo allowed publick Churches to thoſe who were of 'a quite different opinion from them in religious matters; as might be ſeen in the Hi-'ſtory of *Conſtantine*, of his two ſons, of *Theodoſius*, and others. The Emperor '*Charles* V. found no other expedient to extricate himſelf from the utmoſt diſtreſs, 'than by conſenting to the exerciſe of both religions. The Emperor *Ferdinand*, a 'Prince of extraordinary wiſdom and judgment, Grandfather to Archduke *Matthias*, 'conſented to the Treaty of Religion, and thereby ſuppreſſed all inſurrections: for 'the Clergy no where enjoy the quiet poſſeſſion of their goods, eſtates, and privileges 'with greater ſecurity. In many cities both religions are exerciſed without diſcord 'or tumults, and in ſome places in one and the ſame church. The Emperor *Ma-*

3

'*ximilian*,

[1] Epiſt. Select. Cent. Lib. II. *p.* 369.

'*ximilian*, Father to Archduke *Matthias*, had not only ſuffered ſuch liberty to ſub- An° Dom. 1578.
'ſiſt, but had promoted it in his hereditary countries; and the Emperor *Rudolphus*,
'Brother of the ſaid Archduke, had allowed the ſame but a few days before to the
'Equeſtrial Order of *Hungary*. *France* (*continued they*) is too near for us to be
'ignorant, that the rivers of blood with which that kingdom is overflowed, can
'never be dried up but by a Toleration of Religion. Such a Toleration formerly
'produced Peace there; whereas, being interrupted, the ſaid kingdom was imme-
'diately in a flame, and in danger of being quite conſumed. We may likewiſe learn
'from the *Grand Seignior*, who knows how to tyrannize as well as any Prince, and
'yet tolerates both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* in his dominions, without apprehending either
'tumults or defections, though there be more *Chriſtians* in his territories who
'never owned the authority of the *Pope*, than there are in *Europe* that acknowledge
'it. The King of *Fez* and *Marocco* does the ſame. The King of *Poland* tolerates
'beſides the different Sects of *Chriſtians* in his country, even *Mahometans* too,
'who, though very numerous, yet are ſubject to him, and never rebel. Nay, the
'*Pope* himſelf, whom the *Romaniſts* hold for their Head, and all his actions for infal-
'lible, permits the *Jews* to have publick Synagogues both in *Rome* and others of his
'cities. As for the third objection; it was impoſſible for them ſo ſoon to convince the
'world of their good intentions of living with their fellow-citizens in perfect peace and
'tranquility; but in the mean while they beſought his Highneſs the Archduke and
'the Council, that they would propoſe ſome terms of ſecurity, promiſing to comply
'with them to the utmoſt of their power. To which end they renewed their peti-
'tion, that both religions might be equally tolerated, till God ſhould be pleaſed to
'reconcile all the oppoſite notions which reigned in the land, on account of religion,
'by a free, general, or at leaſt a national Council: And that all provocations and
'injuries mutually given and done, might be buried by an inviolable Amneſty,
'and none be called in queſtion, nor troubled on thoſe accounts.

A ſecond Petition to the ſame end.

After having waited fourteen days ſucceſſively for an anſwer, they preſented a ſe-
cond Memorial; 'promiſing to procure the Guarantee of certain Potentates for their
'obedience, and deſiring that they might be aſſured of the like on behalf of the
'*Romaniſts*. They alſo propoſed ſeveral terms for the ſecurity of both Commu-
'nions; offering, that the *Reformed* ſhould call God to witneſs in the moſt ſolemn
'expreſſions, that they had no deſign to diſturb the Prelates or other Eccleſiaſtical
'perſons making profeſſion of the *Romiſh* faith, either in their bodies, goods, or the
'exerciſe of their religion, againſt which they would never attempt any thing, but
'hinder all injuries which might be offered them, to the utmoſt of their power.

A Project of a Religious Peace.

'To obviate theſe Memorials of the *Reformed*, there was a project of a Religious
Peace, as they phraſed it, prepared in the name of the Archduke and Council of State,
which they ſuppoſed needed not to create any diviſion between the provinces, ſince
it would remain in the power of each of them either to embrace or reject it. The
chief points of this project were theſe: 'That all Malverſations committed ſince the
'treaty of *Gant* ſhould be forgiven and forgotten; and that to the end there might
'be no further diſcord on occaſion of the diverſity of religion (which as it ought
not to be propagated, ſo neither ought it to be maintained nor ſuppreſſed by arms and
violence) 'every man ſhould enjoy an entire freedom, with reſpect to the two Re-
'ligions, to ſerve God according to the beſt of his judgment, and ſo as he would be
'content to anſwer it at the laſt day. That in all places, as well in *Holland* and
'*Zeland* as in other parts where the *Romiſh* religion had been excluded, it ſhould
'be reſtored, provided that thoſe who deſired it were a hundred ſtrong in the great
'towns and villages, and had dwelt there a whole year before at leaſt; but in little
'places, thoſe who deſired it were to be the majority. That the *Reformed* ſhould
'enjoy the exerciſe of their religion after the ſame manner throughout all the *Low-*
'*Countries*. That in thoſe places where but one perſwaſion was publickly allowed,
'none however ſhould be called to account or troubled for the private exerciſe of the
'contrary religion within their own houſes. That they who entred into a church
'where a different religion was exerciſed, ſhould carefully avoid giving offence, and
'conform themſelves to the cuſtom of the place. That the *Reformed* ſhould be
'obliged in all parts of *Holland* and *Zeland*, to obſerve *Sundays*, *Chriſtmas-Holidays*,
'*the*

[a] Hooft. Lib. XIII. *p.* 574. Meteren. Lib. VIII. *p.* 154.

An° Dom. 1578.

'*the Feſtivals of the Apoſtles, the Annunciation of the Virgin* Mary, *Aſcenſion-day,* '*Candlemas, and Sacrament-days,* by ſhutting their ſhops and forbearing all kinds of 'trade. And laſtly, That for the better cementing of Unity, all Offices and Places 'ſhould be conferred upon perſons according to their capacity and merit, without 'any regard to their Sect or Opinions.

1 The things which followed hereupon, cannot be treated of without great emotions of ſorrow and concern in our minds, and will ſerve for a mirrour, in which we may diſcover what animoſities, what hatred, what tumults and ſeditions have been raiſed under pretence of Religion and Piety; for the *Papiſts* would make no conceſſions to the *Proteſtants*; neither would the latter be contented with living out of the danger of puniſhment, or with excerciſing their religion in private, but endeavoured by obſtinacy to overcome the ſtiffneſs of the Government. What they could not obtain with juſtice, or by fair means, they took by force, abandoning themſelves to the paſſion of revenge where-ever they found themſelves the ſtrongeſt; ſo that they who were before united in their wiſhes, and but lately in their counſels and Endeavours againſt the *Spaniards*, their common enemy, now turned their arms in the places where they were fellow-citizens, againſt each other: and if they could but chaſe away thoſe who differed from them in opinion, they neither minded nor cared for the enemy. Even the Soldiers were not made uſe of for the war, as finding employment more than enough in preſerving domeſtick peace: and, as mortal diſeaſes are rendered worſe by medicines, ſo it happened to the Peace-makers; the hatred that proceeded from the oppoſite parties centered upon them; becauſe thoſe who ought to have been Preachers of Patience, fomented the Uproars. By their means the common Peſt of this age became equally diffuſed among both Parties. The very names of things were changed. The *love* of *Diſcord* was chriſtened *holy Zeal*. *Modeſty* and *Moderation* were nicknamed *Indolence* or *Lazineſs*, or even *Treachery*.

Petrus Dathenus *by a ſeditious Sermon raiſes a tumult at* Gant.

2 At *Gant*, diviſions were fomented among the people by *Peter Dathenus*, *John van Imbyſe*, and others. *Dathenus*, formerly a Monk of *Poperinge*, as has been ſhown above, but at that time a Miniſter at *Gant*, and titular Privy-Counſellor of Duke *John Caſimir*, was raving in the pulpit one day, and had the boldneſs to affirm, *That the Article which related to the maintaining the* Romiſh *Religion was impious, and that the Prince* (who in ſhowing the reaſonableneſs of the ſaid Article, was heard to ſay; **That changes ought not to be made raſhly, unſeaſonably or irregularly; but that promiſes ſhould be ſtrictly kept; and that perjury was an abomination in the ſight of the Almighty**;) that ſuch a Prince, I ſay, *did neither regard God nor Religion*. 3 They refuſed any longer to tolerate *Romiſh* ſuperſtitions, the cauſes of ſo much villainy and cruelty; not that the Ringleaders of the tumults cared with what religion they covered their ſeditious projects, but this appeared the moſt ſpecious pretext. They chaſed away all the Prieſts and Eccleſiaſtical perſons, as people that could not be truſted, and allowed them a yearly maintenance. They ſeized upon the fat Abbies, and all the rich furniture of the Churches and Convents, and ſold them. They turned every thing upſide down; demoliſhing Churches, Convents, and other houſes, and building others in their room. They cut down woods and trees. They melted the Bells and Braſs-work, and uſed them for the caſting of Cannon; and having fortified the town of *Gant*, made themſelves maſters of divers of the neighbouring cities. At *Ypres* they plundered the dwelling-houſes of the Biſhop and Prebends. They arrogated to themſelves the authority of the four Members of *Flanders*, and under that pretence, took upon them to raiſe ſoldiers, and to make uſe of the publick money. The people of *Antwerp* and *Bruſſels* ſent their Deputies thither in their own name; *Aldegonde* came thither on account of the Archduke, the Prince, and the States-General, in order to diſſwade them, but in vain. They purſued their own giddy reſolutions, ſtorming and demoliſhing the Churches and Images of the adjacent villages, inſomuch that the Pacification of *Gant* was no where leſs obſerved than in the place where it had been made.

The Religious Peace *rejected by thoſe of* Hainault.

4 The province of *Hainault* in the mean time abſolutely rejected the *Religious Peace*, the project of which the Archduke had diſperſed throughout the country, deteſting it, as one of the moſt impious and perfidious deſigns that had ever been heard of; and reſolving rather to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in defence of the *Romiſh* religion.

[1] Grot. Ann. Lib. III. *p.* 57.
[2] Reyd. *p.* 28, &c. Hooft. Lib. XIII. *p.* 575. Meteren. Lib. VIII. *p.* 155. Epiſt. Select. *p.* 833.
[3] Grot. Annal. Lib. II. *p.* 57.
[4] Bor. Lib. XII. *p.* 55, &c.

religion. The people of this part of the *Netherlands*, together with the reſt of the *Walloons*, the moſt zealous for the *Romiſh* faith, and the freeſt from people of different perſwaſions, were the neareſt Aſylum of the Refugee-Clergy, who you may be ſure were not wanting in the leaſt to cry out, *The Temple of the Lord!* and to obteſt the faith of God and Man, of Saints and Angels, and by all methods to excite their compaſſion, their hatred and jealouſy. This occaſioned great animoſities, and induced them alſo to lay their hands on the publick treaſure. An° Dom. 1578.

[1] It likewiſe happened, that the inhabitants of *Gant* fell upon the village of *Stegers*; and becauſe the Lady of that place had forbidden the *Reformed* to preach within her juriſdiction, they broke into her houſe, took her priſoner, and carried her to *Gant*, with about two hundred cheſts of the Prieſt's goods who had fled thither: nay, they drove out of that village, ſix hundred *Walloon* ſoldiers, killing two hundred of them. Hereupon ſeveral *Walloon* Regiments marched againſt them; and the rather, becauſe they had ſtopt their pay, with which the province of *Flanders* was charged. Theſe Gueſts fell to plundering and robbing the places under the juriſdiction of *Gant*, forcing the country people to redeem their houſes from burning, with great ſums of money, for the maintenance, as they pretended, of the Clergy whom they had driven away, and who had fled for protection to the *Walloons*. Thoſe Troops, to ſhow their zeal for religion, wore large beads about their necks, which gave occaſion to the *Ganteners* to call them the *Pater-noſter* Soldiers; but they ſtiled themſelves the *Malecontents*, and inſiſted chiefly, that the *Romiſh* religion ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, and the Clergy of *Gant* be reſtored to their former ſtate and poſſeſſions. [2] The *Ganteners*, on the other hand, required among other things, that the publick exerciſe of the *Reformed* religion ſhould be allowed through all the *Netherlands*, and then they would admit the *Romiſh*. Thus one Civil War produced another in the bowels of the country, which in proceſs of time occaſioned the ſeparation of the *Walloon* provinces from the reſt, and at length, the loſs of the greateſt part of the *Low-Countries*.

[3] At the ſame time, the deſign of turning the *Anabaptiſts* out of *Midelburg* by an indirect way, was reſumed, and brought ſo far, that beſides the oath of Burgherſhip, the Magiſtrates required them to perform the duties of Watch and Ward, threatning otherwiſe to ſhut up their ſhops, and deprive them of the benefit of trading; and though they offered to bear more than their ſhare in all the publick taxes, and to pay ſuch as ſhould watch in their ſtead, provided their conſciences might be left free, it was denied them; ſo that they muſt have been ruined by the loſs of their livelihood if the Prince of *Orange* had not interpoſed, and ſecured their Privileges by the following Letter, which he ſent to the Magiſtrates of *Midelburg*.

The Prince of Orange, *Count of* Naſſau, *Lord Baron of* Breda, *of* Dieſt, &c.

To the Worſhipful, Diſcreet, Dear and Truſty, &c.

The Prince of Orange's *Letter to the Magiſtrates of* Midelburg.

WHereas certain Houſkeepers, dwelling in the city of Midelburg, *being, as we are informed, of the Sect of the* Anabaptiſts, *have complained to us ſeveral times, that they are daily moleſted by you, and deprived of the means of earning their bread for themſelves and families peaceably and quietly; and whereas the aforeſaid perſons are willing to bear all reaſonable burdens equally with other Burghers; and as to the buſineſs of bearing arms, which affects them moſt all, have likewiſe offered to procure that duty to be diſcharged at their proper expences, in ſuch manner as you your ſelves, or thoſe whom it concerns, ſhall judge moſt fit and equitable: We cannot but think, that you do amiſs in not ſuffering them to be at reſt, and to live according to the dictates of their conſciences, purſuant to that Order which we, with the advice of the Governour and Council, have formerly made in favour of them, and which they aſſure us they have communicated to you. And whereas we are informed, that you have not hitherto paid any regard to the ſaid Order, nor to our preceding Letters; we find our ſelves obliged to write you this Letter for the laſt time, by which we plainly tell you, that it does not belong to you to concern your ſelves about any man's Conſcience; and require therefore, that nothing be deliberated or done, that may tend to*

---

[1] Bor. Lib XII. *p.* 60. [2] Ib. Lib. XIII. *p.* 70. *b.* Hooft. Lib. XIII. *p.* 577. [3] Ib. *p.* 578. Uitenbog. *p.* 195.

An° Dom. 1578. *to the ſcandalizing or giving offence to any; in which caſe no perſon, whoſoever he may be, ſhall be connived at or excuſed. Wherefore we expreſly command and direct you to leave off diſturbing the aforeſaid people, commonly called* Anabaptiſts, *and hindering them from the exerciſe of their reſpective trades and vocations, whereby they may earn their bread for the ſupport of their wives and children, and to ſuffer them to open their ſhops again, and work at their trades as formerly, at leaſt till the States-General, to whom only it belongs, ſhall otherwiſe order and appoint. And therefore we admoniſh you to take care that you do not contravene any thing contained in this Letter, or in the Act that was lately made in their favour, nor compel them to any Fines or Amercements for any of the cauſes abovementioned. Provided alſo, that they behave as they ought, and do nothing that may tend to ſcandalize their neighbours, but bear all the equitable burthens of the town as well as the reſt of their fellow-citizens.*

Herewith we recommend you, Worſhipful, Diſcreet, Dear, *and* Truſty, *&c. to the protection of the Almighty.*

Given at Antwerp, July 26. 1578. *Counterſigned by*

De Baudemont.

The Anabaptiſts *troubled at* Amſterdam.

1 At *Amſterdam* the *Anabaptiſts* met likewiſe with ſome troubles about this time. For after the Revolution in that city, ſome of the Miniſters that were eſtabliſhed there, did upon ſuch their eſtabliſhment, without a precedent or example ſet them by any other of the towns of *Holland*, and without any directions from the Government or Magiſtrates, but only at the inſtigation of ſome Zealots, give them great trouble for a long time in their religious aſſemblies, notwithſtanding they had ſo lately ſhared with them in Perſecutions, and been their Fellow Exiles and Wanderers in ſtrange countries, where yet they were allowed to enjoy liberty of Conſcience. But the ſaid Miniſters perceiving that the Magiſtrates would not countenance them in theſe deſigns, they forbore, and left them at peace for a while. It is alſo believed, that the Burgomaſter *William Bardeſius*, whoſe wife and ſiſter were *Anabaptiſts*, protected this Sect. Theſe people met chiefly at the *New Dyke* near the *Harlem*-Gate, and the old *Harlem*-Sluice; which part of the town, on account that many of its inhabitants, even before the Troubles, were not very well affected to Popery, was of old called the *Embden*, or *Kondees* Corner.

The Reformed *at* Antwerp *obtain certain places for the publick exerciſe of their Religion, agreeably to the project of a* Religious Peace.

2 At *Antwerp* the *Reformed* laboured mightily to poſſeſs themſelves of the publick churches. Many Colonels and other Officers of the Militia, impatient of waiting any longer for the anſwer which each of the provinces of the *Netherlands* was to have tranſmited to Archduke *Matthias*, relating to his project of a Religious peace, applied to the States of *Brabant*, preſſing them to give ſpeedy orders for preventing Tumults and promoting Unity. The Prelates and Nobility of that province would have delayed the matter. But the *Reformed* of *Antwerp*, though they ſaw how diſagreeable this was to the two Members of the States, never left importuning the Archduke, the Prince, and their Magiſtrates, till upon the 29th of *Auguſt*, *to prevent further miſchief* (ſo the Order runs) it was allowed them to exerciſe their religion in certain places, provided they ſatisfied the owners, to wit, at the houſe of *Aken* which had been poſſeſſed by the *Jeſuits*; the houſe called the *Leghuit*; the Sugar-bakery on the old *Eirmery*; and the Chappel in the caſtle. Theſe and other articles not inconſiſtent with the ſubſtance of the Archduke's *Religious Peace*, were publickly notified, and were to continue in force till the States-General ſhould have more maturely weighed the ſame. But matters did not ſtop here, for they were obliged to deliver to them the churches of the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans*, and thoſe of St. *Andrew* and St. *James*, beſides the Chief church, or our *Lady*'s, from which the Choir was divided for the uſe of the *Romaniſts*. Thoſe of the Confeſſion of *Auſburg* got at firſt the Cloth-workers Chappel, the Garret of the *Heſſen*-houſe, and certain Barns; and afterwards the church of St. *George* and that of the fraternity of the *Virgin Mary*.

3

[x] *From the Annotations of the Heer* P. C. Hooft. [z] Bor. Lib. XII. *p.* 41, 54. Hooft, Lib. XLV. *p.* 576.

In

In *Bruſſels*, a few days before, there aroſe a dangerous tumult on account of the abovementioned project of a *Religious Peace*. *Frederic Perenot*, Baron of *Champaigny*, brother to the Cardinal *de Granvelle*, having for ſome time behaved himſelf very laudably againſt the *Spaniards*, in defence of the States party, could not bear that the *Reformed* Religion, contrary to his intentions, ſhould get footing in the *Popiſh* countries, and that it ſhould likewiſe be confirmed by the *Religious Peace*. He therefore ſet himſelf againſt it, zealouſly labouring that at leaſt *Bruſſels*, the ſeat of the Regents and Governours, might not be defiled by Hereſy. For this purpoſe he aimed at changing the Garriſon; which being prevented by the ſagacity of the Prince of *Orange*, he endeavoured to promote his intentions by a Petition preſented for that purpoſe; but the people provoked by the wreſting or miſunderſtanding a certain word in the petition, roſe in oppoſition to him; ſo that he and ſome of his aſſociates had a priſon for the reward of their ill-timed zeal.

Anno Dom. 1578.

A Tumult at Bruſſels.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK XII.

An° Dom. 1578.

AMong ſuch different commotions, with reſpect to the buſineſs of the *Reformation* in the *Low-Countries*, there began a ſcene to open at *Utrecht*, which inclined ſome to think, the matters of religion were putting themſelves upon a more moderate foot in that place than elſewhere; but others were of opinion, that this diverſity would do more harm than good: however the thing is of ſuch weight and importance, as to deſerve being traced from its very original, to the end that the judgment of our Reader may be the better informed.

The Original of Mr. Hubert Dovehouſe.

There was at this time a Paſtor of St. *Michael*'s Church, whoſe name was *Hubert Duifhuis*, or *Dovehouſe*: Concerning this perſon (who was a principal inſtrument of bringing about the *Reformation* in that city, and whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention in this Hiſtory) ſeveral remarkable particulars are here to be related, which I have learned from ſome of his poſterity, and other people of credit and veracity. He was born at *Rotterdam* in the year 1531, on the 27th of *October*, the day before the birth of our great *Eraſmus*: Being called to the office of Paſtor in his native town, he gave very early proofs of an excellent temper. A certain inhabitant of *Utrecht*, named *Ewout Prins* (Grandfather of *Adrian Prins*, in his lifetime Burgomaſter of *Rotterdam*) carrying his merchandize of Herrings, and other fiſh to *Antwerp*, ſaw ſome perſons put to death for their religion. This produced ſuch a horror and deteſtation in his mind, that when he came home, he mentioned it to ſome of his fellow citizens as a thing that ſeemed monſtrous and inhumane. His talking thus created ſuch a ſuſpicion of his being tainted with hereſy, that he was obliged to appear before ſome of the Clergy, in order to be examined as to his belief. Maſter *Hubert*, who was an Aſſeſſor to the Examiners, kept ſilence a good while, till our Burgher being pretty hard preſt with ſo many queſtions as they put to him about his faith, had recourſe to the common *Dutch* proverb; *I believe,*

He was firſt choſen Paſtor at Rotterdam.

As the Cripple ſaid to the Blind,
He that well does, ſhall well find.

Upon his ſaying thus, up ſtood *Dovehouſe*, and laying his hand on the man's head, cried; *Well, my ſon, go on in that way, that is a good belief; keep to it, and live accordingly.* Then he managed the matter with ſo much prudence and ſagacity, that they put a ſtop to any further enquiry, and the accuſed perſon was declared *pure and untainted with hereſy*, and ever after ſhowed his gratitude to the Paſtor for his preſervation.

Our ſaid Paſtor had likewiſe privately married his Houſkeeper, and had had ſeveral children by her, which being diſcovered, it began to be looked into, in the month of *March* 1572: Beſides his marriage with that woman, whom he would not own as a Concubine, he was yet further ſuſpected as to matters of Faith: A certain woman complaining to him one day, *That her daughter kept ill company*; he aſked her, *With whom?* She replied, *With* Anabaptiſts. He aſked again; *How does ſhe behave her ſelf towards you?* Says the mother; *Bating that, ſhe is a dutiful, quiet and ſober child.* He then concluded: *Do not be uneaſy in this matter; good fruit never comes from a bad tree.* This was well enough in private converſation, but he could not forbear upon other occaſions to ſhow how averſe he was to the *Popiſh* ſeverities; and it is reported, that a certain *Spaniſh* Prieſt preaching in his mother-tongue to ſome of his Countrymen in the Great Church at *Utrecht*, whither *Boſſu* had lately marched them, dropped the following expreſſions; *This Church alſo is infected with* Lutheraniſm, *and he who is the occaſion of it, is here preſent; but it will not be long e'er a fire be kindled under him.* A Schipper that uſed the *Spaniſh* trade, and underſtood what was ſaid, acquainted the Paſtor how he was threatened; and the ſame day came the Inquiſitors. *Dovehouſe* finding no means of avoiding them, gave them good words, ſhowed himſelf ready to enter into a Conference with them, but prayed them firſt to dine with him, to which they agreed. The Paſtor entertained them with friendly chat till it was pretty late in the evening, plying them ſo hard with wine, whilſt his ſervants, by his own directions, filled him moſtly water, that he ſo ſoftened their auſtere tempers, and put them into ſo good humour as to be able to perſwade them to adjourn the buſineſs they came about; to the end, ſaid he, that we may apply our ſelves to it to morrow, with clearer judgments and apprehenſions. Hereupon they returned to their Inn, and he made the beſt of his way out of town before the morning. His brother *Leendert Jacobs Dovehouſe*, known alſo by the title of *Schilperoordt*, who was then ruling Burgomaſter, and was the author of his flight, conveyed him ſilently out by the *Eaſt-gate*. The ſaid Burgomaſter was in the month of *May* following, turned out of his Government by the *Spaniards*, and afterwards met likewiſe with his ſhare in the common calamities. The Paſtor, his brother, concealed himſelf for a while in *Cologn*, but at laſt fell into the utmoſt diſtreſs; his wife being brought to bed there, and his family wanting bread. He could get no ſupport from his own country, by reaſon of the troubles that enſued. Thus the poor man being at his wits-end, went out of town one day, leading his eldeſt little boy in his hand, and the tears flowing from his eyes, not knowing which way to turn, nor daring to diſcloſe his caſe to any; for a Prieſt with a lawful wife was not ſafe in this city. In theſe deplorable circumſtances, he met with one that was a native of the city, and an inhabitant of *Dort*, from whence he was now come on account of trade. This perſon had frequently heard him preach at *Rotterdam*; and thereupon accoſting him very civilly, and obſerving his ill circumſtances, offered him his ſervice, and put a Bill of Exchange into his hands to provide him with money; and though *Dovehouſe* proteſted to him that he knew no way of repaying it, the Merchant bad him be eaſy, and told him he might command more. He accepted it then as a relief ſent him from heaven. Some time after this good providence, he returned home, and was called to be Paſtor of St. *James*'s Church in *Utrecht*: Whether it was that he had found means of making his peace with the Church of *Rome*, or whether it was thought fit to connive at him, is uncertain; and it was probably after the death of his Wife, which happened in the year 1574; for that obſtacle being removed, he could diſcharge his function with leſs obloquy. He was afterwards treated as a Runaway or Refugee by the *Hollanders*, and his houſe and land at *Rotterdam* ſeized on, and ſold in the year 1576, becauſe he reſided at *Utrecht*, which yet ſtuck to the *Spaniards*, though he had fled from thence before, on account of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*. It was indeed ſomewhat odd, that after the departure of the *Spaniards* he did not immediately repair to *Rotterdam*; but it was an argument, that at that time he was not fully ſatisfied about the *Reformation*; yet it was not long before he ſhewed by degrees his averſion to *Popery*, eſpecially in the year 1577, when Perſecution, by the intervening the Treaty of *Gant*, had loſt its ſting even at *Utrecht*. Then he began publickly and freely to inveigh againſt honouring Images, and other errors of the *Romaniſts*; in which he proceeded ſo far, that he gave notice to the Magiſtrates in the current year 1578: That

An° Dom. 1578.

He had married a Wife, and was ſuſpected of Hereſy.

He flies to Cologn.

He returns, and is made Paſtor of St. James's *Church at* Utrecht.

He begins publickly to oppoſe Popery.

An° Dom. 1578.

His Representation and Petition to the Magistrates of Utrecht.

That his conscience obliged him from that time forwards to preach and teach after the manner of the Reformed, *for which he intreated their leave; offering nevertheless to suffer the Images to remain in his Church, and to wear the Surplice in his Pulpit, till the Government should otherwise direct.* Adding, *that God did not regard the vestments, whether they were white or black, but the heart only.* He promised further, *that he would always exhort his flock to peace, and subjection to their rulers.*

A Resolution formerly taken by the Magistrates in his Favour.

The Magistrates of *Utrecht* had so great a respect for this Pastor, that they had before, *viz.* on the 10th of *February*, come to the following resolution concerning him: *The Council having considered the great service which Master* Hubert Dovehouse, *Pastor of half the parish of St.* James, *has performed by his good Sermons and Discourses for some years past here at* Utrecht, *and which he now daily performs by his pious instructing and admonishing of his congregation, both as to their Principles and Morals; and that such a preacher is exceeding useful to this city, in these dangerous times; have thought fit, for his support and maintenance for one year next ensuing, to add the sum of two hundred and fifty Gilders to his salary; and for his past services to make him a present of fifty Gilders more.*

The Magistrates therefore, knowing him to be of a very peaceable disposition, and considering the engaging and moving faculty he had in preaching, which, by being accompanied with a sober and virtuous life, had still a much greater influence on his hearers, were of opinion, they had met with a fit man to lessen the numbers of the *Reformed*, and to diminish their strength by dividing it. For (so much more difficult is it to bring the minds of men to concur in an uniform reformation or amendment of all abuses, than in the abolition of any one disapproved form) many people, as much as they disliked the corruptions of the church of *Rome*, began now to mutter, *that in order to cleanse the Church, these* Reformers *did not only sweep away the filth, but even the floor it self:* so that *Dovehouse* seemed to be cut out for a Leader to great numbers of such Followers.

In the mean time the Magistrates observing how matters went in several of the neighbouring towns, were greatly concerned for the peace of their city: [1] for the *Reformed* began now to preach in divers places within the gates, as in the *Donker-straet*, and elsewhere, with such a confluence of people, that it was not safe to oppose them by force. They endeavoured therefore to procure the concurrence of the Deans of the five Chapters to the abovementioned petition of Pastor *Hubert*, and to enter into a treaty with him upon that subject; but the Chapters absolutely refused it, as thinking themselves bound to adhere entirely to the church of *Rome*. This refusal much displeased the Magistrates, who would not altogether reject the desire of *Dovehouse*, but connived at his way of preaching. Yet fearing lest animosities or quarrels might arise in the town upon his account, he represented to them the ill state of his health, and desired a discharge, submitting himself however to the pleasure of the Government, as became a good citizen. The Magistrates would not hear of his leaving them, but gave him permission, without the loss of his benefice, to retire to his friends at *Rotterdam*, till he should be called back to *Utrecht* at a better juncture. Before he went, he publickly abjured *Popery*. The inhabitants provoked at his sudden departure, and imagining that the Clergy had forced him to it, rose immediately, and demanded of the *Scout* and Burgomasters, that all the *Franciscans* should be forthwith driven out of the city. The Senate or Council met on the 27th of *June*, and having considered the request of the populace, concluded, in order to satisfy them, that notice should be given to those Fryers, that they should withdraw for a time.

He desires his Dismission.

A Tumult occasioned by his departure.

The Project of a Religious Peace *rejected by the States of* Utrecht.

In the mean while the project of the *Religious Peace* was rejected by the States in the month of *August*, chiefly at the instigation of the Clergy, though some of the Nobility were of opinion, that it ought to have been received, provided they could have privately introduced some of the Ministers of the Confession of *Ausburg*, which they conceived would tend more to the safety of the Clergy, and sensibly weaken the interest of the *Reformed*. But the Magistrates of *Utrecht*, who had different views with respect to religion, called home Master *Hubert Dovehouse*, (who had staid at *Rotterdam* some weeks, and had declined both there and at the *Hague*, to engage in the service of any church) that he might resume the Pastoral Office in his parish. To this end they sent him a copy of the Resolution of the Senate, taken the

Dovehouse *is recalled.*

[1] Bor. Lib. XXI. *p.* 106.

7th of *Auguſt* in favour of him, which ran thus: [1] *Reſolved this day by the Senate, that Maſter* Hubert Dovehouſe, *Paſtor of St.* James, *be earneſtly entreated that his Reverence would reſume his Paſtoral office, and diſcharge the duties thereof, by preaching and inſtructing the people in unity, peace, and tranquility, after ſuch a manner as he ſhall be willing to anſwer the ſame to Almighty God: And for theſe purpoſes the Senate will, and do hereby take him into their protection.* An° Dom. 1578.

After this it was likewiſe reſolved to re-imburſe his charges, and to indemnify him for what he had loſt, with a ſum of 64 Gilders; and he having agreed that the Senate might remove him from his Miniſtry whenever they ſaw fit, his ſtipend was augmented from 250 to 300 Gilders. After this the two religions, the *Romiſh* and *Reformed*, were both peaceably exerciſed for a while in St. *James*'s church; inſomuch that when the Mattins were done in the Choir of the ſaid church at the High-Altar, and the Prieſt ſung, *Ite miſſa eſt*, *Deo Gratias*; the people that quietly waited for it below, in the body of the church, preſently ſung aloud after the way of the *Reformed*: *Lift up your hearts*, *open your ears*, &c. That Pſalm or Hymn being ſung, Maſter *Hubert* aſcended the pulpit. He proceeded thus in his Reformation; he baptized thoſe children that were brought to him, in the plaineſt or moſt ſimple manner, without obſerving any of the *Romiſh* ceremonies, and without aſking any other queſtions of the Parents than the name of the child, or obliging them or the witneſſes to any kind of promiſes. He adminiſtred the Lord's Supper in the ſame manner as the *Reformed*, but allowed every one to approach the table upon a ſelf-examination only, without previouſly requiring a confeſſion of their faith, and without regiſtring the names of the Communicants. He appointed no Elders, Deacons, nor Conſiſtory; but in the management of the buſineſs of his pariſh, he uſed the advice of the Church-wardens, Lay-perſons choſen of old by the Pariſhioners, and confirmed by the Magiſtrates. Theſe, ſaid he, anſwered the office of Elders. The uſual Overſeers of the Poor (whom they ſtile there, *Potmaſters*) he called his Deacons, and let them collect the Alms. As for Excommunication, and other puniſhments of publick ſins, his opinion was, that they belonged to the Civil Magiſtrate, who had the power of the ſword, which he ought to uſe according to the nature of offences; but that one brother had no more authority over another, than to admoniſh and reprove him in love. Wherefore he would not concern himſelf with Excommunication, or any other diſcipline, upon the *Geneva*-foot, looking upon it to be tyranniſing over conſciences, and a remnant of the *Popiſh* yoke. He allowed of no perſecution for difference of religion, even not againſt *Papiſts* themſelves, nor would have any ſhare or hand in it, ſaying to the Magiſtrates of the town: *if you perſecute men on account of their faith*, *God will never proſper your affairs*. He taught no Catechiſm from the pulpit, the holy Scriptures being, as he ſaid, his only Catechiſm. In order to bring over thoſe who ſtill hankered after the *Romiſh* cuſtoms, he explained on *Sunday*, the Epiſtle and Goſpel for the day, according to the diviſions that were appointed by that church. [2] He preached with great zeal and fervour, and with a moving eloquence; urging chiefly the exerciſe of charity, a good life, and internal virtues, without meddling with nice diſputes, or deep myſteries, which, according to the judgment of all diſcreet Doctors, might be ſafely omitted, and could not well be inquired into without the danger of pernicious errors. [3] For this his impartiality he was nick-named by many a Libertine or Free-thinker. As for the buſineſs of Predeſtination, he could not extend his notions of it ſo far as ſome of the *Reformed* did: He therefore ſpake little upon that head, no more than of Original ſin, and of Juſtification by imputed righteouſneſs. Thoſe who periſhed, periſhed, he ſaid, through their own fault. He viſited the Sick, when deſired, of whatever ſect or perſwaſion they were. By this way of proceeding he drew after him abundance of hearers from among the citizens, and acquired much eſteem with the Magiſtrates, who, ſome time after, ſuffered the images to be taken out of his church. Then alſo he laid aſide the Surplice, and preached ever after in his Gown. The reſt of the *Reformed* had no publick churches in *Utrecht* at this time, but made uſe of Miniſters that came to them from other congregations, in a Barn near St. *Nicholas*, but with ſo great a concourſe, that the place was too ſmall for them: this occaſioned their making bold with the *Franciſcan* church, which was not then uſed, and teaching there, till the Magiſtrates gave their conſent, and then they demoliſhed the images, endeavouring to ſettle the *Reformation* after

An Account of his method of Reformation.

The Church of the Franciſcans *ſeized by the* Reformed *at* Utrecht.

[1] *From the Regiſters of the City of* Utrecht.
[2] Hooft, Lib. XXIII. *p.* 147.
[3] *See the Letter of* P. de Bert, *in* Bor. Lib. XXII. *p.* 197.

An° Dom. 1578.

Their Propoſal to Dove-houſe, *and his anſwer.*

after the manner of the churches in *Holland*. They alſo frequently eſſayed to bring *Dovehouſe* to uniformity in doctrine, diſcipline, and the adminiſtration of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper: But his anſwer was; he did not differ from them in point of doctrine, but he thought it as yet unſeaſonable to introduce their cuſtoms into his church; neither was he obliged to it by any neceſſity, whilſt they both lived under the protection of the ſame *Chriſtian* Government; but that he was however always ready to cultivate a friendly correſpondence with them. When they perceived he would not enter into cloſer meaſures, the Miniſters of the *Franciſcan* Church, or the *Conſiſtory* (as they were then ſtiled) began to preach againſt his, and to call it a *Latitudinarian Libertine* church, and his vocation unlawful, becauſe he had quitted the *Popiſh* religion without being confirmed by the *Reformed*. They daily ſent their Spies when he preached, in order to pick ſomething out of his ſermons whereby to inſnare or cenſure him, as [1] *Peter Bor* tells us in his Hiſtory. One time, when a child was brought to be baptized by him, which being at the point of death, had been before baptized by the Midwife, according to the cuſtom of the *Papiſts*, he declared the ſaid Baptiſm in the church, adding, *That ſince the Child had been baptized by the Midwife in that extremity, he ſhould not baptize it again.* This was taken very ill, and communicated to the neareſt churches in the province of *Holland*. He was likewiſe accuſed of ſuffering a child, that had been already baptized by him, to be re-baptized in a *Popiſh* church, without complaining to the Magiſtrates. Upon this, *Arnoldus Cornelius*, Miniſter of *Delft*, came to *Utrecht*, and together with *Nicolas Sopingius*, and *Wernerus Helmichius*, both of them Miniſters of the *Reformed* in that city, expoſtulated with him about theſe matters. Firſt they charged him with the latter; to which he replied, that he could not hinder the *Papiſts* from rebaptizing the ſaid child; neither could the Government do any thing in it, becauſe it was too late; beſides he did not care to importune them with daily complaints; however he had taken notice of it in the pulpit, and ſhown that ſuch things ought not to be done. As for the Midwife's baptizing, he did not intend to cavil with them about it, but to enter into a friendly conference; and as he was endeavouring to juſtify the neceſſity of it by the inſtance of *Zippora*, who her ſelf circumciſed her ſon, one of the Miniſters interrupted him, crying out; *That is a* Popiſh *argument, and you are ſtill a* Papiſt *in your heart:* Which made him anſwer; *Will you thus condemn me before you underſtand me rightly? then will I not ſubmit to your judgment.* After this they diſcourſed of other matters; but he being moved at ſuch treatment, would hardly anſwer them, till at laſt ſome body aſked him, whether he had not read the little Tract of *Theodore Beza*, concerning the power of the Magiſtrate to puniſh Hereſy with death? Upon which he burſt out into theſe expreſſions: *Is that your meaning? Then let not my ſoul enter into your councils; neither do I deſire to have any communication with ſuch people:* riſing up at the ſame time, and refuſing to hear them any longer. Thus was the laſt ſpark of hopes towards a union quite extinguiſhed. Upon which the *Conſiſtory* imparted their caſe to the neighbouring churches of *Amſterdam*, *Gorkum*, *Dort*, *Delft*, *Schiedam*, and even to that of *Embden*, entreating their advice againſt a man who, in their opinion, was putting a ſtop to the progreſs of the light of Truth. *Nicolas Sopingius* ſtiled him the Fountain and Promoter of diſorder, and of impious opinions, a Deſpiſer of Chriſtian order and diſcipline. But the anſwers and advices of the churches to which they had recourſe, were not uniform; though all commended the diligence of the *Conſiſtory* in their ſeaſonable watchfulneſs and prudence, foraſmuch as they had not ſkinned over the wounds of the church by their ſilence. *Menſo Alting*, a Miniſter at *Embden*, wrote; *That ſuch a Wolf was not to be ſuffered in the Sheep-fold, though he pretended to be a Shepherd; however he adviſed to deal with him firſt in private, but if he refuſed (as impiety is bold and ſhameleſs) and did not ceaſe to diſturb the Church, then to apply to the Government for its aſſiſtance, to the end that this Dog* (ſo he expreſſes himſelf) *might be reſtrained by ſuch authority. That as for the Sheep, they ſhould be put in mind of our Saviour's command,* Not to hearken to the voice of the ſtranger. *And laſtly, if all this would not do, that they ſhould addreſs themſelves to the Prince of* Orange, *and implore his aſſiſtance in the Church's cauſe.* This Letter to the above-mentioned *Conſiſtory*, was written at the latter end of this year.

A Conference between him and three Reformed *Miniſters.*

Menſo Alting's *immoderate zeal againſt* Dove-houſe.

[1] Lib. XXI. *p.* 108.

To return therefore to thoſe affairs from which the ſequel of the Eccleſiaſtical tranſactions of *Utrecht* diverted us: In the *Ommelands* of *Groningen* the *Religious Peace* was accepted on the 14th of *Auguſt*, and ratified by the Archduke on the 19th of *October*. *Johannes Milius* preached in the Militia-houſe on the *Dam*, till the *Fryers* church could be cleared of its Images and Altars. Afterwards the Heers *Rengers* at *Poſt*, and *Klant* at *Stedum*, encouraged Conventicles in their houſes. The town of *Leeuwarden* conſented likewiſe to the aboveſaid Peace, and aſſigned the church of the *Jacobins* to the *Reformed*; but on the 8th of *October* they demoliſhed the images in almoſt all the churches, to the great diſpleaſure of their Stadtholder, the Count of *Rennenburg*, who was then encamped before *Deventer*, and complained to every body how ill the *Religious Peace* was obſerved, threatening to cauſe thoſe of *Leeuwarden* to feel the effects of his reſentment.

Anno Dom. 1578.

The Religious Peace *accepted in the* Ommelands of Groningen, *and at* Leeuwarden.

Image-breaking *at* Leeuwarden, *contrary to the Articles of the Peace.*

The people of *Gelderland* and *Zutphen* had choſen Count *John* of *Naſſau*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, for their Stadtholder. The Count, who was very zealous for the *Reformed* religion, provided the Troops that lay in Garriſon with Chaplains and Preachers. *Peter Hackius*, afterwards a famous Preacher at *Leyden*, was then Chaplain to the Company of *Gerrit de Jonghe* of *Harlem*, at *Wachtendonk*. Thereupon the inhabitants of the towns of *Gelderland* preſented petitions upon petitions to the States, deſiring to have ſome places allotted them for the exerciſe of the *Reformed* religion, purſuant to the project of the *Religious Peace*. But the Magiſtrates oppoſed it violently, inſomuch that the ſaid Peace was rejected by the States, who refuſed to grant them one only chappel, notwithſtanding the exhortations of the Count, who ſet before them the example of *Germany*, where thoſe of both religions had lived quietly and friendly with each other in many cities and places for above thirty years, and continued ſo to live. The *Reformed* deſpairing to get any thing by fair means, reſolved to carve for themſelves, and to make uſe of the ſervice of the Soldiers for that purpoſe. [1] At *Gelder* they ſeized upon the Pariſh church, and the *Romaniſts*, though far the greater number, were forced to live without the exerciſe of their religion, to the great ſcandal of many, eſpecially becauſe of the young children, moſt of which continued unbaptized there and thereabouts. The new *Droſſart* of *Gelder* forbad the Pariſh Prieſts in the villages under the juriſdiction of that city, the exerciſe of their religion, and filled their places by degrees with other Miniſters. The ſame was done at *Wachtendonk* by the means of the Soldiers. The churches of *Arſen* and *Felden* were plundered by the Soldiers who lay in Garriſon at *Stralen*. At *Venlo* ſome of the inhabitants ſeized on the church named *Trans Kedron*, as alſo that of St. *Nicolas*, excepting the Choir, in ſpite of the Magiſtrates, who required them to let alone this laſt; but the Military men took the work upon themſelves, and maſtered the Market-place and the Town-houſe. *Doeſburg* underwent the ſame revolutions in the buſineſs of religion. The Deputies of the Nobility, and of ſome of the Towns of this Province, carried their complaints of the ſaid proceedings to the States, charging Count *John* their Stadtholder with conniving at theſe inſolencies; and requeſting, that the *Reformed* religion might be diſmiſſed, and the *Romiſh* reſtored. This remonſtrance was ſent to the Stadtholder, that he might give ſuch orders therein as ſhould be for the ſervice and tranquility of the country. But whilſt the *Papiſts* complained of him on one hand, thoſe of his own perſwaſion teazed him ſufficiently on the other; for to the hotteſt of them he appeared much too lukewarm. [2] And as Prince *William* at *Gant*, ſo Count *John* was obliged to digeſt many ſtrange expreſſions both at *Arnhem* and *Nimeguen*. It was now a moſt difficult taſk to govern. There was no regard paid either to Divine or Human laws, nor even to the neceſſity of Concord and Unity; all were forced to give way to the violation of Treaties and Covenants; and if any man had the courage to ſpeak of Moderation or Diſcretion, or to oppoſe, or ſeek to divert the torrent, the cry was, That he was a *Papiſt* or favourer of *Papiſts*; or elſe a Flatterer, a Hypocrite, and a Betrayer of his country; whilſt, on the other hand, the moſt imprudent Bawlers were extolled as the moſt zealous for Religion and Liberty; for which reaſons, inſtead of forbearing further diſorders, they proceeded in the ſame manner on the 7th of *September*, againſt the *Franciſcan* church at *Arnhem*, and on the 9th poſſeſſed themſelves of the church of St. *John* at *Nimeguen*, ſo that they ſoon baniſhed

Count John *of* Naſſau's *zeal for the* Reformed *in* Gelderland.

The Religious Peace *rejected in* Gelderland.

The Reformed *ſeize ſeveral Churches.*

[1] Bor. Lib. XII. p. 57. Hooft. Lib. XIV. p. 577.

[2] Reyd. p. 28. Bor. Lib. XII. p. 60.

An° Dom. 1578. niſhed the Maſs out of all *Gelderland:* Thus the obſtinacy of the *Roman Catholicks* to keep all, made them loſe all in this province.

At *Tergoes* in *Zeland*, purſuant to the treaty with that town, no other religion had as yet been publickly exerciſed than that of the *Romaniſts*. But the *Reformed* being encouraged at what had paſt in the neighbouring countries, preſented a petition to the Magiſtrates on the 28th of *September*, praying that they might have the uſe of the Nunnery or Siſter-houſe, becauſe the place in which they had hitherto preached, was too little for them. The Magiſtrates anſwered their Miniſter, That he muſt have patience two or three days, becauſe of the abſence of ſome of their Members; and that when they were returned, the thing ſhould be determined at a full board. The Miniſter aſſured them that for his part he was contented, but feared that his people would not be ſo ſatisfied. Neither indeed would they liſten to him, but inſtantly demanded an anſwer. The Miniſter acquainted the Magiſtrates with their reſolution, adding, that he apprehended ſome diſorders; and accordingly ſome were obſerved to be armed, and others were heard to threaten. Then the Magiſtrates found themſelves obliged to indorſe the petition with theſe words; *That although it was not in their power to grant or conſent to any thing in prejudice of the Convention made with the* Prince of *Orange*; *neverthleſs, for avoiding the preſent danger, and farther troubles, they were contented to ſuffer the petitioners to make uſe of the Church in the Hoſpital, but with a proteſtation of adhering to the aforeſaid Convention, without breach of the ſame in any wiſe.* In order to acquaint them with this propoſal, they called in the Miniſter, together with one *Lambert* a Weaver, *John Simonſon* armed with a ſword, *Marinus Abbakuk* with a muſket, piſtol and rapier, and one *Quadpart*, with a halbard. Theſe men hearing the reſolution taken by the Magiſtrates upon their petition, cried out; *The Prieſts may preach there for us.* At the ſame time they threatened to take the Church of the *Siſter-Houſe*, or that of the *Crouched Fryers*, by force, if they did not readily grant them one of theſe; the latter was therefore allotted them, and they owned themſelves ſatisfied. The Prior of the Convent was ordered to clear the church of all its ornaments, leaſt any inconvenience ſhould ariſe from thence. The Magiſtrates however, being aware that ſome diſcontent ſtill remained, ſent next day for the aforeſaid *Lambert*, and one *Lodowick*, and ſaid to them; *That having been informed that they were not yet ſatisfied, they deſired to know what they ſtill wanted, to the end that all riots or tumults might be prevented, from whence nothing but trouble and miſunderſtanding could reſult.* Hereupon the *Reformed* delivered in a new Memorial, in which they prayed, that the Magiſtrates would cauſe to be razed out of their firſt reſolution, the following words; *For avoiding the preſent danger, and further troubles*; and to return them a compleat and poſitive anſwer. They alſo demanded the uſe of the whole Convent of *Crouched Fryers*, and four hundred Gilders *per annum*, for the maintenance of their Miniſter, as was allowed to others in the iſland of *Walcheren*. They inſiſted, that the *Romaniſts* ſhould celebrate their Proceſſions, and other ceremonies, within their churches only; and that the *Reformed* ſhould be permitted to bury their Dead in the Yard or Ground belonging to the Great Church. The Magiſtrates aſked, *Whether they required any thing more? bidding them propoſe it all at once, and promiſing it ſhould be alſo complied with at once.* But whilſt they were debating theſe matters in the Council-Chamber, a rumour was ſpread, that the people were breaking the Altars and Images in the Great Church. The Miniſter ſeemed as much ſurprized as the Magiſtrates, and repaired with ſome of them thither, forbidding the Church-ſtormers to proceed any further; but they had no regard to what he ſaid, nor did they ceaſe till all was demoliſhed. The next *Saturday* in the evening there came into the town, and preſented himſelf to the Burgomaſters and ſome of the Council, a Miniſter of *Fluſhing*, and another of *Ter Veere*, attended with ſome Military Officers, and others, whom they ſtiled their *Conſiſtory*, and ſaid; *That having underſtood that the Great Church was purified from its Images and Idols, they prayed that it might be opened, and that they might be allowed to preach in it the next day.* To which the Council replied: *That they could give no directions in that matter, without knowing the opinion of the reſt of the Magiſtrates, and of the Community, it being inconſiſtent with the Convention that was granted them, which could not be altered or diſannulled but by common conſent.* They therefore adjourned the conſideration of their requeſt to the following day. The Miniſters on the other hand declared; *They had*

A Tumult at Ter Goes.

given them fair warning, and therefore were blameleſs if any diſorder ſhould happen in the mean while. The next morning, which was the 5th of *October*, they returned to the Council-Chamber, being attended by the Miniſter and ſome of the Inhabitants of the town, where the Magiſtrates and principal Burghers were aſſembled, renewing their requeſt for the Great Church. The Miniſter of *Fluſhing*, who was their ſpokeſman, alledged the example of all the towns of *Holland* and *Zeland*; adding, *That the church which had been demanded, or the uſe of it, did juſtly belong to them, in regard that the true Goſpel and Word of God was preached by them after the pureſt manner*; *beſides, it was now no longer fit for the* Romaniſts; *for which reaſon, if they refuſed it, they would do themſelves juſtice.* The Magiſtrates declared, *That the violation of the Treaty made with the Prince was not in their power: That if the* Reformed *were of opinion that it was lawful for them to make uſe of the Great Church, they, the Magiſtrates, did not deſign to oppoſe them: However, they, and all the Burghers who were aſſembled, joined in intreating them to be contented with the church of the* Crouched Fryers, *as they had before ſignified they would*; adding, *That they had already allowed a Miniſter to preach in the Great Church, without uſing any of the* Romiſh *ceremonies.* To this the *Fluſhing* Miniſter replied, in the name of the whole company, *That the Magiſtrates in granting them the uſe of the* Crouched Fryers *church, had already tranſgreſſed the terms of the Treaty: That they well knew the Miniſter whom they had allowed to preach, and who wanted a lawful miſſion or vocation*; *that the reſt did not concern them. Laſtly, That they thanked the Magiſtrates for the anſwer to their petition, and in conſequence thereof they deſigned to go and preach in the ſaid church, praying that the keys might be delivered.* They were told that the Sexton kept them, and that they might fetch them from him; which they immediately did; and opening the church, and calling the people together, preached there that very morning. Thus were the bands of unity weakened and broken, through the violence and raſhneſs of thoſe who being blinded with pride and ſelf-conceit, ſoon reduced themſelves and the whole nation to the utmoſt diſtreſs.

AN° DOM. 1578.

[r] At *Gant* the animoſities grew to ſuch a height, that upon the 4th of *October*, *Jacob Heſſels* and *John Fiſh*, who had been put in priſon ſome months before for raiſing tumults, were hanged upon a tree in the road to *Courtray*, by order of the Heers *van Ryhoven*, *Imboiſe*, and others, being condemned by a Court Military, that had no authority over them, and without the uſual forms of Law. They were both very violent *Papiſts*. *Van Heſſel*'s, raſh and inconſiderate cruelty in the buſineſs of the *Bloody Tribunal* has been already mentioned, and thoſe expreſſions; *To the Gallows, To the Gallows with them*, were always ſo ready at his tongue's end, that his own wife told him one time; *You have the Gallows ſo often in your mouth, God grant it be not your fate ſome time or other.* It is alſo reported of *John Fiſh*, formerly Bailiff of *Indelmunſter*, that having taken a prejudice againſt one *Henry de Kreuſe* of *Godsfelde*, on account of a Law-ſuit, he had procured him to be thrown into priſon at *Ypres*, for hereſy and ſedition; but having been informed that he, who was a very ancient man and rich, had obtained a pardon, the ſaid *Fiſh*, pretending zeal for the *Romiſh* religion, did of his own head, one *Sunday* morning, ſend a Monk with the Executioner to give him notice that he muſt die, before the Biſhop's Maſs was ended. The priſoner was at breakfaſt with ſome of his friends that were come to viſit him, and endeavouring to gain time, as knowing that his pardon was on the way (which alſo arrived the next day) he demanded to ſee the Order for his execution. Yet nothing would do, but out he muſt come; and when the Biſhop and the Bailiff returned from church, they found him hanging and ſtrangled on the Market-place, without any other appearance of guilt, than that he had harboured his own ſon, who was of the *Reformed* religion. He left behind him a wife and ſix children, who went about mourning for Huſband, Father and Goods, till they were reſtored to the laſt by virtue of the Pacification of *Gant*. But notwithſtanding all theſe vile and cruel actions committed by *Fiſh* and *Heſſels*, all juſt and equitable perſons were of opinion, that their Murderers were guilty of worſe; for the malverſations of thoſe two barbarous wretches had in ſome meaſure the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Age on their ſide; Laws that were indeed ſcandalous and execrable, but yet

[r] Bor. Lib. XIII. *p.* 70. Hooft. Lib. XIV. *p.* 593. Meteren. Lib. VIII. *p.* 156.

An° Do M. 1578. not ſo pernicious as that rage which knows no other bounds than the wanton humour of private men, and which at once deſtroys all civil ſociety, turning cities into worſe than deſerts inhabited by wild beaſts. And though there had been more than ſufficient cauſe to inflict capital puniſhment upon ſuch a pair of miſcreants, yet they died as innocents, being uncondemned by the laws of the land.

Duke John Caſimir *aſſiſts the* Ganteners

A few days after theſe men were executed, Duke *John Caſimir* (who had raiſed troops in *Germany*, and in greater numbers than his Commiſſion would warrant him, which occaſioned ſome reflection) inſtead of joining the State's army, in order to oppoſe the *Spaniards*, marched, by the advice of *Dathenus* and others, to *Gant*, with five hundred Horſe, that he might encourage thoſe who domineered there, by his power and preſence. The Duke of *Anjou*, brother to the late King of *France*, who was come to the aſſiſtance of the States, chiefly at the inſtigation of ſome of the great men of the *Romiſh Religion*, that were jealous of *Caſimir*'s great intereſt, and the increaſe of the *Reformed* religion; that Duke, I ſay, fearing the deſign was to overturn the *Romiſh* religion, refuſed to yield them any farther aſſiſtance, unleſs *Caſimir* were recalled: They complied, but ſtill he continued regardleſs of their intereſt, ſeeming to aim at being made Count of *Flanders* before he proceeded any farther.

Soon after another attempt was made to bring the people of *Gant* to reaſon, by convincing them they were in the wrong; for which purpoſe Deputies were ſent by the Duke of *Anjou*, by Archduke *Matthias*, by the Prince of *Orange*, the City of *Bruſſels*, the Council of State, and the States-General. Thoſe of *Bruſſels* repreſented to them, among other things: 'That the Prince of *Orange* had ſolemnly proteſted

The Repreſentation of thoſe of Bruſſels *to the* Ganteners

'that he knew no remedy againſt the approaching troubles, unleſs the city of *Gant* 'would come into the meaſures of the other towns and provinces: that he, the Prince, 'had never been involved in ſuch difficulties before; that the ruin of the nation, of 'himſelf and his family turned upon it, by reaſon of the part he bore in the war, 'and becauſe ſome charged him, though unjuſtly, with fomenting and promoting 'the tumults of *Gant*: that he intended to juſtify himſelf publickly, and in print, 'with the leave of the States, againſt theſe aſperſions: that indeed he approved of encouraging the *Reformed* intereſt, but feared leſt the unſeaſonable zeal of one city 'might produce diſcord and diviſions among all the other cities and provinces, and 'ſo leave them a prey to their moſt dreaded enemies; by which means that Religion 'which might have been ſecured and promoted by the project of Pacification or '*Treaty of Religion*, would be either baniſhed or kept out of ſeveral cities and provinces.' They added further: 'That it was the diſagreement about religious 'matters which rendered the *Turks* maſters of *Greece*: that no war was ſo deſtructive to a nation as civil diſcord on account of the difference of religion, eſpecially 'where both parties found the common enemy in the boſom of their country: that 'the enemies pretence for puſhing on the war, was the defence of the *Romiſh* religion; and laſtly, that the *Walloons* would much rather approve of ſuch a pretence, than allow of any alterations in religion by force or violence.'

Another Tumult at Gant.

[1] But during theſe Negotiations, the Mob roſe again, and upon the 18th of *November* drove the reſt of the Clergy at once out of the gates, and then deſtroyed entirely all that remained of images and ornaments in any of the churches. This was not an act of the Burghers or ſubſtantial Inhabitants, but of a number of fellows that ſeemed to be as mad as if they were broken out of *Bedlam*. The drums beat to arms, and the confuſion was ſo great, that there was neither ſeeing nor hearing; neither Magiſtrates nor any one elſe could awe them: whoever offered to diſſwade them, even with fair words, was in danger of his life; ſo that they were forced to let them go through with it. The Deputies themſelves were eye-witneſſes of theſe diſorders.

Not long after, the Prince himſelf came into the town, at the earneſt deſire of the States, though ſome of the Ringleaders would fain have hindered him; and with great labour, and by ſuffering much contradiction, obtained at laſt: 'That the free exer-

The Prince of Orange *introduces a ſort of* Religious Peace *at* Gant.

'ciſe of both religions, to wit, the *Romiſh* and *Evangelical*, ſhould be allowed. 'That the Clergy ſhould be re-admitted into the city, and their eſtates and goods 'reſtored, excepting all the *Mendicant Orders*, of whom both men and women were 'to be for ever excluded, for the eaſe and benefit of the poor. That they who did 'not care to return to their Convents, ſhould not be obliged to it, but be otherwiſe

[1] Bor. Lib. XIII. *p.* 72. Hooft, Lib. XIV. *p.* 597.

'maintained. That the Churches ſhould be divided between the *Reformed* and the *Romaniſts*. That the latter ſhould make no publick Proceſſions, nor carry the Sacrament in pomp through the ſtreets. That both the Miniſters and thoſe who compoſed their Conſiſtories on the one hand, and all the Profeſſors of the *Romiſh* religion on the other, ſhould behave with modeſty, peaceableneſs, fidelity, and obedience, with reſpect to the Magiſtracy, in all political matters, without meddling in any wiſe with things that belonged to the Temporal government. And laſtly, that all the Clergy, both *Popiſh* and *Reformed*, ſhould be ſtrictly prohibited to uſe any expreſſions, in publick or in private, that tended to promote tumults and uproars.' An° Dom. 1579.

The reſt of the Articles were much to the ſame purpoſe as thoſe of *Antwerp*. This was publiſhed on the 16th of *December*, in the form of an Order, agreed upon by the Bailiff, Aldermen, and Maſters of the Companies. The Prince got little thanks for his pains in ſettling this agreement from the *Reformed*, who fancied that he had been too kind to the *Papiſts*; but his conſtant maxim was, *Faith ought to be kept even with enemies.*

And the *Walloon* Malecontents were as little ſatisfied with what was tranſacted at *Gant* as the *Reformed*; they inſiſting that the *Religious Peace*, as inconſiſtent with the former Treaty of *Gant*, ſhould be aboliſhed.

In this year one *Juſtus Velſius* occaſioned much talk at *Harlem*, *Leyden*, the *Hague*, and other parts of *Holland*. He gave out that he was a man ſent from God, in order to reform the whole world; for which purpoſe he preached firſt privately, but afterwards openly; he promiſed to confirm his doctrine with miracles, undertaking to make a Blind man ſee, and a Cripple walk; but when he failed, he ſaid it was becauſe they had not faith. On the 8th of *November* in the foregoing year, he writ a letter to the States of *Holland*, reproving in them, all men that were guilty of arrogance and preſumption. He had alſo the confidence to call them rebellious and impious, for making laws about religion when they had none themſelves; concluding his letter with theſe words: *I tell them in the truth of God, yet not I, but the holy ſpirit of God himſelf, which is in me, that in caſe they do not abſtain from ſuch a preſumptuous undertaking, they will draw down upon themſelves the wrath of God.* He preached one time from a bench in one of the churches at *Leyden*, and had a great auditory, whom he appointed to meet him there again at a certain hour the next day; but the Magiſtrates being informed of it, ordered the church doors to be ſhut. As he was going thither at the appointed time, ſomebody told him that the doors were locked; to which he replied, *they will fly open for me when I come.* When he was near the church, out came a workman with a long ladder, upon which he crowded in with a good number of people who followed him. Thus he preached again on the ſame bench, and ſome of the credulous mob cried it up for a miracle. He alſo promiſed to preach next day at the ſame place and time; but the Magiſtrates apprehenſive of quarrels among the inhabitants, cauſed him to be led out of the town before day. Provoked at this, he writes a very warm letter to the Magiſtrates, telling them they were worſe than *Mammelukes*, and that he delivered them up that very day, with their diabolical Teachers, to *Satan*, that they might be tormented in hell-fire. At the bottom of the letter was ſubſcribed: *The called ſervant of* Jeſus Chriſt, *the righteous judge of the quick and dead, to whom is given all power in heaven and earth.* **Juſtus Velſius Haganus.**

Juſtus Velſius *pretends to reform the World, and to work Miracles.*

In the year 1579, he publiſhed a little Treatiſe, with the following title: *A very fine and noble Tract, containing Morning and Evening Prayers; with two Diſcourſes about Self-examination.* He concluded thus: *Let every body take care, for whoever deſpiſes and rejects me (I ſwear by the eternal Truth of God) does not only ſin againſt me, but likewiſe againſt the* Holy Ghoſt, *with a ſin that ſhall never be forgiven him.*

[1] This *Velſius* is recorded by *Lewis Guicciardin*, as a famous Phyſician and Philoſopher, among the learned men that ſprung from the *Hague*. But at this time he was a very old man, and as ſome think had turned his brain with much ſtudying.

[2] On the 5th of *February* of the year 1579, Maſter *William Artus*, a Member of the Prince of *Orange*'s Council, made a certain Declaration before the Magiſtrates of

[1] Vid. C. Geſner Biblioth. [2] Bor. Lib. XIV. p. 173.

An° Dom. 1579. the town of *Mechelen*, as he had alſo done in the great Council of the King, which is very remarkable: He declared, 'That he had not only forborn to engage himſelf 'in any particular Sect, but had alſo ſtudied to preſerve his mind free from the con- 'tagion of Hatred, Envy, and Partyſhip, on the account of the diverſity of opinions 'about the interpretation of ſuch parts of the holy Scripture as did not relate to 'the common and fruitful Chriſtian faith in the Salvation and Redemption purcha- 'ſed by the death of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Son of God, which works by Love or Cha- 'rity in the hope of the Reſurrection and of Eternal Life. *Adding*, that as to mat- 'ters of government both in Church and State, he had always behaved himſelf as 'became a private perſon, neither having nor deſiring any publick charge, but con- 'forming himſelf to every thing that was admitted or allowed, and ſhould continue ſo 'to do, unleſs any thing ſinful was required of him. And as for what related to his 'own conſcience, he was ready to give an account of it before the righteous Tribunal 'of God; praying that he might be no otherwiſe eſteemed of, and that this his De- 'claration might be taken in good part, proteſting that he would always keep to the 'aforeſaid chriſtian unity and civil ſubmiſſion, and deſiring a certificate thereof un- 'der the ſeal of the city.' Which was granted to him accordingly.

The Declaration of Maſter William Artus.

His peaceable Advice.

This Gentleman likewiſe publiſhed a little Tract with the title of, *Peaceable Advice or Inſtructions about the Chriſtian Religion, and its Unity.* In that piece he ſhows, 'That all ſincere chriſtians ought to agree in three fundamental or capital 'points, namely, in *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Love*. But that as for other matters relating 'to the building and perfecting the Knowledge of God, and of his Will, it was not 'neceſſary that all ſhould agree, or be of the ſame mind; nay, that every one muſt 'and ought to follow the dictates of his own conſcience in thoſe things, and the 'lights which God had given him: for of every one there would be required ac- 'cording as he had received, much or little. However, that all ought to uſe dili- 'gence, in order to increaſe in knowledge, and to be fruitful in all good works, each 'waiting for his full perfection in the life eternal.'

The Walloon *Confederacy.*

'A few weeks before, to wit, on the 8th of *January*, the people of *Artois*, *Hai- nault* and *Douay*, entered into a confederacy, for maintaining the Convention of *Bruſ- ſels*, the *Romiſh* Religion, the King's Authority, and the Pacification of *Gant*, and for joyntly oppoſing the *Religious Peace*. The Prince of *Orange* perceiving what would be the conſequence of this, did in the mean while ſet on foot another League, and brought about that the countries of *Gelderland* and *Zutphen*, *Holland* and *Zeland*, the Biſhoprick of *Utrecht*, and the *Frees-Ommelands*, ſituate between the *Eems* and the *Lauwers*, entered into a more ſtrict union on the 10th of *January* at *Utrecht*, de- claring at the ſame time, that they by no means intended to violate the Treaty of *Gant*.

The Union of Utrecht.

This Confederacy has been ſince called the Union of *Utrecht*, on account of its being concluded there; and it was likewiſe afterwards received by the provinces of *Freeſland*, *Brabant*, and a part of *Flanders*. It was hereby ſtipulated: 'That the 'ſaid provinces ſhould continue for ever united to each other, in ſuch manner as if 'they were but one country; without prejudice nevertheleſs to the peculiar liber- 'ties, rights, privileges, and cuſtoms of each province, city, and the inhabitants of 'the ſame, who ſhould not ſuffer any hurt or inconvenience from thence. And as 'for the buſineſs of Religion, the provinces of *Holland* and *Zeland* might do as they 'ſhould think fit; and the other provinces engaged in this *Union*, might either con- 'form themſelves to the Articles of the *Religious Peace*, already adjuſted, or intro- 'duce ſuch orders and regulations as they ſhould find moſt convenient for the repoſe 'and benefit of the provinces, towns, and particular members thereof, and for the 'preſervation of the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil rights and poſſeſſions of each of them, 'without the interpoſition of any other province, and without their concerning 'themſelves with each others religion, which every one in particular ſhould enjoy 'free and unmoleſted; neither ſhould any man be called to account, or examined 'upon that head, purſuant to the aforeſaid Treaty of *Gant*.' This laſt was the ſub- ſtance of the 13th Article, and was explained more fully on the 1ſt of *February*, by the Deputies who had agreed upon the *Union*, by declaring, 'that it neither was, 'nor had been their intention, that any of the towns or provinces which were de- 'ſirous to adhere to the exerciſe of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, purſuant to the 'directions

* P. 354.

** 599 P. 391.

[a] Bor. Lib. XIII. *p.* 85. Hooft, Lib. XIV. *p.* 609. Meteren. Lib. IX. *p.* 165.

'directions of the *Religious Peace*, ſhould be excluded out of this Union and Confe- An° Dom. 1579.
'deracy; but that they ſhould be ready to receive and admit into the ſaid Union,
'notwithſtanding the differences of religion, all thoſe who adhered only to the ſaid
'*Roman Catholick Religion*, provided they engaged in all the other articles of this
'Confederacy, and behaved as good Patriots; it having never been deſigned, that any
'one province or town ſhould intermeddle with the affairs of their neighbours, as to
'matters of religion; and that this ſhould be ſolemnly obſerved among them for the
'better maintaining peace and unity, and for obviating and removing the principal
'occaſion of diſcord.' To this *Union* there afterwards acceded ſeveral other places and perſons.

A bold Action.

The day after the Union was concluded, to wit, the 11th of *January*, there happened a bold action at *Utrecht*. Whilſt the Prieſt performed Maſs, and was lifting up the Chalice, one came behind him, and ſnatching it out of his hands, ran away with it, no body daring to purſue him out of the church, becauſe it was dark. The Magiſtrates ſet a reward of fifty Gilders upon his head, but in vain.

A Letter of the States General *to the States of* Artois.

In *March* following, the States-General of the *Netherlands* writ to thoſe of *Artois*, exhorting them to continue in the common and mutual confederacy for driving the *Spaniards* out of the land; urging powerful arguments for unity, and exhorting them, that bearing with one another, they ſhould avoid all farther diſorders, and ſpilling of the blood of their own brethren and countrymen: *To the end that the door of domeſtick quarrels might be ſhut againſt the enemy, which was what he always had endeavoured, and ſtill laboured by all means to keep open, and to get in at, to their deſtruction, and thereby to make a bridge of their carcaſſes, in order to paſs over them to the ruin of others.* As to the alterations in matters of religion ſince the Pacification of *Gant*, that had happened out of the provinces of *Holland* and *Zeland*, they remonſtrated, *that they were not only thoſe provinces with whom the Treaty of* Gant *had been made, who deſired the eſtabliſhment of the* Reformed Religion, *as it is termed, but that there were beſides, an infinite number of people within their own bowels that wiſhed for the ſame: Inſomuch, that the very root, which was planted in the provinces of* Holland *and* Zeland, *ſhot forth it ſelf with almoſt the ſame force and efficacy towards thoſe parts, as it had before done into theſe; ſo that it was impoſſible to extirpate the ſame, without deſtroying the Union alſo, and proceeding to dreadful murders and executions. That what had been regulated in the affair of religion, was not only no violation of the Treaty of* Gant, *but on the contrary, it was the only means to preſerve the ſame inviolable. Moreover, that they, the States of* Artois, *knew well enough that the ſaid Treaty was not calculated for introducing a new* Inquiſition *concerning men's opinions and faith; but was founded in a ſincere union for expelling the* Spaniards, *and for re-eſtabliſhing the Liberty and ancient Proſperity of their poor country. That neither did they* (the States-General) *pretend to force, or induce them* (the States of *Artois*) *by any means whatever, to any innovation or change in Religion, or in their Civil Rights and Privileges, but to defend and maintain them in all.—And in caſe* (ſo they farther expreſſed themſelves) *there be ſome provinces or towns, which, for avoiding freſh diſcords and effuſion of blood, may think it fit and neceſſary to allow to ſuch of their inhabitants in particular, as in all political matters are faithful and obedient to their Magiſtrates, what all of us in general approved in the Treaty of* Gant, *and admitted with much more prejudice to the Church of* Rome, *in the provinces of* Holland *and* Zeland, *though we looked upon them at that time as our enemies, only for preventing further diſcord and war; certainly you ought not to ſuffer our own citizens and inhabitants to remain each of them in his private capacity in a worſe ſtate and condition than thoſe of* Holland *and* Zeland *were at the time when we again united with them. Though we have likewiſe obliged and reſtrained the ſaid Provinces, and their Allies, with whom we then engaged by the aforeſaid Treaty of* Gant, *from making any alterations in theſe parts, eſpecially in reſpect to the* Roman Catholick Religion; *yet have not we ſo tied up our own hands, as in all future times, and in the utmoſt neceſſity or exigency of affairs, even tho' it were for obviating greater evils; to deprive our ſelves of the power ſo to order matters as we ſhall think moſt proper, provided it may be without prejudice to the parties with whom we confederated. As likewiſe on the other ſide, thoſe of* Holland *and* Zeland, *notwithſtanding they have reſtrained us by the ſaid Treaty from innovating in their countries, and from introducing the* Catholick Religion *in ſpite of them, are not therefore debarred of the liberty*

of

An° Dom. 1579.

of making such regulations in matters of religion, as the circumstances of their provinces may require; provided they do it without prejudice to their prior engagements. For which cause, if they should think fit to establish our Religion over all their country, they could not therefore be charged with a violation of the Treaty of Gant. *Consequently we shall ever preserve the same right in our own provinces, to settle matters upon such a foot as we think may promote the publick tranquility, so far at least as the parties with whom we confederated, suffer no inconvenience from thence. Wherefore we intreat you, that, without regarding what has been done in other parts on account of particular accidents and occasions, and for the avoiding greater mischiefs, nay, for the preventing the utter destruction of the* Roman Catholick Religion, *which in these dangerous times of war might have been otherwise feared; you would not cease to afford us your assistance, and to stand by us with all cordiality, zeal, and fidelity, as we on our parts solemnly assure you of our protection to the utmost of our power, in case of need, without once troubling ourselves about what measures you shall think fit to take for the security and maintenance of the Religion, Unity, Peace and Tranquility of your own Subjects.*———

New Insurrections at Gant *and elsewhere.*

[1] A few days after, the *Ganteners* repeated their insolencies, being stirred up by those who after having gotten the taste of Church-goods in their mouths, were resolved not to fast for the future: But it was alledged in their excuse, that the *Walloons*, or *Malecontents*, would not hearken to reason, and that the Monks had broken the Order made in *December* of the former year, by preaching in the churches, which was only allowed to be done by the Parish-Priests. The Clergy were therefore once more expelled the city, and their assemblies disturbed. The same insolencies were committed at *Oudenarde* and *Dendermonde*.

A Tumult at Antwerp.

At *Antwerp* the Clergy intended to have made a Procession on *Ascension*-day, which was the 28th of *May*; and to render their train the more considerable, the Archduke was to have assisted at it. The Magistrates and the Colonels of the Militia dissuaded them from it, for fear of some disorders among the people. However, they began their march, and coming to a place called the *Molen-gat*, were stopped by the Town Guard. Some *Italians* drew their swords to clear the way by force, but the Burghers discharging their muskets at a venture among the company, one man and one woman were killed. Upon this the company, of which not above half were come out of the church, endeavoured to save themselves there, making their way over the bodies of those that stood before them. The whole city was in an uproar, and the Processioners having made their retreat into the church, the doors were shut, the Archduke and his Courtiers being with them, and under great apprehensions for the event. The Prince of *Orange* coming with his Guards, and hoping that the people might be appeased by his authority, was not in the least respected by them. Nothing was heard but, *Away with the Priests, away with the Priests.* With much difficulty he got the Archduke and his retinue out of the church, and made a kind of truce with the people for three hours, in order to consult with the Magistrates; during which time he made them promise they would not meddle with the Clergy. But that time was hardly past, when the Mob came to desire leave to send away all the Ecclesiasticks out of the city; which being refused by the Government, they proceeded by virtue of their own authority, and drove out the whole company that belonged to the procession, to the number of about a hundred and twenty, being Priests, Monks, and Canons, and conducted them to the *Beer-hooft*, where putting them on shipboard, they carried them two leagues from *Antwerp*, there to stay till further orders.

The Clergy are chased away.

The Representation of the Prince of Orange.

The next day the Prince of *Orange* assembled all the Magistrates, the Counsellors of the *Monday*-Council, the Colonels, the Wardens of the Companies, *&c.* at the Stadthouse, where he represented to them, ‘ the consequences that might be feared ‘ from such a tumult, especially in some of the *Walloon* towns, which though zeal- ‘ ous for the *Popish* religion, were willing to enter into the Confederacy against the ‘ *Spaniards*, and which, upon hearing this news, would perhaps be averse to ‘ any such proposals: That it would likewise occasion fresh troubles at *Mechelen*, and ‘ elsewhere. He threatened to lay down his command, and gave them to understand, ‘ that the Archduke and the Council of State intended to do the like: That he was ‘ resolved

[1] Hooft, Lib. XV. *p.* 621. Meteren. Lib. IX. *p.* 162.

'resolved not to bear the reproach of what had now happened, having done all that 'lay in his power to prevent or put a ſtop to the evil. Then he intreated them to 'give their opinions of what remedies they thought might be uſed to repair the miſ-'chiefs of the preceding day, to prevent the like for the time to come, and to put an 'end to all their jealouſies and fears. From thence, as he thought, proceeded all theſe 'diſorders, which he could by no means approve of, and which were incompatible 'with the *Religious Peace* that had been made there, and which he himſelf toge-'ther with the Magiſtrates and Colonels had ſigned, and therefore he could never 'conſent to the violation of it. **Beſides, nothing could, in his opinion, be more 'unreaſonable than to force conſcience, and to refuſe that liberty to others, which 'even we ourſelves deſire to enjoy.**

Anno Dom. 1579.

A Proclamation iſſued at Antwerp.

[1] After long debates, they agreed to iſſue a Proclamation, which was accordingly ſigned the 11th of *June*, by which it was declared: **That his Highneſs the Archduke would forgive and forget all that was paſt. And in the next place: That the Churches of our** Lady, **St.** James, **and that called** Ter Borght, **ſhould be reſtored to the** Roman Catholicks, **and that they ſhould there enjoy the free exerciſe of their Divine ſervice, on the foot of the** Religious Peace. **For this purpoſe all the Secular Prieſts ſhould be again admitted into the town, and the reſt of the Clergy, excepting ſome whoſe names were in a certain liſt, and who, for the ſake of the publick tranquility, and for other reaſons, were to be excluded. That the Clergy ſhould have no authority over the Laity, nor concern themſelves with temporal or political matters, but be ſubject to the Magiſtrates in that reſpect, and bear their part likewiſe in Cares, Eccliſes, and all other Civil burdens and duties. That for obviating all future tumults and ſeditions, no Eccleſiaſtical perſons of what perſwaſion ſoever, ſhould be allowed to preach, unleſs they were firſt preſented to the Magiſtrates, and admitted upon the abovementioned terms. That the** Romaniſts **ſhould not make any more publick Proceſſions, nor carry about the Hoſt with pomp and ſolemnity, but only in a private manner. That the** Mendicant Fryers, **and thoſe which were called the** Bogards, **ſhould keep out of the city; but thoſe of St.** Michael **and** Peter Pots, **might return. As for the** Nunneries, **they might continue upon the ancient foot. That all the Clergy ſhould recede from all aſſociations, and ſeparate or mutual engagements made with other provinces, under what pretence ſoever, and ſolemnly promiſe to enter into none for the future.**

The Religious Peace *is again publiſhed there.*

On the ſame day was likewiſe publiſhed, together with the *Union* of *Utrecht*, a further Order about religion, in which the Edict or Proclamation abovementioned was more fully explained as to ſome points; among other things it was thereby declared: **That foraſmuch as no religion could or ought to be propagated or maintained by arms, or any violent methods, but to be expected and waited for as a particular gift of Almighty God; and ſince it behoved all Chriſtians of what Sects or Opinions ſoever, to live in mutual peace and unity, conforming themſelves to the Civil rules of the Government by which they were protected; it was thought expedient that all who profeſſed the** Roman Catholick **or the** Reformed Religion, **together with thoſe of the** Auſburg Confeſſion, **ſhould remain frank and free in the exerciſe of the ſame, according to the beſt of their underſtandings, and as they would anſwer for the ſalvation of their own ſouls at the laſt day. Moreover, that none ſhould moleſt any others on account of the difference of religion, nor interrupt or hinder them in their Sermons, Schools or other exerciſes; but that every man ſhould be left in peace and quiet, and in the free poſſeſſion and uſe of all that belonged to him, at leaſt till it ſhould be otherwiſe reſolved and decreed by the** States General, **or elſe by a** National Council, **where all ſides ſhould be fairly heard.** And laſtly, **That all who contravened theſe Orders, ſhould be treated as diſturbers of the publick peace, and puniſhed without remiſſion, in their bodies and goods, for a terror and example to others.**

[2] Some time after, the *Religious Peace* was violated at *Mechlen*, by the management of one Frier *Lupus*, or *Wolf*. This Monk, who was the Provincial, or General, of the *Carmelites*, and who bore a mortal hatred to the *Reformed*, had ſuch a knack in preaching, that he could perſwade the people to any thing; and was ſo bold, that none of the Magiſtrates durſt oppoſe him; inſomuch, that he brought them and the whole city over to the *Spaniſh* intereſt, which at laſt was the cauſe of their ruin.

They

[1] Bor. Lib. XIII. *p.* 116, &c. Hooft. Lib. XV. *p.* 639.

[2] Bor. Lib. XIII. *p.* 123, &c. Hooft. Lib. XV. *p.* 635, &c.

An° Dom. 1578. They preſumed to lay their hands here upon the rich furniture of the churches, and among other things they melted down a fine ſilver Cheſt of St. *Rombout*, gilt with gold, which neither the Soldiers of the Prince nor thoſe of *Alva* would ever touch. This made the Heer *van Fromont*, a *Papiſt*, ſay; *He believed, that if God himſelf could have been turned into gold, they would likewiſe have put him into the publick treaſury.* Now as ſome diſeaſes of our natural bodies are contagious, ſwiftly diffuſing themſelves, and ſlowly ceaſing, ſo the plague of diſorder, inſolence and ſedition, having once infected the people of the *Low-Countries*, ſeemed to ſpread like a deadly poiſon, and was not to be ſtopped by any antidotes.

A tumult at Utrecht.

[1] At *Utrecht*, on the 10th of *June*, the images were thrown out of the churches in great diſorder: after which, *viz.* on the 15th of the ſame month, there was an

An Agreement made.

Agreement made between the five Convents on the behalf of all the Clergy, on the one part, and the Magiſtrates, Colonels, and other Officers of the Militia, in the name of the whole town, together with thoſe of the *Reformed* religion, on the other. In the ſaid Agreement it was ſtipulated: 'That all wrongs, injuries and 'miſdemeanours committed ſince the *Pacification* of *Gant*, ſhould be mutually for-'given and forgotten. That the *Reformed* ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their 'religion in the *Franciſcan* church, in thoſe of St. *James* and of St. *Nicolas*, and in 'that which is called the *Buirkerk*. That they ſhould content themſelves with theſe, 'and not ſeize any other churches or places for religious worſhip. That the *Roma-'niſts* might retain the church of St. *Gertrude* for their Pariſh church, to which the 'people of St. *Nicolas* pariſh ſhould alſo belong; but the church of the *Preaching 'Fryers* ſhould be uſed as a Pariſh church for the benefit of thoſe who belonged to 'the pariſhes of St. *James*, and the *Buirkerk*. That for the better preſervation 'of peace and unity, the people of both Communions ſhould be ſtrictly prohibited 'to diſturb one another in the exerciſe of their reſpective Rites, Ceremonies and 'Offices of their religion, or to violate any church or conſecrated place, or to do 'any miſchief or damage to it, or to demoliſh and break down any images or altars. 'That in caſe the Clergy ſhould deny juſtice to any perſon, after having demanded it, 'for the ſpace of three months, on account of goods or commodities bought by 'them, or refuſe to pay Servants or Labourers wages, and the like, the cauſe ſhould 'lapſe to the Temporal Judges, and be by them determined. That in the beſtowing 'of offices and places of profit, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, no reſpect of perſons 'or partiality ſhould be uſed on account of the difference of religion. And laſtly, 'that none ſhould be turned out of any employment for the ſake of his Belief, nor 'deprived of alms upon any ſuch pretence.

The Religious Peace *introduced at* Groningen.

About the middle of the ſame month, the images were likewiſe removed out of the churches at *Amersfort*. And at the ſame time, the Count of *Rennenberg* ſecured *Groningen* for the States, proclaimed the *Religious Peace*, and cleared the *Walbrecht* and *Franciſcan* churches for the uſe of the *Reformed*.

A tumult at Bruges.

A great tumult happened at *Bruges* about the beginning of *July*. The Magiſtrates endeavoured to introduce into that town the *Union* of *Utrecht*, but were oppoſed by the *Popiſh* Clergy; who alledged, *That at* Utrecht *it ſelf, where the ſaid* Union *was framed, they did not keep their words with the Eccleſiaſticks, but drove them out of the city.* The moſt numerous Trades of that place, ſuch as the Carpenters, Smiths, Tanners, Fullers, and the like, who frequented the ſermons of Fryer *Cornelius*, and who were ſtirred up againſt the Magiſtrates, terribly threatened the Deans, or Wardens, of their reſpective Guilds, for conſenting to the ſaid *Union*. The Clergy being thus ſtrengthened, encouraged the tumults of the Mob. They flew to the Convent of the *Carmelites*, in order to ſeize upon and diſpatch *John Haren*, Miniſter of the *Walloon Reformed*; but miſſing him, they ſpent their rage upon his wife, by beating, kicking, trampling, and dragging her about the houſe. Then all ran to arms. Even the Canons and Prieſts took the *Burg*, or Caſtle, ſword in hand, and kept the Magiſtrates impriſoned there. Thereupon a kind of an Accommodation was made between them; but both parties having ſent for help from the country, it came firſt to the Magiſtrates, and ſo the *Reformed* remained maſters. And now their Miniſter *Haren* laid hold of the opportunity of revenging himſelf, and clapping on his harneſs, headed ſome *Frenchmen*, who plunderedthe houſe of *Jerom de Mol*, the Colonel

[1] Bor. Lib. XIII. *p.* 123, &c. Hooft. Lib. XV. *p.* 653, &c.

of the *Popiſh* party. Great part of the Clergy fled out of town, and their churches were ſhut up, though they of the *Romiſh* Communion were allowed the exerciſe of their religion in private. ANNO DOM. 1579.

At *Bois le Duc* the *Religious Peace* had been accepted; but the *Reformed*, who were not ſo numerous as the *Papiſts*, deſired that ſome Soldiers might be taken into the town, and would have had the *Union* of *Utrecht* publiſhed there. The latter was in ſome manner complied with but that was not ſufficient to remove their ſuſpicions: Some of both parties appeared in arms on the very day of the publication, being the 1ſt of *July*, and they proceeded ſo far, as to fire upon each other; though it does not appear who were the aggreſſors. Forty of the inhabitants fell in the ſkirmiſh, and one hundred and twenty were wounded. This put the *Reformed* upon demanding again the admiſſion of ſome forces; and when they could not prevail on the Magiſtrates to agree to it, they left the town. *An Inſurrection at* Bois le Duc.

At *Weſop*, in the middle of *Holland*, a Mutiny lay ſmothering, and juſt ready to blaze out, on account of the introduction of the *Reformed* religion, purſuant to the *Religious Peace:* Upon which, Maſter *William Bardeeſen*, Burgomaſter of *Amſterdam*, was diſpatched thither by the States of the province, who turned ſeven perſons out of the *Froodſchap*, or Senate, and three of the ſaid ſeven, with the Secretary and the old Paſtor *Roolof Giſbrechts*, out of the town; but did it with a Salvo of their privileges, and declared, that the aforeſaid perſons ſhould not be prejudiced with reſpect to their honour and eſtates. As for thoſe who had begun the uproar, he recommended it to the Magiſtrates, to puniſh them according to their demerits. *Diſcontent at* Weſop.

[1] At *Gant*, in the mean time, the *Popiſh* Clergy were great ſufferers this ſummer. *Imbyſe* and his aſſociates behaved like men that were regardleſs of all human and divine Laws. The Churches, Abbies and Monaſteries were abandoned by them to the plunder of their Soldiers. Several perſons that were well affected to the *Reformed*, were ſummarily tried and condemned to be baniſhed out of the town at his inſtigation, becauſe they oppoſed his violent meaſures, and ſome diſpatched by the Soldiers without any form of tryal. Even the Field-Marſhal of the States army, *Francis de la Noue*, a *French* Gentleman, and of the *Reformed* religion, famous for his knowledge in arms, his prudence and experience, whoſe unvariable good humour, ſweetneſs of manners and chriſtian forbearance, were extolled by the *Papiſts* themſelves; this brave man, I ſay, was obliged to retire out of the town ſuddenly, and in the night. Some of the chief inhabitants had before endeavoured, *viz.* in the month of *November*, to get *Imbyſe* turned out of his employment; but the deſign was at that time defeated. Afterwards they again attempted it by the intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, upon the uſual alterations in the Magiſtracy, which happened in the middle of *Auguſt*; but upon the 28th of *July* he introduced a great number of Soldiers unawares into the town, and before the election came on, depoſed the Magiſtrates, declaring himſelf *Prætor*, or the Chief of them, and gave the following reaſons for ſuch his proceedings: 'That ſome of the inhabitants, deſigning to ſubvert the Go-'vernment of the city and the *Reformed* religion, had endeavoured to introduce the '*Religious Peace*, which he looked upon as the only means of reſtoring *Popery*, that 'was ſo lately extirpated, and by its aſſiſtance, the *Tyranny* of *Spain* alſo. For theſe 'and other reaſons not proper to be mentioned then, but which ſhould be manifeſted 'afterwards, he found himſelf neceſſitated to depoſe the Magiſtrates before the time, 'and without the uſual form; but that he had done it however, **in the fear of the 'Lord, with calling upon his holy name, and by the advice of godly perſons.**' Beſides this Apology, he publiſhed a little Treatiſe, in order to ſhow the inconvenience of the Prince of *Orange*'s coming to *Gant* at that juncture; among other reaſons, 'Becauſe he deſigned to change the Magiſtracy; to introduce the *Religious* '*Peace*; to deprive the town of the poſſeſſion of the Eccleſiaſtical goods, which 'would increaſe the burden upon the people; to extort the Sovereignty and the 'higheſt Liberty, which was devolved upon the Community, and to whom it juſtly 'belonged, out of their hands; and to compel the city to receive the Duke of '*Alençon*, by which means they ſhould fall from the *Spaniſh tyranny* into that of 'the *French*, who were a prouder, more cruel and intolerable people than the others.' This book was thought to have been penned by the Miniſter *Dathenus*, or at leaſt, *Troubles at* Gant.

[1] Hooft. Lib. XIV. *p.* 581. Montaigne Eſſais, Lib. II. *cap.* 17.

A N° DOM. 1579.

it was ſuppoſed he had a great hand in it. However, the Prince, whom they would fain have kept away, by propoſing ſeveral unreaſonable terms to him, arrived at *Gant* in the month of *Auguſt*, and with great difficulty turned out the unlawful Magiſtrates, and put in better men. *Peter Dathenus* retired firſt to *Cologn*, and from thence, together with *Imbyſe*, into the *Palatinate*, where they put themſelves under the protection of Duke *John Caſimir*, with whom they long reſided. Whilſt *Dathenus* was at *Cologn*, he writ a letter to the Prince of *Orange*, dated the 26th of *Auguſt*, in which he ſaid: *That notwithſtanding all that he* (the Prince) *laid to his charge, he looked upon himſelf to be innocent in the ſight of God, and before all impartial men. I am ready* (continued he) *to anſwer to all points of which I am accuſed, but it muſt be before a Judge (either Spiritual or Temporal, as your Highneſs thinks beſt) provided he be a lawful one, and without exception; provided likewiſe that I may be ſecure, as is but juſt, that they ſhall not begin with execution of the Sentence without cognizance of the Cauſe, as ſome would have formerly done. Wherefore, reflecting upon all that happened in* October, November, December, *and ſince then, and upon the frequent threats of your Highneſs, eſpecially thoſe which you made me to my face on the 7th of* May *laſt, with great warmth; whereby you plainly and openly affirmed, that the Heer* Imbyſe *and I ſhould be declared enemies of our Country before a week was at an end, as* [1] la Motte *had been ſerved before, and that the people of* Gant *were ready to diſpatch us, by taking off our heads; and having alſo been an eye-witneſs of the preparations that were made for the execution of theſe threats, of which the Letters of the 8th of this month, written to* Cornelius Breijl, *Receiver of the Heer* Buche, *by the ſecret orders of the Privy Counſellor* Liesfelt, *do afford abundant proof: Reflecting, I ſay, upon theſe things, I leave it to your Highneſs to judge, whether it be any thing ſtrange, that I have betaken my ſelf to a place of ſhelter, for avoiding ſuch apparent dangers.*

The Prince of Orange *changes the Magiſtrates at* Gant.

A Letter from Dathenus *to the Prince.*

Two days after, he writ another letter to the Prince, in which he maintained, that he ought not to be judged guilty on account of his flight; beſeeching his Highneſs, that in imitation of the Heathen King, he would keep one ear open for him. He alſo writ to one *Abraham van Kleef* at *Utrecht*, in the following manner: *I bleſs God that I have not only the teſtimony of a good conſcience, but alſo that there is not a man throughout the* Netherlands *who is able to reproach me in the leaſt with any thing amiſs in my Life or Doctrine, as the Certificate ſigned by my Congregation at* Gant *likewiſe teſtifies: But it has been my ill fortune to fall under the diſpleaſure of the Prince of* Orange, *of which I know no other reaſon than this, that I endeavoured ſincerely to promote the honour of God, and that I never could nor would aſſiſt in reſtoring the kingdom of* Antichriſt, *which by the wonderful workings of God had been deſtroyed. And further, that I heartily laboured to deliver our country, not only from* Spaniſh, *but* French, *and all other Tyrants.*

From theſe Letters, of which authentick copies have been given me, we may gather, in ſome meaſure, what was deſigned againſt *Dathenus*, and that he apprehended the Prince would have made away with him by violent methods. From *Gant* the Prince went to *Bruges*, where he took care that the *Romaniſts* might enjoy the private exerciſe of their religion.

Walloon Flanders *ſubmits to the King.*

[2] In the mean while, the provinces of *Artois* and *Hainault*, and the reſt of the *Walloons*, made their peace with King *Philip*. In their Treaty it was expreſly ſtipulated, that no other than the *Romiſh* religion ſhould be allowed of. This diviſion of the *Low-Countries*, to the weakening of the *States* party, and ſtrengthening that of the *Spaniards*, was one of the conſequences of the Tumult at *Gant*. From thence-forwards, few of the *Roman Catholicks* retained their former zeal for the Liberty of their nation: They that continued in the *United Provinces*, did not know what to wiſh for; the King's victories perpetuated their bondage, and thoſe of the States were attended with the loſs of their religion.

Image-breaking at Zutphen *and* Hattem.

About this time, in *September*, at *Zutphen*, (where by changing ſome of the Magiſtrates, the Great Church was appropriated to the *Reformed*, and that of the New Town to the *Romaniſts*,) the images were thrown out of the church, and the altars demoliſhed by *Sonoy*'s Soldiers, and with the conſent of ſome of the Rulers. The like image-breaking happened at *Hattem*. This tended to create new troubles, and alienated

3

[1] Valentine de Pardieu, Seigneur de la Motte. *See* Hooft. Lib. XIV. *p.* 600. Lib. XV. *p.* 621.

[2] Bor. Lib. XIII. *p.* 136. Hooft. Lib. XV. *p.* 652. Grot. Ann. III. *p.* 62. Reyd. *p.* 28.

alienated the hearts of many from the *Union* of *Utrecht*. The Count of *Rennenberg* complained to the Deputies of the *United Provinces*, deſiring, that theſe diſorders ſhould be puniſhed; adding, that otherwiſe he had no hopes of bringing the provinces of *Overyſſel* and *Groningen* into the aforeſaid Union, nor of keeping them in it afterwards; the general cry being, *That neither oaths nor treaties were obſerved*; appealing to the late inſtances of *Zutphen* and *Hattem*. Upon this, the ſaid Deputies writ to Count *John* of *Naſſaw*, Stadtholder of *Gelderland*, intreating him to put ſome ſtop to theſe irregularities. They alſo writ to *Sonoy*, to the ſame effect; but his anſwer was; *That nothing had been done without the conſent of the reſpective Magiſtrates: That the Soldiers too were encouraged, not only by the inhabitants of the towns, but by the country Gentlemen, and even by the Magiſtrates of the places round about, who ſaid to them,* **Pray cleanſe our neighbouring churches too.** An° Dom. 1579.

At *Kampen* the *Reformed* attended the Magiſtrates on the 13th of *October*, deſiring a maintenance for their Miniſters, which was then denied them. Provoked at it, or uſing it for a pretence, a party of them fell upon the *Franciſcans*, and drove them out of the town: This was followed by a tumult; and the Citizens running to arms, the *Papiſts* got their Monks into the Convent again before night. The next day, about one hundred and fifty of the ſaid *Papiſts* aſſembling in the Great Church, and privately arming themſelves, entered into a combination to fall upon the *Reformed*, but firſt diſpatched away eight of their number to the Magiſtrates, to demand their protection for maintaining the *Religious Peace*. After this, ſeveral barrels of beer being conveyed into the aforeſaid Convent, ſome of their brethren drank a little too freely of it, who ſallying out with great clamours, on the 26th, endeavoured to draw the towns-people to their aſſiſtance. The *Reformed* betook themſelves in conſiderable numbers to that company of the Militia that was then upon the Guard at the Town-houſe, and the *Papiſts* to that which was about to relieve the Guard. Some of them that had drunk hardeſt, advanced towards the *Reformed*, who had fortified themſelves in ſome meaſure againſt them; but they paid dear for their venturing, two or three being mortally, and others ſlightly wounded. At laſt the matter was made up, on condition that the *Reformed* ſhould march off, for the ſake of peace, but that they might take ſome hoſtages with them for their ſecurity. The diſpute about the Monks, whom one party were for ſending away, the other for keeping, was referred to the determination of the Count *van Rennenberg*, the Stadtholder. But at laſt they were forced to leave the town, under convoy of two companies of ſoldiers for their ſecurity. *A Tumult at* Kampen.

Now though ſome of the *Reformed* did not keep their word with the *Papiſts* and their Clergy, who had ſtipulated the uſe of their Churches, Cloyſters, and Eſtates; and though ſome of the Miniſters encouraged the people to violate the Treaties made with them, yet all were not of the ſame opinion in that affair; nay, ſome of the chief Divines declared at this time, upon a certain queſtion which Count *John* of *Naſſaw* put to them: *That people were obliged to keep their Engagements and Treaties made even with* **Papiſts.** [1] This they maintained in a long and noble Letter, by plain inſtances and weighty arguments. To the following objection: 'That by obſerving Peace and Treaties made with *Papiſts*, we might confirm them in their impious ſuperſtitions; *they anſwered*, That on the contrary, they 'were taught by experience, that there was not a more effectual way to bring them 'to reaſon, and to promote the pure religion of the Goſpel, than by inviolably obſerving and keeping that Peace that had been mutually ſworn to: As on the other 'hand, nothing tended more to the weakening, and even extinguiſhing the True religion and doctrine, than thoſe civil contentions and domeſtick quarrels reſulting 'from the breach of Faith and publick Engagements, and which uſually terminated in 'wars, murders, and dreadful butcheries.' In the next place they acknowledged, 'That Idolatry and Superſtition ought not to be ſuppreſſed by tumults and uproars, 'nor the True religion introduced by ſuch methods; it being certain, that this kind of 'violence would either make men reject all religion in general, or elſe beget in their 'minds much more hatred and bitterneſs againſt thoſe who were thus zealous for the 'True religion; and they would embrace the firſt opportunity to diſcharge it upon 'the heads of the beſt and moſt innocent. If therefore, *continued they*, we deſire 'that *Some of the* Reformed Divines *inſiſt upon the performance of promiſes made to* Papiſts.

[1] Epiſt. Select. Centur. Lib. II. *p.* 853.

An° Dom. 1579.

'that other men ſhould keep faith with us, and that the *Papiſts* ſhould forſake this 'their abominable maxim, that **No Faith is to be kept with Hereticks**: it is highly 'neceſſary, that we ourſelves ſhould moſt religiouſly obſerve all the promiſes made 'on our part; and renounce that principle of ſome, who affirm, that **Religion may be 'piouſly eſtabliſhed by Perjury**: or of others that deny, that **Peace and Alliances 'may be made with irreligious or idolatrous perſons**: and laſtly, that we ſhould 'ſhew by our actions, that **we eſteem and value our Treaties and Agreements con-'firmed by our oaths, much dearer than our own lives.**

The *Spaniards*, who laughed in their ſleeves at the ill treatment and wrongs done to the Prieſts and Fryers in many places, wanted not ſkill to turn to their advantage what was done out of ſpite and hatred to them; for with the help of ſuch as ſecretly favoured them, by blowing up the coals, and ſpreading the ſparks of this fire, they ſet the country in a general conflagration.

A Diſpute occaſioned by the (ſo called) Book of Concord.

[1] At the ſame time alſo, moſt of the countries and churches that had embraced *Luther*'s Reformation, particularly in *Germany*, burſt out into a light fire of diſcord, on account of the (ſo called) Book of *Concord*, or Project of Unity, framed by the moſt zealous promoters of the *Interim*; to the end that all who ſubſcribed the ſame, might thereby teſtifie their conformity, and alſo condemn ſuch as did not come up to their notions. By this means all other churches, both foreign and domeſtick, which rejected that Formulary, were excluded from Chriſtian communion; and the Schiſm between the *Lutherans* and *Reformed* was not only enlarged, but it gave occaſion to new diviſions and quarrels among the *Lutherans* themſelves. Many of the more moderate among them, refuſed to ſubſcribe; theſe were either obliged to do it by force, or at leaſt they endeavoured to bring them into it by no ſmall Inquiſition, Tyranny, and Perſecution. [2] To obviate this evil, which (in ſpite of all oppoſition from the *Reformed* in all parts, and from ſome of the *Lutherans* themſelves) laſted ſeveral years, the Miniſters of the *Reformed* churches in the *Low-Countries* writ a long Letter, by the hand of *Peter Villers* the Prince of *Orange*'s Chaplain, to the Compilers of the book of *Concord*. In this Letter they applied to them ſeriouſly, friendly, and brotherly, declaring their averſion to Eccleſiaſtical diſſentions, to prejudging their Brethren, and to Schiſms, together with their love of Peace and Unity. In ſome of the clauſes of the ſaid Letter (for the length of it will not allow us to inſert the whole here) they uſed the following expreſſions, addreſſing to them thus:

A Letter to the Compoſers of the Book of Concord.

To the Reverend Gentlemen, and our Brethren in Chriſt, Jacobus Andreas Smidelinus, Martinus Kemnitius, David Chytræus, Andreas Muſculus, Nicolaus Selneckerus, *and* C. Cornarius, *all Happineſs in Chriſt our common Saviour.*

WE do not think, Dear Brethren, ſaid they, after having recapitulated the miſeries and perſecutions which the *Reformed* of the *Low-Countries* had ſuffered from the *Papiſts* and *Spaniards*: *We do not think that theſe things are unknown to you.* —— *At leaſt none can imagine that you have not heard of that which happened to our people, who having been driven by the ſtorms of Queen* Mary's *reign out of* England, *and arriving upon your coaſt in winter, at the moſt dangerous time of the year, were compelled to put again to ſea with a contrary wind, through the inſtigation of ſome hot-headed men among you. This we do not repeat, as if there remained with us the leaſt ſcar or mark of that wound; that be far from us who profeſs Chriſtian charity! but only to repreſent to you more plainly, and as in a picture, the ſtate of our churches, which, with reſpect to men, was very deplorable, ſince we could not meet with a ſafe retreat even among our brethren, for you are our own fleſh.* Then complaining that the *Lutherans*, without any reaſon, renewed the war againſt thoſe whom they ought to have eſteemed as their deareſt brethren, by this their *Book of Concord*, as they called it, thereby endeavouring to execute their prejudices, they referred them *to the pacifick temper and moderation of* Cyprian, *begging them that they might not be condemned without being heard; but that a chriſtian inquiry might be made according to ancient cuſtom, and that a lawful, but not a murdering, Synod might be called, wherein the whole controverſy about the Lord's Supper might be decided once for all, out of the word of God, if the matter could not be accommodated by any ſhorter way.* Or, ſaid they, *if our ſins ſhould hinder us from obtaining ſo great a*

2 *mercy*

[1] Hooft, Lib. XV. *p.* 635. *Dr.* Blondel, Actes Authent. *p.* 4. Uitenb. *p.* 114, &c.

[2] *See the Preface of* Jer. Baſtink, *before the Tranſlation of the* Netherland *Miniſters Letter about the* Concord. *Printed at* Antwerp, 1580.

mercy from our heavenly Father; let us then, purſuing the methods of our holy Anceſtors, Luther, Zwinglius, Capito, Bucer, Melancthon, Bullinger, *and* Calvin, *(who thought this the moſt equitable way) mutually make uſe of pacifick and moderate counſels; and in the mean while, let good and wiſe men conſider, whether we may not bear with one another for ſuch a little time as till it ſhall pleaſe God to open our eyes, and ſo to diſpoſe our hearts, that they may admit the eternal Truth, and the ſolid and laſting Peace and Unity of our churches may be confirmed.——We are accuſed and charged, as if we differed from you in ſome of the principal Articles of our Faith; but we believe it ſufficiently appears by the writings of many, and by our own doctrines, which are now publickly known, that even our greateſt enemies themſelves are convinced that all our differences conſiſt at preſent in * two points only, viz.* that about the Lord's Supper, and the other of *Chriſt's* Perſon in both his natures.——*You would act very prudently and chriſtianly, if you would be pleaſed to uſe more cautiouſly that unhappy expreſſion:* **We condemn.**——*You make uſe of an argument which appears to you of the greateſt ſtrength, to wit, that you agree in the* Confeſſion of Auſburg, *and with* Luther: *Now though we ſhould allow it, yet do we not look upon that* Confeſſion *to be a Goſpel, nor* Luther *the man by whoſe rules and preſcriptions our faith is to be tried; as* Auſtin *anſwered the Arian* Maximilian, **I ought not to pin my faith upon the Council of** Nice, **nor you upon that of** Ariminum. *Let things contend with things, differences with differences, and arguments with arguments. None of us have ever fought you with the great names of* Zwinglius *or* Oecolampadius, *of* Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon, *or* Martyr, *who nevertheleſs do far exceed* Luther *in learning: neither are thoſe names even repeated in our own churches and ſchools; for we content our ſelves with quoting the Word of God, on which alone we depend, yet without rejecting the Conſent of the Primitive Church.*——Then repreſenting how the *Lutherans* diſagreed among themſelves, they ſubjoined: *We think you ought to weigh with great attention, whether ſix Divines, who themſelves do not well agree in* Luther's *hardly conſiſtent doctrine, have any power to condemn ſix thouſand other Divines that are not at odds with one another.——Conſider likewiſe with how much reaſon we could* anathematize *too, if we did not make a difference between perſons and errors.*——Dear Brethren, *we beg you to recollect what were the means formerly employed to rob* Chriſtendom *of all* Aſia *and* Egypt, viz. *the bitter diſputes between ſome ambitious Prelates; whereby they betrayed themſelves and their flocks to the enemies of the name of* Chriſt. *What was the effect of that deplorable ſchiſm which was at firſt occaſioned by* Victor *the* Roman *Biſhop? that poor* Greece *was ruined, and continues to be ſo to this day, having been made a ſacrifice to its moſt cruel enemy.*——*Since then it is inhumane to reject thoſe who ſeek for peace, who promote unity, we earneſtly entreat you, that you your ſelves would endeavour to obtain of your reſpective Sovereigns ſo much regard to us, as to conſent that a lawful Synod may be holden according to the ancient Canons, where we may hear each other with temper; where Charity may preſide; where Truth may prevail, and Friendſhip and Unity be eſtabliſhed. And that you would in the mean time abſtain from contumelious and reproachful language, ſuch as we do not think fit to rehearſe. To conclude, if any diſcord ariſes, let us do as brothers and ſiſters are wont, let us carry the matter before our common Father: If we agree to do this, we ſhall know his will out of his holy word, and his will muſt be obeyed. Thus have we repreſented to you our mind and our opinion; and thus you may ſee how averſe we are to diviſions, how diſpoſed to peace. If therefore we cannot move you by our intreaties, we proteſt before God and the whole church of* Chriſt, *and before all poſterity, that you are the cauſe of the ſchiſm; whereas we are entirely ſatisfied, that we ſhall appear free, and be diſcharged from the guilt of all the inconveniences that may befal the whole church of God, before the Judgment-ſeat of* Chriſt. *To him be Honour and Glory, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, for ever.* Amen.

Your Affectionate Friends,

The Miniſters of the *Reformed Churches* in the *Netherlands.*

An° Dom. 1579.

* *Upon this place the famous* David Blondel *writes the following Note:* Although the *Reformed* differ from the *Lutherans* in the buſineſs of *Predeſtination* and *Grace*, yet they purpoſely and prudently paſs them by, as judging them to be ſmall, and of no importance; which ought to be ſeriouſly conſidered by thoſe who violently diſpute about theſe points. *See his* Actes Authentiques, *p.* 70.

In

An° Dom. 1579.

A Treaty of Peace at Cologn.

[1] In the mean time a treaty of Peace was ſet on foot at *Cologn* between the *Spaniards* and the States of the *Netherlands*, by the mediation of the *Emperor*'s Envoys. And it is thought by ſome, that the State's party might at this juncture have obtained very favourable terms, if ſome, by their particular demands, had not fruſtrated the general Peace. But others are of opinion, that this was only an artifice of the *Spaniards*, to divide and weaken the Confederates. It is likewiſe ſaid, that the Prince of *Orange*, fearing that any peace with the King might tend to his prejudice, had privately contrived that they ſhould preſs the buſineſs of Religion, and other points, which he did not believe the King would agree to. However, the Miniſters of the States maintained, that nothing was propoſed on their ſide, but what at that juncture might and ought to have been demanded, or what they could plainly have proved to reſult from their Rights and Privileges. With reſpect to Religion, their requeſt and propoſal was: 'That his Majeſty, at the humble ſuit of his ſubjects, 'and for preventing the increaſe of domeſtick quarrels, (by which the *Romiſh Religion* might be yet more in danger) would be pleaſed to tolerate the exerciſe of the '*Reformed Religion*, and the Confeſſion of *Auſburg*, in ſuch towns and places where 'the ſame were at that time publickly profeſſed. That the States ſhould alſo on 'their part, preſently after the Peace was declared, reſtore the exerciſe of the *Roman* '*Catholick Religion* in all the aforeſaid towns and places, upon certain equitable con-'ditions, which ſhould be inviolably obſerved. The States would likewiſe uſe their 'endeavours, that the *Roman Catholick Religion* might be exerciſed in ſome places in 'the provinces of *Holland* and *Zeland*, till in proceſs of time, at other meetings of 'the States, farther proviſion ſhould be made.'

The Requeſt of the States with reſpect to Religion.

To ſupport their requeſt, the States Envoys alledged the following arguments and reaſons, among others: **That the Chriſtian Religion was a great myſtery; in promoting of which, God did not make uſe of impious Soldiers, nor of the Sword or Bow, but of his own Spirit, and of the Miniſtry of Paſtors, or Shepherds ſent by him. That the dominion over ſouls and conſciences belonged to God only, and that he only was the righteous avenger and puniſher of the abuſes committed in matters of religion.** They inſiſted particularly upon the free exerciſe of religion; ſaying, **that thoſe who were of a different religion, could not ſatisfie their conſciences without the exerciſe of it.**

The King's Demands and Conceſſions with regard to Religion.

But as for this Article of Religion, the King would not conſent that any other but the *Roman Catholick*, eſtabliſhed by the Pope's authority, ſhould be admitted, ſave only in thoſe places where a different religion had been exerciſed at the time when the Pacification of *Gant* was approved. As for others, who were not included in that Treaty, nor would return to the *Romiſh Religion*, he conſented they ſhould have time allowed them to ſettle their concerns, and then they were to retire from the *Netherlands*, but their eſtates might be adminiſtered by *Romaniſts*.

But it ſeemed to be extreamly hard, and very prejudicial to the publick tranquility, that the preſent ſtate and condition of ſo many towns ſhould be overturned, ſo many thouſand perſons thruſt out of them, and that it ſhould not even be allowed them to believe according to the dictates of their conſciences. And what country could be ſafe or large enough for ſo many Exiles? where ſhould they find reſt, when their own nation had ejected them? neither could the Magiſtrates without a great ſin, abandon the defence of a religion which they had learned for Truth, by what means ſoever it had been introduced. Nor did the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* think it ſafe, that the exerciſe of their religion ſhould be put upon the ſame foot as it was when powerful cities were at variance with the Government; for this might have occaſioned new diſturbances; and ſince their caſe was different from that of all the reſt, it would likewiſe have rendered the King's conceſſions ſuſpected. The material paſſages and original pieces relating to this Treaty, have been ſince publiſhed by *Aggæus van Albada*, one of the Envoys, by order of the States of *Holland*, adorned with noble Annotations, Expoſitions and Remarks, eſpecially about the buſineſs of Religion, forcing of Conſcience, and Toleration.

Quarrels among the Reformed Miniſters at Leyden.

[2] Beſides, as if the Commonwealth, preſt by the *Spaniards* on the one hand, and weakened by the defection of the *Walloons*, and having its very bowels torn by *Calviniſts*,

[1] Bor. Lib. XIII. *p.* 103, &c. Hooft, Lib. XV. *p.* 631, &c. Uitenb. *Hiſt p.* 202. Grot. Annal. Lib. III. *p.* 62.

[2] Hooft, Lib. XVI. *p.* 687. Bor. Lib. XIV. *p.* 169. Uitenb. *p.* 205. Grot. Annal. Lib. III. *p.* 66.

niſts, *Romaniſts*, *Lutherans*, and the ſubdivided Sects of the *Menniſts* or *Anabaptiſts*, had not yet been ſufficiently diſunited; it was ſtill more divided by the quarrels of thoſe upon whom, as being the ſtrongeſt, and as reaping the greateſt advantages from the preſent ſtate of things, the care of continuing the reſt of the Confederates in the common intereſt, was chiefly incumbent, as it was moſtly in their power. This began to appear in the former year, between two Miniſters of *Leyden*, *Peter Corneliſon* and *Jaſper Koolhaes*. The former objected againſt the latter, *that he could not ſerve with him, foraſmuch as he refuſed to ſubmit to the judgment of the Brethren in ſeveral matters, and to follow the determinations of the Conſiſtory.* Others, on the contrary, aſcribe the cauſe of their differences to this, *viz. that* Koolhaes *laid greater ſtreſs upon the internal diſpoſition, with reſpect to ſalvation, and leſs upon external things, than* Corneliſon *did.* An° Dom. 1579.

But in fact, there aroſe a diſpute between them, upon account of the election of Elders and Deacons. One was for having them named by the Conſiſtory, and propoſed to the Congregation without the intervention of the Magiſtracy; the other aſſerted, that as ſoon as they were nominated, they ought to be firſt propoſed to the Civil powers, and then (after having obtained their concurrence) to the Congregation. The Magiſtrates inſiſted upon this latter way, and *Koolhaes* was of opinion that they had a right to it. It was likewiſe agreed and reſolved by the ſaid Magiſtrates, that in order to preſerve unity, and to obviate all jealouſies and ſuſpicions, *William-John Reyerſon* of *Heemſkirk*, and *John Kerſtantſon*, both of them their Collegues in the Senate and Courts of Juſtice, and both of them Profeſſors of the *Reformed Religion*, ſhould be preſent at all meetings of the Conſiſtory, in order to preſide there on the part of the Government, and to have an eye to all their proceedings; but they were charged upon their oaths to keep ſecret every thing that did not belong to their cognizance. This was the foundation of all the diſputes and controverſies that ſprung up afterwards, touching *the Office and Authority of a Chriſtian Government in Eccleſiaſtical matters.*

The States of *Holland*, who had the publick tranquility at heart, endeavoured to compoſe theſe differences by their Deputies, but in vain. The Miniſters alſo of the Claſſes of *Leyden*, *Rijnland*, *Delftland*, and others, likewiſe interpoſed. Hereupon the States appointed ſome of the Clergy to draw up in writing, out of the holy Scriptures, what affinity, and what difference, there was between the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical powers. Such a Writing was accordingly drawn up, and preſented to the States upon the 24th of *May*; but it was not approved in all points by the Government of *Leyden*: It advanced among other things; 'That it was the duty of the civil Magiſtrate to hinder the Contemners and Corrupters of the word of God, from diſturbing the external peace of the Church; and to inflict on all ſuch, pecuniary mulcts, impriſonment, and corporal puniſhment.' This was carrying the matter very far, as ſome thought: And when a certain Letter had been obtained from the Prince of *Orange* to the Magiſtrates of *Leyden*, about this affair, in which he told them, *That the preſent juncture, and the condition of the nation could not bear any innovations or alterations, whether they related to the Church, or Temporal Government*; *and therefore exhorted them to leave all things in* ſtatu quo; one of the Miniſters of that town, *Peter Corneliſon*, read a copy of the ſaid letter, or the ſubſtance of it, from the Pulpit, to the people, and did not ſcruple to tell them, *that they ſhould obey the Magiſtrates, when the ſame Magiſtrates obeyed the Prince.* Which was as much as to ſay (at leaſt it was ſo conſtrued by the Government) that *the Magiſtrates did not obey the Prince, and conſequently that the People were not bound to obey them.* This, and his conſtant reflecting upon them in the Pulpit, together with his refuſing to ſubmit to the regulations lately made about the choice of Elders and Deacons, forced them to reſolve (after divers admonitions, and after having at laſt underſtood from his own mouth, that he could not forbear ſpeaking of theſe matters in the church) to diſcharge him from his office, as one that was only called to officiate during their pleaſure. After this had happened, *Koolhaes* was invited to the *Hague*, whither alſo one Miniſter out of every Claſſis in *Holland* had been ſummoned to conſider of this affair, together with *John Taffin*, the Prince's Chaplain, and certain perſons impowered by the Prince and the States; but to no purpoſe. Wherefore, in order to ſtop the mouths of his adverſaries, it was thought proper to ſuſpend *Koolhaes* for a while, till the diſpute could be determined. But the Magiſtrates of *Leyden* commanded him to

An° Dom. 1580. continue the exerciſe of his Miniſtry. Thereupon *Corneliſſon* took upon him to preach at *Voorſchoten*, a village about a league's diſtance from the town, and drew after him a great number of followers, particularly of the *Flemings*. This bold proceeding of his was connived at by the Magiſtrates for the ſpace of eight or ten weeks; but obſerving that the ſchiſm increaſed, they required him to leave the town, where he ſtill dwelt, unleſs he would forbear his out-of-town preaching: Upon that he forbore; but ſome of his flock reſorted nevertheleſs to the ſermons at *Rijnſburg*.

An Apology publiſhed by the Magiſtrates of Leyden.

At the ſame time, they of *Leyden* publiſhd their Apology or Juſtification, drawn up by [1] *Richard Koornhert* at their requeſt; 'To the end, *ſaid they*, that all falſe 'rumours, which are too eaſily credited, may be obviated, and the authors of theſe 'troubles may be diſcovered and ſhamed.' In this their apology it was affirmed, that the Magiſtrates had often declared, and did ſtill declare, 'That it was never their 'intention to tyrannize over the church, but only to endeavour, that all contro-'verſies and quarrels in God's church might be prevented, by keeping ſeditious and 'hot-headed men out of the *Conſiſtories*, and by filling the ſame with godly perſons, 'but not ſuch as have only the form of godlineſs. That Chriſtian diſcipline ought 'to reach as well the Great ones as the Common people; which had been hitherto 'more deſired than effected. That none but worthy Miniſters ought to be choſen, 'and ſuch as were capable of charitably comforting the broken in ſpirit out of the 'holy Scriptures, and of couragiouſly reproving obſtinate ſinners; but not ſuch as 'by their hypocriſy and craftineſs made it their buſineſs to draw diſcontented perſons 'to their party, That **Jeſus Chriſt alone was to rule his own Church**, and not 'Miniſters and Conſiſtories, leſt they ſhould again erect themſelves into Heads of 'the Church, and aim at dominion over conſciences; which would be the bringing 'this free Church under the yoke of a **New Papacy**.' Afterwards they related by what means their eyes had been opened to ſee the partiality of ſome Members of the Conſiſtory; to wit, How by vile artifices they had driven out of his Miniſtry a worthy Divine, named *Nicolas Johnſon Verſtroot*, at that time Preacher of God's word at *Naldwijk*, and that without any fault on his ſide, and notwithſtanding his good ſervices and merits, who had ſtaid in *Leyden* during both the ſieges, where, by his unwearied Miniſtry, he had greatly comforted and encouraged the Community, and had endeared himſelf to them. This ill treatment had been followed by the differences between *Koolhaes* and *Corneliſſon*. The Magiſtrates proceeded to repreſent, that whilſt thoſe differences were depending, the ſaid Conſiſtory choſe Elders and Deacons, and declared them from the Pulpit quite otherwiſe than they were uſed to do in former years, and without having any regard to the rights of the Magiſtracy in that affair; and that they would have proceeded to put them into the poſſeſſion of their offices, if ſome of the new elected had not refuſed to be admitted without the approbation of the Government. This refuſal had been the occaſion of bringing the Liſt of the ſaid appointed Elders and Deacons before the Magiſtrates, whoſe conſent they then deſired, though they looked upon it before as needleſs. Upon which they were aſked on the part of the Magiſtracy; *To what purpoſe they propoſed the names, and deſired their approbation? and whether they would be willing to nominate others, in caſe the Magiſtrates ſhould ſcratch out the names of thoſe whom they thought not fit for the Office?* To which the Officers of the Church made anſwer; *That if the Magiſtrates diſapproved of the choice of any of the perſons in nomination, they ought to appear before their Conſiſtory, and diſcover the matter to them; that then the ſaid Conſiſtory would take cognizance of it, declare their opinion, and paſs ſentence accordingly.* They were aſtoniſhed at ſuch an anſwer, and looked upon it no otherwiſe than as a deſign of lording it over the Civil Government. In the ſaid Apology the Magiſtrates proceeded to juſtify their authority in admitting, continuing and depoſing Miniſters, Elders and Deacons, and their right of aſſiſting in Conſiſtories, by many arguments and examples. Among thoſe who endeavoured to clear up this doubt, was *Thomas Tylius*, formerly Abbot of St. *Bernard*, and at this time a Preacher at *Antwerp*, who took great pains in exhorting to peace and unity ſuch as ſeparated from the church. This rendered him immediately ſo ſuſpected, that ſome perſons underſtanding that he was to preach on certain *Sundays* at the deſire of the Magiſtracy and Clergy, went to him, and aſked him; *By what authority he preſumed*

[1] *See the Works of* Koornhert. *Vol.* III. *p.* 483.

to preach, and who had called or ſent him? Neither would thoſe Elders and Deacons, who for refuſing to ſerve upon the ſcheme formed by the Magiſtrates, were diſcharged, attend at his ſermon. Before this, two of the depoſed Elders had been three years excommunicated for ſtill pretending to exerciſe that office, and for ſeeking the advice and aſſiſtance of other churches. An° Dom. 1580.

In this ſtate of affairs did *Koolhaes* publiſh his firſt defence, in the month of *January* 1580, and in *May* following his ſecond, or, *A further account of the Schiſm at* Leyden; as likewiſe a relation of ſome diſputes with his Colleague *Lucas Heſpe*: This man had advanced, 'That all ſuch as went with him to the Lord's table ought 'to be of his opinion in all points; otherwiſe that he would not break the Lord's 'bread with them, nor even own them for his Brethren.' On the other hand *Koolhaes* maintained; 'That we are bound to own all thoſe for brethren who agree 'with us in fundamentals, and are willing to live in peace with us, though they 'ſhould not know nor underſtand as much as we do: That otherwiſe we muſt reject '*Huſs*, *Luther*, *Zwinglius*, and many more good Divines, as alſo many churches in '*Germany*, *Swiſſerland*, *Denmark*, *England*, and elſewhere; foraſmuch as none of 'them are in all matters of our mind.' Afterwards *Heſpe* propoſed two queſtions in the Conſiſtory: *Firſt*, 'Whether the church of *Leyden* ſhould always continue 'ſeparated from other churches, or not? *Secondly*, In caſe there ſhould happen, 'ſooner or latter, any differences about religion, who ſhould judge of, or determine 'the ſame? Whether it ſhould be the Magiſtracy, or Commiſſioners appointed by 'them on the one ſide; or the Claſſes and Synods of the Church on the other?' To the firſt, the Conſiſtory replied; 'That they had not ſeparated themſelves from 'other churches, but that other churches had ſeparated from them; and that they 'neither had nor did deſire any thing more heartily, than as much as in them lay, 'to have peace with all churches, yea with all men.' To the ſecond; 'That they 'ſubmitted themſelves to the word of God, and were ready to be judged by it.' *Koolhaes* referred him to the anſwer he made to three queſtions, that had been propoſed before: *Firſt*, 'Whether he was ready to be ſincerely reconciled to his adver-'ſaries?' To which he had replied; 'Yes with all his heart.' *Secondly*, 'Whether 'he deſigned to introduce into the church of *Leyden*, any other doctrine than that 'which then was, and had thus long been preached there, and through all *Holland?*' To which he had returned the following anſwer; 'That he knew no other doctrine 'than that of the Holy Scripture, the doctrine of the Old and New Teſtament, and 'therefore had neither taught any other, nor deſired to do it.' *Thirdly*, 'Whether 'he were not deſirous to come to the Claſſes and Synods, and willing to ſubmit to 'the judgment of the Brethren?' To which queſtion he had thus replied; 'I re-'fuſe not to attend the Claſſes and Synods, when called, and am ready to be judged 'and corrected by the meaneſt of the Congregation, yea by any others, according to 'the word of God; and being convicted by the ſame word, even to acknowledge 'my fault, and to abandon my error. But if the Claſſes or Synods pretend to try 'me arbitrarily, by their own Rules and human Inſtitutions, I ſhall not ſubmit to 'ſuch a judgment; for having been once a Monk, I do not care to put on the Hood 'again, nor to be bound by human impoſitions.' *Koolhaes* publiſhed likewiſe ſome particular declarations of his Moderation and Forbearance, with reſpect to certain points, ſaying, among other things; 'That he would eſteem as a brother any perſon 'who could not be ſatisfied in his conſcience as to the lawfulneſs of Infant-Baptiſm, 'and who nevertheleſs did not deſpiſe nor condemn ſuch as brought their children 'to be baptized, nor would preſs his opinion, with reſpect to Baptiſm, upon others, 'provided that he agreed in all other points with the *Reformed* church. That he 'would not refuſe to break bread with thoſe that were of the ſentiments of the *Lu-'therans*, as to the manner of *Chriſt*'s preſence in the elements, if they did not re-'proach nor condemn the opinions of the *Reformed* upon that article.' He added, 'That as the Miniſters ought to ſuffer every one to come to their ſermons, ſo likewiſe ought they to admit to the Lord's table all ſuch who being baptized in the name 'of *Chriſt*, abſtained from open and ſcandalous ſins, upon their ſelf-examination, 'and without exacting any other obligation or promiſe of them, or regiſtering their 'names. He would likewiſe hold for his brethren all thoſe that agreed with the '*Reformed* in every point, ſave that about **Eternal Election**; adding, That as for 'himſelf he did not pretend to underſtand the manner of ſuch **Election**, and main-

Further quarrels.

An° Dom. 1580.

'taining that no body elſe could rightly apprehend it. And ſince the word of God 'did not ſubject men to the opinions of *Calvin*, *Zwinglius*, *Luther*, and others, nei-'ther would he declare that any man was bound by them; only, *ſaid he*, people 'ought to adhere to this article, *which he had alſo advanced before*, that God is by 'no means the occaſion of any man's damnation; nor is man the cauſe of his own 'ſalvation; and that therefore whoever is ſaved, is ſaved by Grace; and whoever is 'damned, is damned through his own Wickedneſs.' At laſt, after long debates upon this head, it was, by the interpoſition of *Ysbrand Balk*, at that time Miniſter at *Antwerp*, on the 19th of *Auguſt*, referred to four Temporal, and as many Eccleſiaſtical perſons, who not being able to decide the matter by a juſt and impartial ſentence, did at laſt, by the conſent of both parties, on the 29th of *October*, unite and make them friends upon the following plan: 'That whatever had been ſaid and 'done on the account of theſe diviſions, ſhould be buried in the grave of oblivion, 'provided that *Peter Corneliſſon* on the one ſide, and *Koolhaes* on the other, would 'make an acknowledgment of their fault, as ſhould be preſcribed to them. That 'the Government of Church-affairs ſhould continue upon the former foot. That 'the election of Elders and Deacons ſhould be by the Conſiſtory; but ſo, that 'a Liſt of one third more of names ſhould be always preſented to the Magiſtrates, 'who might approve of two thirds of the ſame; which being afterwards propoſed to 'the Congregation, ſhould be immediately confirmed. That the Magiſtrates ſhould 'always be at liberty to depute two of their body, being Members of the church, to 'the Conſiſtory, to ſuperintend there, but without a vote, and upon promiſe of con-'cealing what was treated of. That *Peter Corneliſſon* ſhould be reſtored to his Mini-'ſtry, and *John Hall* (who during the quarrel had been put into his place) ſhould 'be ſent back to his own people; all which ſhould be without prejudice to the 'rights of any other churches. That *Koolhaes* ſhould ſubmit himſelf to the Claſſes 'and Synods, or to whomſoever elſe ſhould be thought proper, in relation to the 'Book he had publiſhed; and hold himſelf always ready to give an account of his 'doctrine, and to yield to truth whenever he ſhould be convinced of it from the 'word of God.'

An Agreement made.

Some time after, the Miniſters publiſhed an Anſwer in the name of the Church, to the *Juſtification* of the Magiſtrates of *Leyden*, in which, among other things, they ſaid; *That all other religions* (beſides their own) *ought not to be tolerated, but rather forbidden and ſuppreſſed by the Government, according to the examples of the Kings of* Judah.

The judgment of Lipſius.

During the controverſies at *Leyden*, *Koornhert* aſked the famous *Lipſius*, *Whether the Magiſtrates of that town did not* unſeaſonably *oppoſe the Miniſters?* To which the learned man made anſwer: *It is now the proper time to tame thoſe ſeditious ſpirits, and to diminiſh their credit, before they ſit too faſt in the ſaddle.*

Dovehouſe *deſires to be diſcharged.*

At *Utrecht*, the diſputes between the *Reformed* of St. *James*'s Pariſh, and thoſe of the *Conſiſtory*, ſtill continued; inſomuch, that Maſter *Hubert Dovehouſe* being quite tired with the affronts that he conceived to be put upon him, and particularly complaining of the injurious treatment he had lately met with, did at laſt petition the Magiſtrates, that he might be diſcharged and diſmiſſed from his Pariſh; complaining likewiſe of his weakneſs and infirmities, which rendered his Miniſtry too heavy for him, notwithſtanding one *Eraſmus Bakker* had been joined to him for his eaſe: But the Magiſtrates knowing how much he was beloved by many, and thoſe ſome of the principal of the inhabitants, and the great concourſe of people he drew after him, did upon the firſt of *February* this year, inſtead of conſenting to his requeſt, engage him anew in their ſervice, upon certain conditions which were remarkable; an Agreement in writing being made between them and him, as follows: *Firſt*,

An Agreement between the Magiſtrates and him.

'Foraſmuch as the Magiſtrates of this city have always been, and ſtill are, reſolved 'that there ſhall be no Conſiſtory in the church of St. *James*'s, and that no attempt 'of that nature ſhall be ſuffered; and ſince they have required Maſter *Hubert* '(without any application made to them by him) to conform himſelf thereto, as he 'has hitherto done: Be it known, that the ſaid Magiſtrates, adhering to their for-'mer orders and directions, have obliged themſelves, and do oblige themſelves by 'theſe Preſents, to maintain the ſaid Maſter *Hubert* therein, as being according to 'their own orders and directions; promiſing to be reſponſible for all the troubles 'and inconveniences that he may happen to undergo on that account, as being their

'own act and deed; and engaging themſelves likewiſe to charge and command the officers, for the time being, of the ſaid church, as by theſe preſents they do now charge the ſaid officers, to take an eſpecial care that the ſaid Maſter *Hubert* be in no wiſe moleſted on the ſaid account; and in caſe they perceive that he be put to any trouble by reaſon of theſe matters, that they inform the Magiſtrates thereof, to the end that they may immediately give ſuch directions in the premiſes, as to them ſhall ſeem meet: But in caſe that be not done, then the ſaid Maſter *Hubert* ſhall be actually diſcharged from his pariſh, and be at liberty to depart whither ſoever he pleaſes, without let or hindrance. Moreover, if it ſhould ſo happen (which God forbid) that any Perſecution ſhould ariſe on account of religion or conſcience, the Magiſtrates conſenting thereto, in that caſe alſo it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Maſter *Hubert* to quit his Miniſtry, without any further leave or warning; foraſmuch as he does declare, that he cannot conſent to any perſecution for conſcience-ſake, nor ſtain his ſoul with the blood of thoſe who ſuffer upon ſuch an account. And further, ſince the ſaid Maſter *Hubert* appears to be weakly, and troubled with ſome infirmities, he ſhall not be obliged ſtrictly to obſerve his Week of preaching, the Magiſtrates promiſing to induce his Colleague to perform the ſame; yet hoping that he, Maſter *Hubert*, will diſcharge his duty as far as his ſtrength ſhall enable him. It is likewiſe agreed by theſe Preſents, that he may ſometimes leave the town for three or four weeks together, upon his neceſſary occaſions. And laſtly, by reaſon of dangers, which he juſtly apprehends, he ſhall not be obliged to viſit the Sick a-nights.' This was ſigned, *G. vander Voort*.

ANNO DOM. 1580.

[1] It was about this time that the Prince of *Orange*, coming to *Utrecht*, ordered one *Sunday* that they ſhould get him a place in that church where was the beſt preaching: Accordingly, Yonker *Emmeric van Lier*, his Maſter of the Horſe, cauſed his Cuſhions and Cloth to be carried to St. *James*'s, where Maſter *Dovehouſe* was to preach. There the Prince heard him, and declared, *That he did not remember he had ever heard a better ſermon.* But the Miniſters of the Conſiſtory took this very ill of him; for they thought that he by his preſence approved and confirmed the affair of Maſter *Hubert*; and complaining of it, they told his Highneſs, *that the ſaid* Hubert *was not orthodox in his doctrine:* To which the Prince replied, *He knew nothing of that; but having given directions that his place ſhould be taken where they thought there was the beſt preaching; he was carried thither without having been informed of their miſunderſtandings: That indeed there was nothing in the Sermon that diſpleaſed him, but however, that he would go to their church the next time.* Then exhorting them to Peace and Unity, he diſmiſſed them.

The War with *Spain*, upon the event of which the *Reformation* much depended, began now to be unfortunate to the *States*, who found themſelves much weakened by diſorders and diviſions. The Arms of the Prince of *Parma*, the King's Stadtholder and General ſince the death of Don *John*, got ground daily, to the great prejudice of the *Reformed*, who were extreamly ill treated in all the towns he reduced.

Cruelty at Courtray.

At *Courtray*, which was betrayed in the month of *February*, *Simon van Torre*, an Elder of the congregation, fell into the enemies hands. They wounded him with a Cutlas in the head, tore off his beard, which was grey, by the roots, thruſt Bodkins into his fleſh, and cauſed the poor old man to end his days in a priſon, without comfort or ſupport. *Walter Wilge*, who was likewiſe a zealous Champion for *Reformation*, was concealed in a Pigeon-houſe for the ſpace of ſeventeen months, after which being diſcovered and apprehended, they put him to the Rack, to make him confeſs the ſecrets of his church. At laſt he died by the Cord, on the 11th of *October* of the following year, after having been thrice offered his life, if he would abjure his religion.

Parma now endeavoured to bring over by craft to the *Spaniſh* party, moſt of the countries under the government of the Count of *Rennenberg*; but they were beforehand with him in *Freeſland*, by the taking and demoliſhing of the caſtles. [2] When that of *Leeuwarden* was beſieged, the Burghers put the Prieſts, Monks, and the Wives of the ſoldiers belonging to the Garriſon, in their front, as marks for the firſt bullets of their huſbands, and to fill the ditches with their bodies. After the ſurrender, and whilſt they were demoliſhing the Fort, the ſoldiers fetched the *Franciſcans*

The Franciſcans *ſent out of* Leeuwarden.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXI. *p.* 3.

[2] Bor. Lib. XIV. *p.* 183. Hooft, Lib. XVI. *p.* 678, &c.

An° Dom. 1580.

ciſcans out of their Convent, and conveyed them out of town, between their ranks, the Drums beating, and Colours flying.

The Count of Rennenberg *quits the ſervice of the* States.

But the Count of *Rennenberg*, whether preſſed by his conſcience, and troubled to ſee the *Romiſh* religion treated ſo ill, or concerned for the preſervation of his eſtate in *Flanders*, turned his thoughts towards the Prince of *Parma*; and perceiving that others were endeavouring to get the ſtart of him, made the beſt of his way, and quitting the ſervice of the *States*, on the 3d of *March* ſecured *Groningen* for the King. But he could not effect it without killing the Burgomaſter *James Hillebrantſon*, a man of great worth, and upon whom the *Reformed* very much depended, and whom the Count himſelf uſed to call Father, and had made ſup with him but the night before. This being done, they went to all the houſes of the *Reformed*, breaking in at their doors and windows, and ſeizing above twenty of the Citizens, beſides the Magiſtrates. Some of the inhabitants caſt themſelves down the walls, and ſwam over the ditches. The Miniſters, and a few of the principal Burghers, eſcaped unknown.

This perfidious defection (for *Rennenberg* had before ſworn not only to the obſervation of the *Religious Peace*, but likewiſe to the *Union* of *Utrecht*) was the cauſe that the Prince of *Orange* would never after truſt a *Papiſt*, how honeſt ſoever he might appear to be; for he had ſo firmly relied upon *Rennenberg*, brother to his late friend, the Count of *Hoogſtraten*, that his treachery and deſertion ſeemed a dream to him. But this perfidiouſneſs of the Count was partly the cauſe of his death, and was followed by a repentance that pierced through his ſoul; unleſs it was his ill ſucceſs that ſowered him more than the wickedneſs of the action. This however is certain, that he often called out upon *Groningen* whilſt he lay on his death-bed, and wiſhed he had never ſeen that place. He alſo forbad his ſiſter *Cornelia*, who had tempted him to it, to come into his preſence during his ſickneſs.

Tumults occaſioned by his Defection.

The bad news of *Groningen* being immediately ſpread every where, excited great indignation in the hearts of the *Reformed*, and heated them to ſuch a degree that they hatched abundance of tumults, no longer thinking themſelves ſafe but where they were ſole maſters. At *Deventer* and *Swol* the Burghers took up arms againſt each other; whereupon ſome of the *Spaniſh* party were driven out, and the Convents and Images defaced. In *Freeſland*, the *Ommelands* and *Drenthe*, the ſoldiers fell upon all the Churches and Cloyſters they could come at, pulling down the images, and driving away the *Papiſts*.

A Tumult at Utrecht.

The rumour of theſe feats cauſed likewiſe an inſurrection of ſome people at *Utrecht*; theſe broke into all the churches where the *Romiſh* religion was ſtill exerciſed, on the 7th of *March*, and deſtroyed the Images, Pictures, and Altars. This inſolent violation of the Agreement made but in *June* before, was abhorred by all that had a ſenſe of honour, but no body durſt venture to ſtem the torrent of their rage. The tumult increaſed, and the whole town was up in arms; upon which the Magiſtrates ſent to the chief Officers of the Trained-bands, deſiring them to pacify and diſmiſs the people, and to exhort them to come and propoſe their grievances in a peaceable manner. But they could not be heard for the noiſe and confuſion. At laſt they offered twelve Articles, and inſiſted upon their being granted, before they would ſeparate. Some were agreed to, relating to the ſecurity of the city; as likewiſe, ‘ the education of Orphans in ‘ the *Reformed* Religion. The purging of the Univerſity. The ſending three or four ‘ Students in the mean time to ſome of the *Reformed* Academies, in order to their ‘ ſerving the church for the future, according to the appointment of the Congrega- ‘ tion; as alſo the diſmiſſing ſuch of the Miniſters as they had reaſon to ſuſpect of *Po*- ‘ *pery*. *They likewiſe deſired*, that the exerciſe of the *Romiſh Religion* ſhould be ab- ‘ ſolutely ſuppreſſed.’ Which laſt was agreed to proviſionally only. They alſo inſiſted, that all the aſſemblies of the Chapters of the five Canonries ſhould be forbidden; and that from thence-forwards no *Papiſts* ſhould be admitted as Deputies or Members in the meetings of the States, or thoſe of their Confederates, unleſs they would previouſly and publickly renounce their religion, and all adherance thereto. Upon this the Magiſtrates promiſed they would take care that the Chapters ſhould not aſſemble to the prejudice of the Community. But as for the laſt article, they looked upon it to be of ſuch importance, that it would be neceſſary to debate the matter next day with the Plenipotentiaries of the people. By theſe conceſſions the officers prevailed upon the inhabitants to ſeparate, poſtponing the reſt till the Prince's arrival; to whom, as ſoon as he was come to *Amſterdam*, which was on the 17th of this

The Requeſt of ſome of the Inhabitants.

month, the States of *Utrecht* repreſented all that had happened on the 7th, without the concurrence of the Magiſtracy, or any lawful power; and the Deputies of the five Chapters beſought him to maintain the free exerciſe of the *Romiſh* religion, purſuant to the *Pacification* of *Gant*, the *Accommodation* with him the Prince, the Union of *Utrecht*, the *Religious Peace*, and the Convention of *June* laſt paſt. The Prince, ſenſible of the juſtice of their requeſt, but knowing likewiſe how much the greateſt part of the people were prejudiced againſt the Clergy (becauſe they were ſuſpected of holding a correſpondence with the enemy, though there was not the leaſt proof of it) and fearing leſt by ſtrong medicines he ſhould rather ſtir than expel the peccant humours, did not think it proper to determine any thing abſolutely in this affair; but ordered, that there ſhould be a *mutual Forbearance* among all parties till the approaching aſſembly of the United Provinces, upon the following foot: Anno Dom. 1580.

The Deciſion of the Prince of Orange.

'That the *Romaniſts* ſhould retain the uſe of St. *Gertrude*'s Church, and that of the *Dominicans*, in which they might have the free exerciſe of their religion according to the *Religious Peace*. That none ſhould preſume to moleſt them in it, on pain of being puniſhed as diſturbers of the publick tranquility. That all the other Churches of Colleges, Convents or Cloyſters, ſhould be kept ſhut, and the exerciſe of the *Romiſh Religion* there and elſewhere, ſhould be ſuſpended; and, further, that whatever had been ſtipulated with reſpect to the perſons and goods of the Clergy, ſhould be religiouſly obſerved. That the States and Magiſtrates ſhould ſupport the Prince in the execution of theſe Orders, and all other perſons be obliged to pay due obedience thereto. And laſtly, that ſuch as were aggrieved, ſhould complain by word of mouth or writing, without attempting to do juſtice to themſelves.'

This Declaration was made on the 23d of *March*; and the next day the Prince writ a Letter to the Officers of the Militia, in which he kindly and gravely exhorted them to the obſervation of the abovementioned Orders, as being neceſſary to their own peace and welfare, and tending alſo to the maintenance of former agreements; *which*, ſaid he, *ought not to be forgotten or diſregarded; to the end that no man might be able to reproach them with keeping neither promiſes nor treaties, to the ſcandal of the* Reformed Religion, *and of thoſe that profeſſed it.*

Endeavours towards erecting a new Munſterian *Kingdom.*

[1] About this time, ſome enthuſiaſtick people had attempted to erect a new *Munſterian* Kingdom upon the foot of *John* of *Leyden*. One *John the Cobler*, who after the deceaſe of *David George* endeavoured to reign over his aſſociates, had been hanged at *Bruſſels*. [2] We have likewiſe an account of one *John the Hatbandmaker*, who aimed at the ſame kingdom; but was broken on the Wheel at *Bruſſels* for his robberies and other villainies. This man was ſucceeded by *Cornelius Appelmans*, who was executed at *Utrecht*. Afterwards there aroſe *John-William Stevens*, a ſon, as it is ſaid, of a Prieſt, and born at *Ruremond*: this fellow with his brother *Jacob* endeavoured to gather together the remnant of the *Munſterian* Kingdom; he declared, 'That God had revealed it to him, that the doctrines of the *Anabaptiſts* were the pureſt of all: That he himſelf was raiſed up to make known and eſtabliſh them: That no Government was to be owned for lawful that would not embrace their doctrines; and that therefore the *Papiſts* who oppreſſed and perſecuted thoſe that were more orthodox than they themſelves, ought by no means to be ſpared. He aſſured his followers, that in a little time the kingdom of the *New Jeruſalem* would be eſtabliſhed, and the people whom God enlightened, ſhould poſſeſs the countries of the Heterodox, juſt after the ſame manner as the *Iſraelites* drove out the *Canaanites*, and ſeized upon all that belonged to them. To increaſe his ſubjects, and confirm his own power, he, in the firſt place, allowed them plurality of Wives, upon the ſcheme of *Mahomet*; and for the ſupport of himſelf and his followers, he permitted Theft and Robbery, under pretence, that the riches of the earth belonged to *Chriſt* and his Diſciples; that ſuch riches had been unjuſtly diſtributed by human laws, and that therefore it was the will of God, by whom he was ſent, that he ſhould diſtribute them more equally among his People; that he ſhould take from the Rich what they had too much, and add it to the Poor, and thoſe that were worthy of it, that is, to his aſſociates.' This liberty of ſtealing and plundering being divulged, thoſe people practiſed for a while great diſorders and inſolencies, boaſting, that with good conſciences they executed the divine

[1] Thuan. Lib. LXXII. *p.* 608. [2] S. Goulard. Hiſt. Admir. Part III. *p.* 391.

An Dom. 1580. divine law by the ſword of the Lord, and of *Gideon*. Many Noblemen's Caſtles and Seats, and many rich mens Houſes were broken open, pillaged in the night by thoſe Thieves and Robbers, and ſome perſons were alſo murdered. This *wicked ſpirit* tormented the inhabitants in the countries of *Cleves*, *Juliers*, and *Gelder*, for the ſpace of five years, till *John Williams*, the Founder of this chimerical Kingdom, who had now three hundred Robbers under his command, happened to be taken at *Dinxlaken*, in the Duchy of *Cleves*. He continued there in priſon till the year 1579, living, notwithſtanding, in eaſe and great plenty, with many women about him, having eſtabliſhed the liberty of taking ſeveral wives among his followers, by a Book which he writ for that purpoſe. His Keepers, who were well paid for it, connived at all, and probably they ſhared in the plunder. At laſt one *Catherine*, a young woman of *Weſel*, diſcovered the whole matter. One of his wives, named *Elſken*, or Little *Alice*, who growing old, had beſtowed her daughter *Elizabeth* upon the impriſoned King, to ſupply her place; and *Anna*, another old woman of ſeventy years, that had eſcaped from the ſiege of *Munſter*, being apprehended with one *Simon Peterſon*, after confeſſing their crimes, were put to death.

Theſe confeſſed, that notwithſtanding the plurality of wives, women were uſed in common among thoſe people, who maintained, that man was born for procreation, and therefore that one man might marry ſeveral women at once, and thoſe whom he found ſteril or unfruitful, might be forſaken by him. To ſhew their mutual love, they called one another Brother and Siſter. The Magiſtrates of *Cleves* forgave the reſt of the Wives, or Queens; whether it was becauſe they had been deluded, or by reaſon of their numbers. They required them to repent, and ſent them back to *Freeſland* and *Holland*, from whence they came. In fine, the abovementioned Impoſtor, or Sham-King, being convicted by the evidence of the others, though he himſelf obſtinately denied the whole matter, was condemned to the flames; which puniſhment he underwent on the 12th of *March* at *Cleves*, with the ſame obſtinacy, and without any ſign of repentance or ſorrow, throwing himſelf ſuddenly headlong into the fire. Others relate, that whilſt he was burning, he cried continually, *O Father!* [1] There is mention likewiſe made by *Koornhert*, of one *Jaſper Williams*, who gave out that he was a Prophet, and who, with another fellow that ſet up for King, was for reſtoring the kingdom of *Iſrael*; but endeavouring to take a certain conſiderable town, the King and his Prophet were both made priſoners, and ſhut up in a Tower, where they were kept till they died. [2] Before this, there was another man at *Weſel*, one *Joachim*, who would fain have paſſed for a King there, going from houſe to houſe with his Revelations, till being accuſed, he was apprehended and put to death.

Troubles occaſioned by the Lutherans *at* Woerden.

[3] In the ſaid year of our Lord 1580, the *Lutherans* loſt the uſe of the church at *Woerden*, for certain cauſes which muſt be traced higher. They had enjoyed the particular favour of the publick exerciſe of their religion, according to the Confeſſion of *Auſburg*, in this town (which was mortgaged to Duke *Eric* of *Brunſwick*) above ſeven years. But notwithſtanding this conceſſion, which ought to have been acknowledged by a peaceable behaviour, one of their Teachers, named *John Saliger*, had the confidence to attack the *Calviniſts*, as he ſtiled them, ſeveral times in his Pulpit, reproaching them as perjured People, violaters of Treaties, and reſtleſs Spirits, who no longer kept their Words and Agreements than till they had the power of perſecuting others with their Conſiſtories, and who endeavoured to domineer even over their Rulers. He likewiſe railed continually at the *Papiſts* and the *Menniſts*, calling them Seducers and Soul-murderers. Neither did he ſtop there, but committing the very crime with which he reproached others, he concerned himſelf ſo far in matters of Government, as to give a laſh at the Prince himſelf, for having violated the Privileges of *Woerden*, in diſplacing the Magiſtrates the year before, and by bringing in ſome falſe *Chriſtians* (that is to ſay, ſome of the *Reformed*) into the Government of that town. In *Auguſt* he preached againſt the rejecting the King's authority, about which the States were to be called together; who, he ſaid, ought not to aſſemble without good cauſe, eſpecially ſince there were ſo many among them that adhered to *Popery* and *Calviniſm*, both which Sects propagated falſe doctrine; exhorting the Congregation to pray to God (ſince the reaſons were yet unknown to him)

3

[1] Koornh. Lib. III. *p.* 63.
[2] Ubb. Emm. Hiſt. Friſ. Lib. LVII. *p.* 393.
[3] Bor. Lib. XIV. *p.* 170. Hooft. Lib. XVI. *p.* 686.

him) to give the States the wiſdom not to do it. Thereupon the States ſent ſome of their body to *Woerden*, to inform themſelves of his Sermons and Behaviour, and alſo to hear what he had to ſay in his defence. After which, being ſummoned to the *Hague*, and refuſing to anſwer to ſome Articles of which he was accuſed, deſiring to have a copy of the Articles exhibited againſt him, and to know who were his Accuſers, he was at laſt forbidden to preach in *Holland* either publickly or privately, till he could clear himſelf of all that was laid to his charge. He ſhewed great diſcontent, and complained that he was wronged; ſaying, *That he had done too great ſervice to the Government at the time of the ſiege, when he oppoſed them that were for yielding the town to the enemy, which he prevented; and for which he was now very ill rewarded.* The States however abode by their reſolutions, and ordered his Colleague, *Henry Fredeland*, to take upon himſelf the whole ſervice, till they ſhould otherwiſe direct. But he alſo refuſed to comply with their Orders, and the next day both *Saliger* and *Fredeland* reſigned their Miniſtry, under the pretence, that unlawful Concubinage, or Fornication, and other tranſgreſſions remained unpuniſhed. The Commiſſioners on behalf of the States, took them at their word, forbidding them from that time forward to preach any more in their church. This prohibition being divulged among the inhabitants, filled the town with uneaſineſs, moſt of the people being *Lutherans*. Nevertheleſs, thoſe among them who were of the ſame perſwaſion, and yet diſliked *Saliger* for his uſual railing, found it adviſeable to intreat one Maſter *Nicolas Simonſon* to come and ſerve the church at *Woerden* proviſionally, and by way of loan; hoping that he might prove a man of ſuch temper, as to compoſe things amicably. This perſon, formerly the Pariſh Prieſt of *Jaepſwoude*, had been a priſoner in the Biſhops Court at *Utrecht* for ſeveral years, being accuſed of *Lutheraniſm* and *Hereſy*, but was releaſed after the Treaty of *Gant*, and called again by the Heer *van Warmondt* to his village of *Jaepſwoude*; for though he paſſed for a *Lutheran*, he ſubmitted to the churches of *Rhineland*. Being come to *Woerden*, the Churchwardens would not deliver up the keys of the church; upon which the Heer *van Opdam*, Governour of the Caſtle, and Commander of the Soldiers in that place, cauſed the door to be broken open, and put Mr. *Nicolas* in poſſeſſion of the Pulpit, in which, on the 15th of *November*, he preached his firſt ſermon, and being a good Orator, gained the hearts of many of his hearers. *Fredeland*, who had refuſed to preach there any more, ſet up a private Meeting in a certain Houſe, or Stall, which was afterwards, in contempt, nicknamed the *Cow-Church*. They alſo railed bitterly againſt *Nicolas*, cenſuring and miſconſtruing his Sermons and moderate behaviour. *Saliger*, who was baniſhed the town for promoting theſe diviſions, reſided in the ſuburbs, and drew thither a great concourſe of people, which raiſed a jealouſy that he preached to them, and occaſioned a renewal of the Prohibition in *January* of the current year. Upon which ſome of his friends went to the *Hague* to juſtify his proceedings; but not ſucceeding there, they applied to the Prince, carrying with them a Letter from *Saliger* himſelf, and a Petition with about a hundred hands to it, that he might be reſtored to the poſſeſſion and uſe of his church. The Prince referred them to the States, who at laſt, in concurrence with him, declared on the 4th of *April*, their conſent; That the *Auſburg Confeſſion* ſhould be admitted, and freely exerciſed in the town of *Woerden*, as well as the *Reformed* religion; and that for the ſaid purpoſe, one or two Miniſters of that perſwaſion might be called thither, and admitted, upon producing proper teſtimonials from the perſons among whom they laſt reſided. This was obtained by the importunity of the diſcontented party, who did not conſider what country they were in. After that, *Saliger* and *Fredeland* went their way, and the *Lutherans* called one *Matthew Rudſe*, formerly Paſtor of *Hondſchoten* in *Flanders*, and then of *Newkop* in *Holland*.

An° Dom. 1580.

The exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion *forbidden at* Utrecht.

[1] It fared yet worſe with the *Papiſts* at *Utrecht*; for upon the 18th of *June* there was publiſhed an Order in that city (of which the occaſion is not mentioned) forbidding, in the name of the Stadtholder and Magiſtrates, **the exerciſe of the** Romiſh **religion to all Prieſts, or ordained perſons, and their adherents, of that Communion, within the ſaid City or Liberties thereof, upon forfeiture of their Benefices and Offices, if they had any, or the ſum of ten Gilders**; and this Order was to be in force till the Stadtholder and States ſhould otherwiſe direct. The Monks and Nuns were

[1] Bor. Lib. XV. *p.* 218. Hooft. Lib. XVI. *p.* 703.

An° Dom. 1580. were likewiſe forbidden to wear their Eccleſiaſtical or Conſecrated habits in publick, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame; and the *Paters* and *Maters*, as they were called, or the Superiors of Convents and Nunneries, were required to ſuffer all their Conventuals, or perſons of their Societies, to embrace the *Religious Peace*, and the *Union* of *Utrecht*, if they thought fit.

The death of the Archbiſhop of Utrecht.

Soon after died the Heer *Frederick Schenk van Toutenburg*, the firſt Archbiſhop of *Utrecht*, and the ſixty-firſt and laſt Biſhop of that Dioceſe. When he was buried, ſome of the ſpectators fell a ſinging the 130th Pſalm, and went through with it in ſpite of the Clergy. He left behind him certain Treatiſes, and the name of a learned, as alſo of a covetous man, on account of his reducing his domeſtick expences at the latter end of his life; though others ſay of him, that what he retrenched of his viſible and unneceſſary charges, was beſtowed by him in ſecret, in alms and charity to the Poor.

Seminaries *founded at* Louvain *and* Douay.

1 In this ſame year the King of *Spain*, at the inſtance of *Damaſus Lindanus* of *Dort*, Biſhop of *Ruremond*, founded two Seminaries, one at *Louvain*, the other at *Douay*, for educating Paſtors and Teachers to propagate the *Romiſh* religion, and to oppoſe the *Proteſtants*.

The Prince of Orange's *Apology, occaſioned by the* Ban *publiſhed againſt him in the King's name.*

About this time a Ban was publiſhed in the King's name, againſt the Prince of *Orange*, ſetting a reward of 25000 gold Crowns upon his head; againſt which the Prince prepared an Apology, and laid it before the States General, by whom it was approved, and afterwards printed, but never anſwered; **Kings having ſeldom the ſame advantage of their inferiors with the Pen, as with the Sword.** 2 In the drawing up the ſaid Apology, the Prince had made uſe of the ingenious *Peter Loſeler Villers*, his Chaplain, a great Divine, and well verſed in matters of Law. This *Villers* was a man not only of great wiſdom, experience, policy and fidelity, but very diſcreet and moderate in the buſineſs of religion; and even of opinion, that *Popery*, which had been ſuppreſſed at *Gant*, contrary to what had been ſtipulated with its profeſſors, ought in ſome manner to be re-eſtabliſhed there, as indeed the Prince himſelf endeavoured to effect it. He was Miniſter at that time of the *Reformed* church at *Antwerp*, to whoſe communion the Preſident of the Council of *Flanders*, *Adolf van Meetkerke* had joined himſelf, with all his family, in the month of *March*.

An account of the admiſſion of the Preſident van Meetkerke, *to the Sacrament in the Church of the* Reformed *at* Antwerp.

3 His admiſſion to that Church, and to the Lord's Table, as deſcribed by *Villers* in a certain Letter to the Heer *Adrian vander Myle*, is remarkable. The ſaid Preſident, after ſome diſcourſe with the Miniſter concerning the church, acquainted him; *That he was deſirous to teſtifie, by receiving the Sacrament, that he was a Member of that pure church whoſe Aſſemblies he had now frequented for ſeveral weeks.* Upon which *Villers* congratulated him on ſo holy a deſign, and ſaid; *That ſince, through the goodneſs of God, they had obtained the liberty of profeſſing the Truths of the Goſpel, it was now high time that people ſhould ſincerely and publickly own that religion which they had already approved in their conſciences.* The Preſident replied; *That he had formerly profeſſed the* Romiſh *religion, although he knew that it abounded with errors, becauſe he thought it was better to bear with ſome errors that could not be reformed, than to ſeparate from the church; but now that he underſtood that they* (the Proteſtants) *acknowledged one only Church, of which they allowed the* Romiſh *to be a part, and that it was not in the leaſt their fault that they did not aſſemble in common; and that they longed only for the reforming the church from certain errors, not for the erecting a* New Church; *to which might be likewiſe added, that the Governours of the* Romiſh *Church were ſo obſtinate, that they would hear of no* Reformation, *neither in* Doctrine *nor* Diſcipline: *he was therefore fully determined to join himſelf to that Aſſembly which profeſſed a purer religion.* Theſe reaſons, and his deſign, were approved by *Villers*, who inſtructed him farther in the *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of the *Reformed*, to which *Meetkerke* readily ſubmitted. Whereupon he, together with his Son, Daughter and Neece, were admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. 4 The ſaid *Villers* ſince publiſhed ſome poſitions about *Free-will*, in the Preface to which he ſays: 'That the *Schoolmen* and *Proteſtants* differ more in 'words than in facts in the ſaid diſpute, which might be eaſily accommodated, if 'litigiouſneſs and equivocation were excluded.' He adds; 'Though there have

3 'crept

[1] Bor. Lib. XVII. *p.* 750.
[2] Hooft. Lib. XVII. *p.* 835. Lib. XXV. *p.* 247. Grot. An. Lib. III. *p.* 71. & Reid. *p.* 213, &c.
[3] Viller. Epiſt. ad A. Mil. in Ep. Sel. Cent. II. *p.* 791, &c.
[4] Epiſt. Select. Cent. II. *p.* 934. Grot. via ad pacem. *p.* 85.

'crept into the Church of God many abuſes and grievous errors, which ought to be 'reformed by the force of truth; yet I by no means doubt, but that many of the 'Controverſies are of ſuch a nature, that with the help of Charity, the true cha- 'racteriſtick of Chriſtians, they may be compoſed. An° Dom. 1581.

The States of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and ſome other Provinces of the *Netherlands*, finding themſelves ready to ſink under the weight of the Arms of *Spain*, were obliged to offer the Sovereignty of thoſe Provinces to the Duke of *Alençon* or *Anjou*; and matters were brought ſo far between him and the Deputies of the ſaid Provinces, that the Articles and Conditions were ſworn to at *Bourdeaux* on the 23d of *January* 1581; ſome of which were the following: 'That his Highneſs obliged himſelf to preſerve Religion 'and the *Religious Peace*, together with the Rights and Privileges of the reſpective 'Provinces, in the ſame ſtate they then were in; or as the Provinces themſelves 'ſhould afterwards direct. That as for *Holland* and *Zeland*, they might continue 'in *ſtatu quo*, with reſpect to religion. In general, his Highneſs promiſed not to 'permit any perſon to be diſturbed in his houſe, or elſewhere, under the pretence 'of his religion, though he ſhould exerciſe the ſame out of the two abovementioned 'Provinces; but to take into his protection all that profeſſed either the one Religion 'or the other.' Great were the expectations people had from this Prince, and from his prudence and temper in matters of religion; inſomuch, that the Heer *van Aldegonde*, one of the Envoys of the States, writ to the Heer *vander Myle* concerning him: *That he profeſſed the* Popiſh *religion, and ſeemed to do it ſincerely; but that he was not averſe to that which was truly* Evangelical; *nay, that he loved thoſe who were of it, and eſteemed them as much as others.*

The exerciſe of the Popiſh *religion prohibited in* Holland.

[1] In the mean time, the jealouſies againſt *Popery* ſo greatly increaſed, that for fear of Tumults and Conſpiracies, the States of *Holland* were forced to forbid the *Romaniſts* the exerciſe of their religion, on pain of being puniſhed as diſturbers of the publick tranquility. This was done by a Letter which they ſent to all the Bailiffs and Scouts of their towns and villages, on the 4th of *March*: Upon which, ſome of the principal inhabitants of *Harlem*, who profeſſed the ſaid religion, prepared a Petition to the Prince of *Orange*, in behalf of themſelves and moſt of the townſmen, that they might be maintained in the exerciſe of their religion in the Convents, and in the *Bakkeneſſe* church, which the *Reformed*, upon ſeizing the Great Church, had forſaken. This Petition was drawn up by *Richard Folkertſon Koornhert*, who was at that time a Notary there. Among other things it ſets forth; 'That they, the *Romaniſts*, had lived in mutual peace and quiet with their fellow 'citizens the *Reformed*, about four or five years; and were therefore an eminent 'example, that at leaſt two different religions might be quietly profeſſed in the ſame 'place together.' The ſaid *Koornhert* was ſummoned before the Magiſtrates, about the drawing up of this Petition, who demanded it of him: he delivered it, and at the ſame time told them; *That he did not pretend to juſtifie it, and much leſs the* Romiſh *religion, which he looked upon to be falſe, and their Church a neſt of murderers: But he thought however, that the* Papiſts *had been wronged, both by the violation of promiſes, and the force offered to their conſciences.* The ſame day, being the laſt of *April*, and before the Petition could be tranſmitted to the Prince, the *Romiſh* religion was entirely ſuppreſſed at *Harlem*. Then the Burgomaſters delivered the ſaid Petition to the Prince, who referred it to the States, becauſe it ſeemed to reflect upon them; and it was taken alſo very ill by them, on account of ſome expreſſions which it contained; *viz.* 'That the Great Church (after it had been plun- 'dered, and other diſorders committed in it) had been ſeized upon, and delivered 'to the *Reformed*, by the imprudent management of one of the Commiſſioners, 'contrary to the ſtipulation of the 22d of *January*, in the year 1577;' whereas they (the States) and the Magiſtrates of *Harlem*, had given order for thoſe alterations, and had now, on the 23d of *April*, made a new Agreement, whereby the old one was annulled. The Petitioners being cited to the *Hague*, ſaw their miſtake, of which they had been guilty through ignorance of ſuch an Order, and of a later Convention, as well as of other circumſtances relating to it; and perceiving that ſuch Petitions, drawn up as it were in a rebellious manner, were looked upon as favouring of ſedition, they ſubmitted themſelves to the States, renounced their ſaid

A Petiton drawn up on behalf of the Romaniſts *at* Harlem.

The Romiſh *religion prohibited at* Harlem.

[1] Hooft. Lib. XVII. *p.* 765. Bor. Lib. XVI. *p.* 18. Koornh. Lib. I. *p.* 537.

An° Dom. 1581. Petition, and in token of such renunciation and repentance, were obliged to raze out their own names, which they had subscribed. *Koornhert* was also commanded to tear in pieces the Draught of it with his own hands, which was done accordingly. *Gerard Stuver* (formerly Burgomaster) being likewise summoned to the *Hague*, said; *That he falling unawares into the company of those Burghers who made the said Petition, and having heard nothing but the conclusion of it, had declared, That their request for the free exercise of their religion seemed to him both just and reasonable, since he was verily perswaded in his conscience, that every church ought to be allowed such an exercise of religion, as she believed before God to be good and true; forasmuch as it was not only a violation of conscience to oblige any man to embrace a religion which he held to be false and pernicious; but it was also no less a violation, to oblige any to forbear the publick exercise of a religion, which he in his conscience believed to be true and good. This is real Liberty,* said he, *to be able to reject what we think is wrong, and to embrace what we think is right; and such had been his opinion above five and twenty years: And therefore in the year Sixty-six, when the* Reformed *had obtained the free exercise of their religion, and leave to build them churches, he had contributed as much as any (though he was not of that religion) towards building them a church without the* Houtport; *and this he did at the peril of his life, as it afterwards appeared. In the year Seventy-two, he had suffered himself to be shut up in* Harlem *for the defence of his Country's liberty, without endeavouring to save any thing that was in his house, or valuing any part of his estate that lay in and about* Amsterdam, *where he was born, and which* Alva *seized upon and confiscated. Besides, after the taking of* Harlem, *he and several other prisoners were carried to* Amsterdam, *in order to be there executed, according to the sentence pronounced against them by that Tyrant, which was however prevented by the friends and kindred of* Bossu. —— *From all which he left them to judge of his impartial behaviour.*

A remarkable Declaration of one of the Magistrates of Harlem, *with respect to Impositions in matters of Religion.*

A tumult raised by the Romanists *at* Brussels.

[1] At *Brussels* the *Papists* were yet more insolent, endeavouring, by way of tumult, and in spite of the Magistrates, to keep in the city the seditious Pastor of St. *Goedele*, one *Antony Ruiskevelt*, whom they would have banished out of it; but the Government, with the help of the Soldiery, got the better, and took an account of several rebellious transactions committed under the pretence of religious meetings. Thereupon *Ruiskevelt*, with several of his Associates, were turned out of town on the 22d of *April*, the Churches and Convents were shut up, and the images taken out of them; a stop was put to the exercise of the *Romish* religion; and a General Pardon and Indemnity granted, with some few exceptions; and lastly, those of both Communions were, by a publick Declaration, taken into the protection of the Government.

In the Proclamation published on this account, the 1st of *May*, it is said: **That the Magistrates had been convinced that what the Clergy showed for three bloody Hosts, or Wafers, under the name of,** The Sacrament of Miracles, **was nothing but Cloth or Linnen stained with Paint, and other materials: That they had also caused the Bones of beasts to be honoured for the Relicks of Saints, and had cheated the simple people many other ways to satiate their own avarice: That they had caused old pieces of Elder-wood to be adored as part of our Saviour's Cross: That in some of the Images there had been found holes, into which the Priests poured oil to make them sweat: And lastly, in others were discovered Wires and Threads, wherewith they moved their limbs.**

In the same month, the Artisans of *Antwerp* being apprehensive of a new storm hanging over the heads of the images, took down, with leave of the Government, the finest Altar-pieces, painted by the hands of some of the greatest and most famous Masters, and so secured them.

The death of Mr. Hubert Dovehouse.

In the mean time died at *Utrecht*, Master *Hubert Dovehouse*, on the 3d of *April*. He was buried in the church of St. *James*, of which he was the Pastor, or Parish Priest, in a Vault, which the Churchwardens very kindly bestowed on his Grandson about sixty four years after, as an acknowledgment of the old man's eminent services. The Magistrates called *Hermans Elkonius* of *Harlingen* for his Successor. The *Reformed* of the *Consistory* hoping, now Master *Hubert* was dead, to bring his Con-

[1] Bor. Lib. XVI. *p.* 21. Hooft. Lib. XVII. *p.* 765. Meteren. Lib. IX. *p.* 195.

gregation into their ſentiments, prevailed with the Government to allow them a conference with the two Miniſters of the ſaid church, which was agreed to be on the 4th of *Auguſt:* The Magiſtrates firſt aſking them; *Whether they had any thing to object, on the one ſide or the other, againſt the Preaching or Teaching of their Brethren?* They all replied; *They had nothing to ſay on that account.* And both ſides further declared; *that they agreed in all Fundamentals of religion as ſet forth in the Catechiſm.* Thus it is related by the Magiſtrates themſelves; but *Modet* and *Helmichius*, two of the *Conſiſtory* Miniſters affirmed; *That it was* Elkonius *only who approved of the* Catechiſm, *but not his Colleague* Eraſmus de Bakker, *who would not ſo much as peruſe the* Confeſſion; *ſo that*, as they thought, *the Orthodoxy of the church of St.* James *could not be determined by the declaration of* Elkonius *only.* But in the account of this conference, as we find it regiſtered in the books of that church, it is expreſly ſaid: *That the firſt thing they did, was to conſider of, and agree upon the chief Articles of the Chriſtian faith, as they were ſummarily contained in the* Netherland *Catechiſm*; which words, *chief Articles*, and *ſummarily*, it is believed, were on purpoſe inſerted, in order to obviate the diſputes about *Predeſtination*, and all that relates to that matter (which, it was well known, they of St. *James*'s explained differently from thoſe of the *Conſiſtory*) and to maintain peace. And the Magiſtrates accordingly perſiſted in what they had cauſed to be minuted, relating to the uniformity of Doctrine in the ſaid conference. The matters of Doctrine being thus ſettled, the Magiſtrates did not deſire they ſhould meddle with the buſineſs of Diſcipline and Church-government, ſaying, that with reſpect to this, they would not ſuffer any alteration; it being an indifferent matter in which every man might proceed as he thought would tend moſt to his edification. There was likewiſe mention made of *Predeſtination*, but they went no farther in it, than to declare in general terms, their conformity in fundamentals. In the month of *November* following, they had another conference, to try whether they could agree in the point of Church-government, but could not ſucceed, becauſe thoſe of St. *James*'s appealed to the terms of their admiſſion to the Miniſtry, in which alſo they were ſupported by the Magiſtrates. Upon which, the other Miniſters made their complaint to the Prince of *Orange*, intreating him to ſtand by them, in reducing thoſe of St. *James*'s to their Form. The Prince writ to the Magiſtrates about it, who on the 8th of *Auguſt*, the next year, returned him a copy of the written Declaration; to wit, **That neither ſide had any thing to object againſt the Doctrines of their adverſaries**; and withal, an anſwer to his Letter, in which they thus expreſſed themſelves: *The people of which the Congregation of St.* James's *is compoſed, are very numerous, and ſome of the beſt and moſt conſiderable families of the city; theſe would be much grieved, as we our ſelves ſhould likewiſe be, if after all the burdens, labours, troubles, and infinite charges and hazards both of body and eſtate, which they and we have born for ſo many years in oppoſing the* Spaniards, *and caſting off the yoke of the* Romiſh Religion *and* Inquiſition; *if after all this, there ſhould be laid on our ſhoulders a new burden, not inferior in many points, as it is generally apprehended, to that of the* Papiſts —— *We therefore moſt humbly beſeech your Princely Grace, that you would vouchſafe to exhort the other Miniſters to be quiet, and to let the Magiſtrates proceed to ſettle the church of St.* James *in concurreuce with the Pariſhioners, after ſuch a manner as the ſaid Pariſhioners think moſt proper, for maintaining the Peace and Unity of that church, and to forbear to trouble or concern themſelves therewith, in any manner, ſince ſuch intermeddling would only tend to excite tumults, quarrels and diſcord in the Congregation.* Then they quoted the XVIIIth Article of the *Religious Peace*, formerly eſtabliſhed at *Utrecht*, and approved by him, the Prince. From thence they ſhowed, *That the Magiſtrates were authorized to admit and diſcharge Miniſters, inſomuch that none could perform any religious office within the city, unleſs they, the Magiſtrates, ſhould grant them leave.*

An° Dom. 1581.

A Conference between thoſe of his Church and the Reformed *of the* Conſiſtory *at* Utrecht.

A Letter of the Magiſtrates, in behalf of thoſe of St. James's *Church, to the Prince of* Orange.

The matter remained in this ſtate for ſeveral years after, without any alteration, each party retaining their particular Church-government. *Eraſmus de Bakker*, who had ſerved the Church a long time as Colleague of Maſter *Hubert*, was afterwards called to the Paſtorſhip of *Breukelen*, in whoſe place, upon the recommendation of *Elkonius*, the Magiſtrates choſe *Tako Sybrandts*, a godly, learned, modeſt, and proper perſon, who at that time lived by Agriculture in *Freeſland*. But as the con-

An° Dom. 1581.

courſe of people to St. *James*'s church ſtill increaſed, the Magiſtrates opened that of St. *Mary*, in order to propagate the *Reformation* upon the like foot; and many Paſtors and Miniſters in the Biſhoprick, or Country about *Utrecht*, conformed to the ſame way. Theſe were all of them ſtiled, *The Preachers of the* Old *and* New Teſtament, to diſtinguiſh them from the reſt that ſided with the *Conſiſtory*. The occaſion of calling them ſo was, becauſe they refuſed to ſubſcribe to any particular *Confeſſion* or *Catechiſm*, which they called *Human Scripture*; but only to the *Holy Bible*. But when they were urged to declare their private ſentiments relating to the *Netherland Confeſſion* and *Catechiſm*, they plainly ſignified, that they could by no means own the doctrine of *Predeſtination*, as maintained by ſome out of thoſe Formularies, and eſpecially out of the Books of *Calvin*.

The Miniſters of St. James's *church (the Succeſſors of* Dovehouſe*) are ſtiled,* The Preachers of the Old and New Teſtament.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK XIII.

IN the [1] General Synod holden at *Dort*, in the year 1578, it was among other things agreed, that there ſhould be a National Synod every third year. It was now thought fit to put that agreement in execution. The Churches of *Antwerp* and *Delft*, to whom the former Synod had referred the power of calling them together, ſent out their Letters for that purpoſe. They likewiſe repreſented by ſome of their Miniſters, to the States-General of the *United Netherlands*, aſſembled at *Amſterdam* in the month of *May*: 'That upon certain weighty occaſions they had ſummoned a National Synod to meet at *Midelburg* in *Zeland*, intreating them to depute ſome of their Body thither, who by their authority might influence the affairs of the ſaid Synod.' An° Dom. 1581.

A Repreſentation and Petition of the Miniſters to the States of the United Netherlands.

The States returned them the following anſwer, upon the 24th of the ſame month: 'They could ſee nothing but what was holy and chriſtian in the deſign of them, the repreſenting Miniſters: That therefore they intreated them to go on with their ſaid Synod, and the Tranſactions of it, without expecting any Deputies on the part of the *States*; foraſmuch as they, the *States-General*, were not capable of believing or ſuſpecting that any thing elſe was intended by them, but the promoting the honour of God, and good of the Church: very civilly thanking them for the notice they had given them of this their deſign.'

The Anſwer of the States.

[2] It ſeemed, in the opinion of ſome people, that the *States* had their hands too full at that time with the affairs of their country; or that they did not ſufficiently weigh the conſequences of ſuffering the Clergy to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws in the abſence, or without the concurrence of the Civil powers. Others thought that this their conceſſion was not according to Law, becauſe the matter had not been conſidered by the particular States of each Province, nor propoſed to the reſpective Senates of the towns and cities; neither was it (thought they) in the breaſt of the perſons deputed to the General Aſſembly at *Amſterdam*, to conſent to ſuch a permiſſion, without the poſitive inſtructions of their Maſters or Principals that ſent them thither.

In this Synod, holden in the months of *May* and *June*, the Clergy made a further regulation with reference to Church-government, and drew up an Anſwer to certain Queſtions propoſed concerning the uſe of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and other matters; and they ranged the churches in every Diſtrict under Claſſes, and the Claſſes under particular Synods. In this aſſembly, as ſome think, the Eccleſiaſticks extended their juriſdiction farther than before, to the prejudice of the Civil authority. It appeared by

A National Synod holden at Midelburg.

[1] Bor. Lib. XII. *p.* 48. [2] Bor. Lib. XVI. *p.* 24. Hooft, Lib. XVII. *p.* 767. Uitenb. 242. & 475.

An° Dom. 1581. by ſome of the Articles of Church-government made here, that the Clergy allowed no vote to the Magiſtrates in the election of Miniſters, excepting only a ſubſequent approbation, and that they entirely excluded them from the choice of Elders and Deacons. They likewiſe decreed that all Miniſters, Elders, Deacons, Profeſſors of Divinity, and Schoolmaſters, ſhould ſubſcribe the *Confeſſion* of *Faith* of the *Netherland* churches, notwithſtanding that the ſaid *Confeſſion* was ſo little known then, that ſome of the Miniſters who were preſent at the Synod when they talked of ſigning it, aſked, *What Confeſſion is this, compoſed of ſeven and thirty Articles?* as being what they had never ſeen before. To the form of Excommunication, they added the clauſe, **We deliver him up to Satan.**

Koolhaes *condemned.* The Members of this Synod likewiſe inquired into the writings of *Jaſpar Koolhaes*, and declared them ſcandalous, contrary to the pure doctrine, and inconſiſtent with themſelves; and they condemned him to make a publick acknowledgment of his offence: but he refuſed to ſubmit to the judgment of the Synod, as looking on them to be his adverſaries; ſo the matter was brought before the States of *Holland*, who, upon the report of ſome Commiſſioners, came to the following reſolution: *That the Clergy ſhould proceed in their Cenſures conformably to the word of God:* which was as much as to refer it to their own conſciences. The States were alſo of opinion, *That the Magiſtrates of* Leyden *ought to proceed with the utmoſt rigour againſt the ſaid* Koolhaes, *ſo far as it might conſiſt with reaſon and equity.* And this, becauſe he was ſaid to have owned himſelf not to be of the ſame perſwaſion with thoſe of the *Reformed* Church, and yet had acted as a Miniſter of that church. However, the Magiſtrates of *Leyden* ſupported him againſt the Clergy: nay, even after he was excommunicated in *March* following by the Synod of *Harlem*, they continued his Stipend of 200 Gilders *per annum*, beſides 30 Gilders for the rent of his houſe, till about two years after, when meeting with another opportunity of getting bread for himſelf, a ſickly wife and ſix ſmall children, he returned his thanks to the ſaid Magiſtrates for their favour and protection, and maintained himſelf ever after by the *Diſtilling Trade.*

From this diſpute about *Koolhaes* there aroſe great confuſions, diſcontent, and uneaſineſs in the church of *Leyden*; inſomuch that many went off to other Sects; the celebration of the Lord's Supper was omitted for above a year and half; and when it was revived in the year 82, there were not many more than a hundred Communicants.

The exerciſe of the Romiſh *Religion prohibited at* Antwerp. In *Brabant*, in the mean while, the *Romaniſts* met with a new loſs, occaſioned by the good ſucceſs of the *Spaniards*, who having ſurprized the caſtle of *Breda*, and at the ſame time taken and plundered the town after it had been bravely defended by the inhabitants of both Communions, and even by ſome of the *Popiſh* Clergy themſelves, the people of *Antwerp* immediately thereupon prohibited the exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion, till further order, to the end that no plots or evil deſigns ſhould be carried on under that pretence. The Officers of the Militia had long ſollicited the Government for ſuch a Prohibition, and now by reaſon of the increaſe of their diſſatisfaction for the misfortune of that town, they could no longer delay it. However, they ſtill allowed the *Papiſts* to baptize, to marry, and to viſit their Sick, granting them the uſe of two little Chappels: but this ſufferance was attended with a forfeiture of 200 Crowns to the Poor, in caſe their meetings were too numerous. For the diſcharge of the functions abovementioned, ſix diſcreet Eccleſiaſticks were to be choſen, and they to ſwear fidelity to the Government, and punctual obſervation of theſe Orders. The reſt of the Clergy were required to leave the town within 24 hours, on the like penalty.

After this, the Prince of *Orange* accepted of the office of Chief Governour of *Holland*, the States of that Province having again tendered it to him, upon certain conditions ſtipulated, or rather conſented to, by the ſaid States; among theſe were the following Articles touching religion: *That he ſhould maintain and promote the* Reformed Religion, *and no other. That he ſhould not ſuffer any man to be called to account, moleſted, or injured, for his faith and conſcience. That with reſpect to the exerciſe of the aforeſaid religion, he ſhould take care that ſuch orders and regulations were made therein, as might be moſt fit and uſeful, according to the ſeveral exigencies of affairs, without diminution of the honour of God; and that when he found it neceſſary, he ſhould adviſe with the States about theſe matters.*

The Conduct agreed to be obſerved by the Prince of Orange *with reſpect to Religion in* Holland.

[1] On the 26th of the same month the States of most of the Provinces of the *Netherlands* declared by a publick Placard, that the King of *Spain* had forfeited all Right and Title to the Government of the *Low-Countries*; in which Placard they asserted: That the People were not created by God for the sake of the Prince, and only to submit to his commands, whether pious or impious, right or wrong, and to serve him as his slaves; but that, on the contrary, the Prince was made for the good of the People (without whom he could not be a Prince) in order to feed, preserve, and govern them according to justice and equity, as a father his children, and a shepherd his flock: that whoever, in opposition to these principles pretended to rule his subjects as if they were his bondmen, ought to be deemed a Tyrant, and for that reason might be rejected or deposed, especially by virtue of the resolution of the States of the nation; in case the subjects, after having made use of the most humble supplications and prayers, could find no other means to divert him from his tyrannical purposes, nor to secure their own native rights. Such forfeitures and depositions of Princes, which had frequently happened elsewhere, might more especially obtain in these Provinces, that were to be governed according to their Rights and Privileges, which the Prince was obliged to swear to, and who upon the violation of these conditions, forfeited his Sovereignty. That the King of Spain, hearkening to his Spanish Council, contrary to his father's advice, had taken upon him to break through the laws of the country, and at first, under pretext of religion, to introduce new Bishops, and to establish the Acts of the Council of Trent, and the detestable Inquisition; and then had attempted during the Ministries of Alva, Don Lewis, and Don John, by force and fraud to bring the faithful subjects of these provinces under his slavish yoke. That he had rejected several proposals of Peace, and abused the Treaties set on foot for that purpose, by sowing discord among the people, with intent the more easily to effect the ruin of the natives of these countries by degrees. —— For which reasons they rejected him the said King, &c. This was accompanied with a new Form of an Oath, whereby fealty was sworn to the States, and the King abjured: A thing which stuck with many, either through fear of being involved in a more dangerous war, or else upon account of conscience. A *Lutheran* Minister at *Woerden* had the boldness to inveigh against the aforesaid *Rejection* and *Abjuration* from the Pulpit; whereupon he was admonished, *not to concern himself with political matters, which also he, as a stranger, did not understand, and consequently represented to the people partially and differently from the true state of the case; being ignorant of the authority of the States in a country where the King having no other title but that of Earl or Count, was obliged to govern according to law; which not doing, he forfeited his right.* However, they could not oblige him to depart from what he had advanced, notwithstanding this admonition, and were forced at last to send him away.

An° Dom° 1581.

The King of Spain *is declared to have forfeited his Right to the* Low-Countries.

A Lutheran *Minister takes upon him to censure the rejecting and abjuring of the King.*

The Convention, or Agreement, which was made with the city of *Amsterdam*, in the year 78, and which was soon after broken by the people of the said city, was now on the 26th of *December*, abrogated and annulled, by the mutual consent of the States of the land, and the then Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, and another made, in which there was no mention of the business of Religion; from whence the *Papists* conceived small hopes of being restored to their stipulated advantages.

The Agreement made with those of Amsterdam *is annulled.*

On the same day there likewise appeared a Placard in the name of the Prince of *Orange*, as to whom the supreme administration of affairs had been yielded up; in which, not only the printing and selling all manner of scandalous, abuseful, and seditious Books and Pamphlets, new Ballads and Songs, without the leave of the Magistracy, and name of the Publisher, were prohibited, but also, **The exercise of the** Romish **Religion, and the holding either publick or private Conventicles, on the penalty of a hundred Gilders; nevertheless,** says the same Placard, **it is not our intention to impose any burthen, or make inquisition into any man's conscience. The wearing Ecclesiastical Habits, and keeping Schools, without previous examination and permission, were likewise forbidden to all** Papists. This was the first prohibition of the *Romish* Religion, by way of Placard, in *Holland*, since the taking up arms by the States of these Provinces against the *Spaniards*, and their maintaining a war for the space of about ten years in defence of their Liberties, and for the preservation of the one religion

The first Placard against the Romanists *in* Holland.

[1] Bor. Lib. XV. *p.* 199.—XVI. *p.* 35. Hooft, Lib. XIX. *p.* 800. Grot. Annal. Lib. III. *p.* 70.

An° Dom. 1581.

religion as well as the other. But times and things were now much altered; moſt of the *Papiſts* were ſuſpected of favouring the *Spaniſh* intereſt, and of diſaffection to the preſent Government. However, that Placard, ſo far as it related to books which treated of religion, was not put in execution in any town of *Holland*, even where it had been publiſhed; but at *Leyden* they would not ſo much as allow it to be publiſhed; and the Magiſtrates of that town cauſed a Memorial to the States of *Holland* to be prepared, relating to the tranſactions of the Miniſters in the National Synod holden at *Midelburg* the Summer before, and their conſequences. They cauſed but a few copies to be printed of the ſaid Memorial at firſt, in the month of *February* 1582, which were diſtributed to particular perſons, but in *March* it was delivered to the States. Afterwards it was publiſhed, and probably not without their knowledge, to the world. In this Paper, the Magiſtrates of *Leyden* roundly declare their diſlike of the Clergy's proceedings, and eſpecially of all force of conſcience, in the following language: 'We have been delivered through God's mercy from the yoke of *Popery*;

A Remonſtrance of thoſe of Leyden, againſt the proceedings of the Clergy in the Synod at Midelburg.

'but ſome violent people have been puſhed on by their blind zeal, not to propagate 'falſe doctrine, as the *Pope* has done, but to perſwade the Magiſtrates, that it is 'their duty to promote the true religion by their power; not obſerving that the 'original of the *Papacy* was not the eſtabliſhment of a wrong worſhip of God, but 'the forcible introducing of that faith which was known before the deteſtable abo-'minations of *Popery*; for this force of conſcience, and nothing elſe, is the true 'ſource of the *Papal Power*, whereby it has raiſed it ſelf above all that is called 'God. There is no religion, though never ſo execrable, but what might have 'been introduced by the ſame means. Reflecting upon theſe things, and find-'ing that the growth of ſuch wicked notions has occaſioned the death of ſo many 'thouſands of innocent people, we had rather leave to God, our Preſerver, the 'honour that belongs to him, and humble our ſelves in our weakneſs before his 'divine Majeſty, than by ſtifly maintaining ſtrange opinions, grieve others in matters 'in which we freely own we our ſelves may be miſtaken. We therefore bleſs 'God for this knowledge, and have reſolved, upon moſt mature deliberation, not to 'admit of any manner of violence in religious matters, either of greater or leſſer 'importance, nor any Statutes, Decrees or Canons which look that way.—Having 'got looſe from the *Spaniſh* cruelty, we have bound and united our ſelves together, 'but to what? Is it to the cheriſhing, maintaining and enjoying any one particular 'religion only? All that have been in the leaſt degree converſant in affairs of Go-'vernment, and have duly reflected on them, know that the firſt flames of our ge-'neral Conflagration were kindled by the burning, ſtrangling and beheading of thoſe 'they called *Hereticks*. Now we do not pretend to determine whether any of them 'were *Hereticks* or no, nor to contradict thoſe that aſſert it; but we all of us have 'maintained, that *Hereticks*, and particularly the *Anabaptiſts* and *Sacramentarians*, '(as we our ſelves then ſtiled them) ought not to have been thus ill treated at the 'pleaſure of the Clergy, and according to the tenor of the bloody Placards.——— 'The deſign of the States undoubtedly was, *That none ſhould be perſecuted on ac-'count of their religion.* We do not find that we have any authority to proceed 'againſt, and puniſh by any Law, thoſe who have not behaved otherwiſe than well 'in their Civil or Burgherlike capacities.——There are no better means to root out 'Herefy, than temper and moderation; for we have often ſeen, that certain books 'were little minded at firſt, but that afterwards, when condemned as *Heretical*, they 'came into repute and credit.——Force will not make *Chriſtians*, but only fill the 'world with vile hypocrites, under the name of *Chriſtians*.——The Placard againſt 'Heretical books, formed and agreed upon by a (ſo called) Synod, has indeed 'been publiſhed in many places; but all people, without exception, ſhow that they 'are of a different opinion.———Now turning our ſelves to you who proceed thus 'with your Synodical Acts, we aſk, By what authority or power you preſs the 'ſame upon us? Does the power proceed from God, the authority from the Go-'vernment? We cannot conceive that God appointed you to be Miniſters or Ser-'vants, and yet to domineer over the Government. Nor does it appear to us, that 'the Government has commiſſioned you to become a Synod. You boaſt that it is a 'national one; but many others, as well as we, do not own it for ſuch. Were 'it national, it ought to be ſummoned and approved by the ſupreme power of the 'nation. The ſupreme power of the nation, over which this Synod, as national,

'ought to extend, are the States-General, by whom, as a lawful Aſſembly, we do not believe that it has been convoked, becauſe their Highneſſes are not all met together. This the Synod ought to have waited for, if they had deſired that the term *National* ſhould have had its full weight.——— As for what the *Provincial States* may have done towards the making this Synod *National*, we leave each of the Provinces to ſpeak for it ſelf. Of *Holland* we dare affirm, that the calling together of ſuch an Aſſembly, was never done with the leave of this Province. We, who are one Member of the ſame, declare, we have not yet given our conſent to it. If you ſhould reply, that is our fault; may we not aſk, Whether we be the only Member that has not agreed to that Synod? Should you preſume to affirm it, we can with truth maintain, that you are in the wrong; neither do we ſee any town that looks upon the contents of this Placard to be feaſible.——— We allow that you intend it all for the beſt, and to bring the Head and Members into one cage. But there are often many things well meant, that cannot however be approved of.——— This appears by the Riches of the Church, which were doubtleſs brought forth by religion with a good deſign, but which at laſt devoured their Mother.——— Have we thrown away the blunted rod; let us take care that we do not draw a ſharper upon our backs. If there were new Synods to be holden every three years, the number of Synodical Decrees, by which we are to be bound, would become ſo great, that we ſhould hardly be able to find the beginning or end of that chain; and our children, as if they had not enough to learn beſides, would again be obliged to ſtudy the *Jus Canonicum*.——— If we receive what has been decreed in the Synod, we ſhall ſhortly be no better than their Vaſſals.——— As we intend not to offer violence to the conſcience of any man, ſo likewiſe do we deſire that in all our tranſactions, *ex officio*, whether they be of a Civil or Eccleſiaſtical nature, we may remain maſters of our own conſciences.——— We cannot conſent to uſe the very leaſt force in matters of religion. In theſe ſentiments we hope, by the Grace of God, to perſevere even to our death.——— We can bear well enough that learned men write and ſpeak againſt error; but at the ſame time we proteſt, that we will not proceed againſt any man as a *Heretick*, in conſequence of any Eccleſiaſtical cenſure or judgment of the Learned.——— It ſounds likewiſe very ſtrange in our ears, that a prohibition is iſſued againſt *Heretical* books, and that none are to be publiſhed but *ex gratiâ & privilegio*, as was the cuſtom in the times of the *Inquiſitors*.——— *Liberty* has always conſiſted in uttering our ſentiments freely; and the contrary has been always conſidered as the characteriſtick of *Tyranny*. *Reaſon*, which is the adverſary of all Tyrants, teaches us, that Truth can be as little reſtrained as Light: And Truth, like Light placed in a dark room, ſhines the clearer when oppoſed to Falſhood; whereas Falſhood will always vaniſh of it ſelf, nor can it cleave to any thing when Truth appears. It is therefore an act of tyranny, with the Apoſtate *Julian*, to attempt the ſuppreſſing of the Truth by forbidding good books.——— In a word, we deſire nothing elſe, but that the Civil authority (which is but true policy) ſhould continue in the hands of the Magiſtracy, entire and undivided; and that we may not open a door to the Clergy to uſurp a new juriſdiction and ſuperiority over the Government, over the Subjects, our Wives, and our Children. And we declare and proteſt before your Lordſhips, that we are reſolved never to conſent to it, any more than to the re-eſtabliſhment of the old Papal authority. We therefore humbly intreat your Excellencies and Honours, and moſt friendly exhort you, to join with us in bearing charitably with the particular opinions of the people, ſo far as they conſiſt with the publick tranquility, in enticing them to us by charity, and in preſerving them by charity in our intereſts; thus ſhall we rule over an affectionate Community, as fathers over their children, and by their aſſiſtance look our common enemy in the face.' A^no Dom. 1582.

To this Memorial, the Miniſters and Elders of the Churches of *Holland* publiſhed an Anſwer the ſame year, containing what they thought tended to juſtifie them: Among other remarkable things they declared: 'That they never deſigned to impoſe their Synodical Decrees upon their Lordſhips the States, having laid before them the Canons drawn up in the Synod, for no other purpoſe but to be examined and conſidered by them, and confirmed, in caſe they ſhould approve them.——They owned it to be true, that the Riches of the Church, though brought forth with a good deſign by religion, had devoured their Mother at laſt; but it was no leſs' *The anſwer of the Clergy to the* Leyden *Remonſtrance.*

An° Dom. 1582.

‘ true, that the Poverty of the Church, produced with a like good intention, by love ‘ to Religion, and hatred to *Papal* grandeur, might eaſily ſtarve her, if care were ‘ not taken to prevent it. —— Having eſcaped the tyranny of *Popery*, it concerned ‘ them to ſee that people did not fall into *unlimited Licentiouſneſs* or *Libertinage*, ‘ tending to nothing but diſorder and confuſion. In ſuch caſe, the blunted Rod ‘ ought not to be thrown away, for fear of bringing a ſharper upon us. *In the concluſion, they declared*, That they deſired no more than that the Government of the ‘ Church, which is purely ſpiritual, might continue intire and undivided in the ‘ Paſtors and Overſeers of the Church; and that political perſons, eſpecially ſuch as ‘ plainly ſhewed they were not of the *Reformed* religion, might not have the way ‘ paved for them to an improper or unreaſonable power and authority over the ‘ Church, which they could no more bear than the yoke of *Popery*; chooſing rather ‘ to be again confined to ſecret Conventicles, where they might with more freedom of ‘ conſcience enjoy what was even allowed to the *Heterodox Anabaptiſts* themſelves.

About this time the Duke of *Anjou* was almoſt every where recognized for Duke of *Brabant*. He likewiſe obtained the Government of the other Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, that had revolted from *Spain*, excepting thoſe that adhered to the Prince of *Orange*. It was now expected, that the people of both Communions would have been true to each other in what regarded their common defence, the *Reformed* for the ſake of *Orange*, the *Papiſts* on *Anjou*'s account. The latter petitioned their new Maſter for Liberty of Conſcience at *Antwerp*, which for eight months paſt had been for the moſt part prohibited. He favoured their requeſt, and preſſed the Magiſtrates, and all that had a ſhare in the government of the city, to the end that all the *Romaniſts*, who had been inhabitants there the laſt three years, might be permitted to hear Maſs in the church of St. *Michael*, which was opened for the Duke; but upon condition, that they ſhould go unarmed, and abjuring the King of *Spain*, ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the new Duke and the City. This was publiſhed on the 15th of *March*; but many of the *Papiſts* avoided the church at firſt, with deſign to avoid the oath. [1] At laſt growing a little bolder, they came to Maſs without ſwearing. This occaſioned an Order of the Government, which required them to take the oaths, on pain of forfeiting two hundred Gilders to the Poor.

The Romaniſts *at* Antwerp *obtain the free exerciſe of their Religion, on the condition of abjuring the K. of* Spain.

In the mean time, the *Spaniſh* Ban began to operate upon the Prince of *Orange*, who upon the 18th of *March* was wounded in the head by a ſhot of one *John Javregni*, a *Biſcainer*, but it did not prove mortal. This murderous deſign was diſcloſed in confeſſion by that Aſſaſſin, to *John Timmerman*, a *Dominican* Fryer, and was commended and approved by him, provided it was undertaken for the love of God, and through zeal for the *Romiſh* religion, but not for ſelf-intereſt. Upon this account, a little before the attempt, he gave him Abſolution from all his ſins, together with the Sacrament. But the ſaid Fryer being afterwards taken, and expecting nothing but death, declared, that he had been of opinion, That any one might, with a ſafe conſcience, aſſaſſinate the Prince, on account of the King's Proſcription only; but that now being better informed, and having conſidered the caſe more ſeriouſly, he rejected that opinion; begging pardon of the Judges, and praying that this Declaration might be added to his former Confeſſion, that none might think he died in that error. He, and an Accomplice, or one that was let into the ſecret, were hanged and quartered, and their Limbs ſet upon the City-gates; from whence the Jeſuits afterwards took them, paid them publick honours, as to the Reliques of Saints, and then buried them. Whilſt the Prince lay ill of his wounds, [2] *Aggæus Albada* writ thus to the Heer *Adrian vander Mijle: He intreated him, that, with his moſt humble ſervice, he would exhort the Prince, from the warning of ſuch a ſtroke, to fear God more and more, and to direct all his deſigns and endeavours more ſtrictly to the promoting God's honour, and the preſervation of the unfortunate and miſerable among men; which if he refuſed, it was to be apprehended, that though God had ſpared him out of reſpect to the Cauſe he was imbarked in, and not ſuffered him to periſh, to his own diſhonour, and that of all good men; yet that he would at laſt lay his own hand upon him; which might however be prevented, if he ſuffered the word of God to be freely profeſſed by all, if he every where reſtored and improved Juſtice, and de-*

The Prince of Orange *wounded.*

The deſign of the Aſſaſſin diſcloſed in confeſſion to a Monk, *who approves and commends it.*

But afterwards changes his opinion.

The Warning *given by* Aggæus Albada *to the* Prince.

[1] Bor. Lib. XVII. *p.* 8. Hooft. Lib. XIX. *p.* 80. Epiſt. Sel. Cent. II. *p.* 871. [2] Epiſt. Sel. Cent. II. *p.* 899.

fended and protected the Miſerable, not only againſt his enemies, but againſt his friends too.

An° Dom. 1582.

In the mean time, the King of *Spain*, zealous for preſerving the *Romiſh* religion inviolable, forbad all his ſubjects, by a Placard dated the 26th of *March*, to ſtudy the Sciences in the Univerſity of *Leyden*, or in any other Academies or Schools that were oppoſite to the ſaid religion, on pain of being counted *Hereticks*, or at leaſt, ſuſpected of Hereſy, and rendered uncapable of any employment. Parents and Tutors were not to ſend any children thither, on pain of forfeiting their lives and eſtates.

A Spaniſh Placard againſt the Univerſity of Leyden.

Three days before the publiſhing this Placard, the Officers of the Militia, and ſome of the Inhabitants of *Utrecht*, preſented a Memorial to the Magiſtrates, praying them to uſe their endeavours, that the ſitting of the Clergy in the Aſſembly of the States, might be abrogated, as had been already done in *Brabant* and elſewhere. The Magiſtrates, fearing the people, reſolved accordingly, that the Clergy, the firſt Member of the ſupreme Government, ſhould be excluded from the Aſſembly of the States. However, ſuch an excluſion was attended with its difficulties, and the Prince had rejected the like propoſal two years before; for which reaſon certain perſons were deputed to him. However, they came at laſt to the following reſolution on the 4th of *April*; *viz.* 'That till the Prince ſhould otherwiſe determine, the five *Colleges* of the *Clergy* ſhould no longer meet *Capitulariter*, about matters of War or Polity; but only for the management of their own private affairs. And that the Senate of *Utrecht* ſhould chooſe ten or twelve truſty men from the whole number of the *Canons*, who were to be of the *Reformed* religion, or well affected to it; and that out of them, the *Ridderſchap*, or *Knights*, and the *ſix Towns*, might chooſe ſix or eight, who were to repreſent the firſt Member of the States. *Laſtly*, That the perſons thus choſen, ſhould be deemed Laymen, and obliged to abjure the *King* of *Spain* and the *Pope*'s ſupremacy.' This Reſolution and Order was approved and confirmed by the Prince of *Orange* on the 14th of *July*.

A Petition of the Captains of the Militia, and ſome of the other Burghers of Utrecht.

The Inſtitution of the Lay-Members elected from among the five Chapters, *and repreſenting the Body of the* Clergy.

The Miniſters of the Province of *Holland* intending to meet ſynodically at *Harlem* in *March*, ſignified the ſame to the States by a Memorial, deſiring that they would depute ſome Commiſſioners from their own body, or other perſons that were qualified for that purpoſe, and well verſed in church matters, to the Synod, if they thought fit; to the end, that they might be eye and ear-witneſſes of all that paſſed in the ſaid Aſſembly, and make a report of it to them, the States of *Holland*; that ſo, all ſlanders and miſrepreſentations of the Church and Clergy might, as far as poſſible, be obviated, the mouths of ill men ſtopped, good men juſtified and protected, and all ſuſpicions and jealouſies removed. The States declared by an *Apoſtill*, or Marginal Note, upon this Memorial: 'That they approved of holding a Synod at *Harlem*: And it being their opinion, that the Articles and Points which were agreed upon there, ought not to take effect till they had previouſly approved them, they did not therefore think it neceſſary to depute any of their Body, or any others on their behalf, to the ſaid Synod.' The Clergy, not contented with this anſwer, acquainted the States further: 'That it might happen to be miſinterpreted by malicious or ignorant men, as if none of the tranſactions or reſolutions of the Synod ought to be put in execution without their approbation; whereas they, the Clergy, ſuppoſed that this previous approbation only related to new matters, and ſuch as had not been practiſed before by the *Reformed* churches. They truſted likewiſe, that it was not the intent of their Lordſhips to ſuppreſs all Church government, or to change any thing in thoſe Rules and Orders under which the Church had hitherto flouriſhed; at leaſt, not till it could be proved they contained any thing contrary to the word of God.' Of all which they prayed a farther explanation, and at the ſame time gave them to underſtand what kind of buſineſs was to be tranſacted in the Synod. The States adhering to their former anſwer, declared: 'That they would not ſuffer any new buſineſs to be propoſed or diſcuſſed in the Synod without their previous leave.' They alſo gave them hopes, by their firſt anſwer, that they would come to a reſolution about Church government, as ſoon as ever the cities (to whom the tranſactions of the Synod of *Midelburg* had been referred by the States) were ready to make their report.

A Petition of the Clergy *to the* States *of* Holland.

The Anſwer of the States.

The Miniſters deſire an Explanation *of the* States *anſwer.*

The Reply to their Requeſt.

The Magiſtrates of *Leyden*, who were then printing their Repreſentation againſt the Clergy, refuſed their conſent to the holding a Synod at *Harlem*, and forbad the

An° Dom. 1582. Miniſters of the *Leyden* Claſſis to appear there. And they, in obedience to the Magiſtrates, excuſed their abſence, by a Letter to the Synod, in which they declared their reaſon. And *Koolhaes* likewiſe having been informed that they intended to proceed to the excommunicating him, as an Impenitent, ſent a printed Letter, addreſſed to the Claſſes there aſſembled, in juſtification of his innocence. Nevertheleſs, the Synod reſolved to go on with the Excommunication, though the Miniſters of the *Hague*, upon the queſtion's being put, made anſwer, that they did not care to give any vote in that matter, ſince the inſtructions they had received from their Claſſis were limited, and did not authorize them to do it. They were yet more unwilling to concur in ſuch a reſolution, becauſe they had neithet heard *Koolhaes* himſelf, nor knew whether he might not recant. They agreed too, that ſince he complained he had not been fully convicted, and was deſirous to confer with them again, he ought not to be refuſed ſuch a favour. And laſtly, they were of opinion, that the whole affair ſhould be referred to eight Arbitrators, four of them to be choſen by the Synod, and four by *Koolhaes* himſelf. But the Synod having rejected this propoſal, the Deputies from the *Hague* Claſſis declared, that they could not act with them any longer. Upon which the Synod conſented that they ſhould not vote in the matter, but only be preſent if they pleaſed, and hear the ſentiments of others; but they further declared, *That they did not deſire to be there.* Thus the Clergy relate this matter; but *Koolhaes* adds, That beſides the Claſſis of the *Hague*, thoſe of *Gouda* and *Dort* likewiſe refuſed their conſent to the Excommunication, and that the church of *Leyden* deſired by a Letter, that it might be adjourned or delayed for a week; but in vain. Then they went on, and after a Sermon preached upon a verſe in the XVIth chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, the ſentence of Excommunication was denounced againſt him from the Pulpit at *Harlem*.

A Synod at Harlem,

Koolhaes *excommunicated.*

[1] In the ſaid Synod it was propoſed and debated, *How the Clergy were to behave in the buſineſs of* Predeſtination, *foraſmuch as ſome of them were ſcrupulous about it?* But they came to no concluſion. [2] The Prince of *Orange* being ſenſible that the Province of *Flanders* had been brought into the utmoſt danger and confuſion by the pernicious management of ſome Eccleſiaſticks, and obſerving likewiſe the narrow ſpirit that prevailed in the Synod of *Midelburg*, and the uneaſineſſes proceeding from thence, declared to the States of *Holland*, that, *unleſs due care was taken, it might ſo happen, that they would loſe both religion and country together.* Upon this admonition the States empowered thoſe of the High Court of *Holland*, and (out of their own body) the Heers *van Mathenes*, *Adrian Wenſen*, *John van Oldenbarnevelt*, *William vander Meer*, and *Francis Malſon*, together with ſuch as the cities would join to them, to meet at the *Hague* on the laſt day of *April*, in order to review the tranſactions of the *Midelburg*-Synod and others, and from thence to extract a Scheme of Eccleſiaſtical polity, and to lay it before the States, to the end it might be afterwards approved and maintained by them and the Stadtholder, in caſe it appeared to agree with the word of God, and with the intereſt of the nation. In the Inſtructions to the Deputies, the Prince's Admonition, lately mentioned, was inſerted, and it was likewiſe added, *That the ſaid Church-government might help to maintain all good and chriſtian unity; and to obviate or prevent all occaſion of calumny and diſcord either in religion or in other matters, ariſing from ſome particular Decrees or Inſtitutions.*

Warning given by the Prince to the States *of* Holland.

The States give order for drawing up a Scheme of Eccleſiaſtical Government

By virtue of the aforeſaid Inſtructions, thoſe Deputies drew up a ſcheme of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline in the enſuing year, which begins thus:

The Preamble to the Scheme of Eccleſiaſtical Government.

WILLIAM by the Grace of God —— Foraſmuch as it belongs to the Chriſtian Magiſtracy, above all things, to take care that the doctrine of the holy Goſpel of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, be propoſed to the people in its utmoſt purity, and that good order and polity be maintained in the Chriſtian church, which cannot be brought about unleſs certain Rules and Orders be therein eſtabliſhed, by which every one may learn how to compoſe himſelf in his office, calling, and converſation. To the end therefore that the churches of Holland may live in unity and good correſpondence with each other, and that no errors, corruptions, or ſchiſms, may creep in; but that the people may more and more be prevailed on to embrace the ſaid pure doctrine, to which none ought to be compelled: We having firſt conſulted about

[1] Grot. Apol. Lib. IV. *p.* 44. Lib. VI. *p.* 64.

[2] Vid. *Declaration of the States of* Holland, Auguſt 5 1617. *The Documents at the end of the Juſtification of the Reſolutions of* Auguſt 4. ditto, *p.* 31, &c. *and* Epiſt. Holl. Ord. ad Regin. Mag. Brit. in Epiſt. *p.* 493.

about these matters with ——— and particularly having considered the present juncture of affairs; have provisionally, and till it shall be thought necessary to proceed otherwise (yet without rejecting any of the foreign churches, though they may differ from us in lesser matters) ordained and decreed, and do by these Presents ordain and decree, that in all parts of the Province and County of Holland, the following Points and Articles with respect to the ministry of God's word, and other Ecclesiastical matters, shall be maintained and executed. First, &c. In the conclusion, the Presidents and Members of the several Councils and Courts, and all Officers of Justice are required, to conform themselves thereto, and to punish the transgressors according to their demerits; forasmuch as we are fully perswaded (says the Prince) that the same will especially tend to the edification of the Church. These are some remains of that Scheme, which by reason of the dismal condition of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, the assassination of the Prince of *Orange* that followed, and the succeeding troublesome times of the Earl of *Leicester*, could not be brought to perfection. Anº Dom. 1582.

[1] In *May* or *June*, of this year, when they were in hopes of bringing the publick affairs into some method and order, the *Romanists* petitioned the new Duke for the free exercise of their religion: Whereupon his Highness writ to the Magistrates of *Brussels*, that *he had a threefold reason to comply with the request of the Petitioners*. First, *on account of his own conscience, which obliged him to set an example in the exercise of that religion which he himself professed.* Secondly, *the Convention and Stipulation made with the States-General, which was irrevocable, and by which he and they were both bound to the observation of the* Religious Peace. *And*, Lastly, *to satisfie the* Roman Catholicks, *since it was unreasonable that they should remain in a worse condition than others, and since they must otherwise live like the brute beasts, and consequently without either apprehending or practising the duty of Subjects, and the respect that belonged to their Rulers; things which (like all others that contributed to the support of the State) proceeded from virtue and the fear of God.* He further added, *that he knew for certain, that most of the towns which at that time held with the* Spaniards, *would immediately throw themselves into his arms, as soon as they were convinced that they might enjoy the liberty of their religion. For these reasons he entreated and required the Magistrates, to deliver up, for the exercise of the* Romish Religion, *the Church of* Koudenberg, *within the Court, since those of that perswasion had abjured the King of* Spain, *and taken an oath to him as well as others.* He further required *those of both parties, to maintain in all other matters so good an understanding with each other, as to serve for an example to the rest of his subjects; and not to suffer the* Roman Catholicks *to be troubled (as he was informed they had been threatened) on account of the Petition they had presented to him; which would be unreasonable, and which he could not suffer.* But this Letter, which was dated the 8th of *June*, had no effect, the people of *Brussels* not thinking fit to comply with the Duke in that matter. *A Petition of the* Romanists *at* Brussels. *A Letter of the Duke of* Anjou *in their favour.*

At *Antwerp*, the Fine of 200 Gilders (as has been already mentioned) had not influence enough to induce the *Romanists* either to abjure the King, or to swear allegiance to *Anjou*. Wherefore, upon the 13th of *July*, all the Burghers being ranged under their respective Captains, were required to take the Oath upon pain of banishment; but the Prince of *Parma*, lest they should afterwards despair of the King's mercy on that account, declared by a Placard, that all such as were forced to take the said oath, should never be reproached with it, neither would he conceive the worse opinion of their fidelity. *The* Papists *at* Antwerp *are obliged to take the* Abjuration Oath, *with the connivance of* Parma.

[2] At the end of this year, Pope *Gregory* XIII. introduced a new Computation of Time, different from what had been practised till then for many hundred years; and, in order to rectify past mistakes, and remove the confusion of the Festivals, he ordered, that ten days should be subtracted from the current year, and that the day succeeding that of St. *Francis*, which was the fourth of *October*, should instead of the fifth be stiled the fifteenth; to obviate all future irregularity in the Festivals, he likewise ordered, that after the year 1600, the last years of the three following Centuries should be no *Leap-Years*, but that the year 2000 should be reputed a *Leap-Year*, and so on. However, some Kings, Princes, and States, that did not own his authority, or who fancied that the Pope set about this work not with a religious view only, *The* New style *introduced.*

[1] Bor. Lib. XVII. *p.* 27. Hooft, Lib. XIX. *p.* 812.

[2] Hooft. Lib. XIX. *p.* 827. Bor. Lib XVII. *p.* 34. Met. Lib. XI. *p.* 212. Thuan. Lib. LXXVI. *p.* 779.

An° Dom. 1583.

only, but out of pride and ambition, in order to exalt himſelf, as the Head of *Chriſtendom*, above them and the majeſty of the *Roman* Emperor himſelf, deſpiſed his reformation of the Calendar, and kept to the old way; but all the *Romiſh* Potentates followed it; and accordingly, the Duke of *Anjou*, by a Placard, required the ſuppreſſing or expunging ten days out of the year: The provinces of *Gelderland*, *Zutphen*, *Utrecht*, *Over-Yſſel*, *Freeſland*, *Groningen*, and others, adhered to the Old Style; but *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Hainalt*, *Holland* and *Zeland*, conformed themſelves to the New.

About this time there happened at *Bois le Duc*, a remarkable inſtance of malice, which the Magiſtrates baſely encouraged. A good old woman of about eighty years, named *Weeſkende Greef*, who had been a Member of the *Reformed* church for the ſpace of eighty years, lying upon her death-bed, was viſited by *Giſbertus Maſius*, the Paſtor of St. *John*'s church (but without being ſent for) and urged to receive the Sacramental Wafer, according to the manner of the *Romiſh* church, he telling her, That *ſhe was obliged firmly to believe that this was her Lord and God, with the ſame Fleſh and Blood with which he ſuffered on the Croſs.* But ſhe refuſed, and made him this anſwer: *Be gone, I have a living God in heaven, that will ſave me.* But after her death, the ſaid Paſtor complained to the Magiſtrates that ſhe died a *Heretick*, and without the Sacraments of the Church; and he prevailed ſo far, that the *Scout* and his Officers repaired to her houſe, digged up the Threſhold, and taking the corpſe from the bed, drew it under the door, put it on a Hurdle, and dragged it to the Market-place, and from thence to the Gallows, near which they threw it into a Pit.

[1] The year 1583 was uſhered in by great misfortunes to the poor *Netherlanders*, occaſioned by the deſtructive conduct of the Duke of *Anjou*, who aiming at an unlimited power, expoſed the nation to the utmoſt danger, and himſelf to a ſhameful fall. He attempted one and the ſame day, being the 17th of *January*, to poſſeſs himſelf of ſeveral of the principal towns and forts, particularly *Antwerp*, where his Soldiers endeavouring to execute his Plot, were heard to cry; *Vive la Meſſe!* that is, *Let the Maſs flouriſh!* This was the ſignal of the treachery (whereby ſome towns were ſurprized) and a proof that this action was to have been coloured with a ſhow of religion: And *la Fougere*, the Duke's Steward, who was apprehended at *Bruges*, among other complaints he made, and which he had heard from his Maſter's mouth, dropped theſe that follow; to wit, *That the* Reformed *grievouſly tyrannized over the* Roman Catholicks, *hindering them from the exerciſe of their religion, both publick and private, and more rigorouſly ſince his arrival than before. That at* Bruges *they had not ſcrupled to lay hands upon ſome miſerable women, and obliged them to pay a fine for going to Maſs at his Chappel, That by his connivance, and ſuffering the* Romaniſts *to be oppreſſed, whom he had promiſed to protect as well as others, he ſhould not fail of acquiring the title of an irreligious Prince over all the world, as he was already ſtiled in* France, *inſtead of the* Moſt Chriſtian. *To avoid this reproach, and to prevent a defection of the* Romaniſts, *which could not end without bloodſhed (ſeeing that the pains he had taken in eſtabliſhing a more equitable* Religious Peace *ſeemed fruitleſs) there were but two ways left him, the one was to abandon the Government, the other to confirm his Authority by force.* But ſome of the *Papiſts* at *Bruges* having been aſked by a certain *Frenchman*, who endeavoured to exaſperate them, What they thought concerning the re-eſtabliſhment of their religion? anſwered; *They ſhould be very glad of it, provided it could be brought to paſs by legal methods, and with the intire conſent of the States.*

The Duke of Anjou *attempts to make himſelf Maſter of* Antwerp, *and other cities.*

At *Antwerp* they were very unanimous in oppoſing the *Fury* of the *French*, for ſo was their aſſault upon that city every where ſtiled; inſomnch, that the nicknames of *Gueuxe*, *Papiſt*, and *Lutheran*, ſeemed to be forgotten: Neceſſity healed the diviſions, and the ſingle force of the word Burgher, or Citizen, was a cement ſtrong enough to unite all hearts. After the ill ſucceſs of the attempt, there was found among the Duke's papers at *Antwerp*, a Letter to him from the Queen-Mother, in which ſhe ſaid to him; *Do but reſtore the* Romiſh *religion in* Antwerp, *and I can promiſe, you ſhall marry the King of* Spain's *daughter.* And *Philip de Mornay*, Seigneur *de Pleſſis Marly* ſays, that *Anjou* was abſolved by the Pope from his Oath

[1] Bor. Lib. XVII. *p.* 38. Hooft. Lib. XIX. *p.* 837. Lib. XX. *p.* 846.

to the *Netherlanders*, in consideration of his design to re-establish the religion of his Ancestors, and that soon after the miscarriage of that attempt, he sollicited at *Rome* (with great boasts of his zeal) that his Holiness would accelerate the Confederacy or League against *Hereticks*, and the placing him at the head of the said League; and that in order to tie the knot the more strongly, he would make a match for him with one of the daughters of *Spain*. But the Prince of *Orange* not believing that *Anjou* had so far embarked with the *Pope* and the *Spaniard*, advised the States to a speedy reconciliation with the Duke, fearing there were no other means left to resist the force of *Spain*, and to save many of the *Reformed* churches, which otherwise would be absolutely lost; together with the cities he had taken, and which were besieged by the common enemy. He likewise silenced such as objected, that it was not lawful to treat with a Prince who was not entirely of their own religion, by showing, that hardly any of the Christian churches made a scruple of it; and that in many Kingdoms and States, people were divided in matters of faith, but yet united by the bands of common interest; But no advice or arguments were powerful enough to stifle their just apprehensions and suspicions. They were afraid of stumbling the second time upon the same stone. Even the States of *Holland* themselves deputed afterwards some of their own body to *Antwerp*, where the Prince of *Orange* was, to perswade him to break off all Treaties with *Anjou*; representing to him the general animosity against the *French*, and that such an endeavour was, in the opinion of many persons, inconsistent with God's word, which forbids, upon severe penalties, the confiding in people of a different faith.

An° Dom. 1582.

A Deputation from the States of Holland to the Prince of Orange.

[1] A few days after the breaking out of *Anjou*'s conspiracy, something happened at *Cologn*, from which some presaged much good to the *Low-Country Reformation*: But the clear sky was soon overcast. *Gebhart Truxes*, Archbishop and Elector of *Cologn*, found himself engaged with the Countess of *Mansfeld*, whom he resolved to marry, and yet to retain his dignity, and to introduce Liberty of Conscience. Together with the *Popish*, he likewise allowed the exercise of the *Ausburg* Confession; requiring; *That the one Party should not reproach, slander nor injure the other, but live in friendship together.* But not being a man equal to such a design, he saw his building, which had no foundation, come to ruin as soon as he had rashly published the unseasonable scheme: Both the Pope and the Emperor opposing him, and his own Chapter revolting from him, they thrust Prince *Ernest* of *Bavaria* into his See, and chased him away by the *Spanish* arms.

The Elector of Cologn inclines to marry, and yet seeks to retain his dignity of Archbishop.

He allows the exercise of the Lutheran religion.

Some time before, the *Romish* country-people of *Freesland* held great Assemblies at *Spanbrock*, *Wognum*, and elsewhere, without caring for the Placard published against them. Upon which the States of *Holland*, and after them the Prince of *Orange*, sent Orders to General *Sonoy* to seize upon the Ringleaders, Promoters, and those which officiated at such Assemblies, and to hinder their Meetings. He immediately sent his Soldiers, apprehended some of the most zealous among them, and would not discharge them till they had acknowledged their fault under their hands, and promised not only not to frequent those Assemblies again, but to oppose them to the utmost of their power, and not to receive any Priests into their houses, nor keep a correspondence with them. *Sonoy* was also directed to make good the expences of his Soldiers, who were sent to suppress them, and the Fines set by the Placard, by distraining on such as encouraged and assisted at the said Meetings, without troubling any body besides on that occasion. They were likewise required to appear before the said General, whenever they were summoned, and to submit to such punishment as the States of *Holland* should think fit to impose on them for their offence. This severity cooled their zeal, and put a stop to their Meetings for a while.

A Persecution of the Romanists in West-Freesland.

In the beginning of *May*, the Synod for *North-Holland* was holden at *Amsterdam*, and upon a certain Petition of *Herman Modet*, in the name of the Clergy of *Utrecht*, in relation to the XIIIth Article of the Union of *Utrecht*, formerly mentioned, the following Resolution was there taken: 'As for the request 'of *Hermanus Modet*, that the Synod would intercede on behalf of the church of 'Utrecht, with the States of the *United Provinces*, to the end, that their Honours 'might explain the XIIIth Article of the *Union*; it does not seem proper to the 'Brethren, since they are but one particular Synod, and since those of *Holland* are 'separated from the other provinces in the Union, with respect to religion, that this 'whole

A Synod of North-Holland holden at Amsterdam.

A Proposal for desiring an explanation of the thirteenth Article of the Union of Utrecht relating to Religion.

[1] Bor. Lib. Lib. XVIII. *p.* 3. Hooft. Lib. XIX. *p.* 822. Epist. Sel. *p.* 924, &c.

An° Dom. 1582.

'whole Synod ſhould deſire it of the *United Provinces*; but that each of the Bre-
'thren in particular ſhould write to ſome of the Council, praying them to do their
'beſt for thoſe of *Utrecht*; and the people of *Utrecht* may likewiſe themſelves pe-
'tition, according as they find the caſe requires it.' With reſpect to the buſineſs of Church-government, we find, in the Journal of this Synod, as follows: 'The 'Brethren of the Synod being informed, that the States of *Holland* have drawn up a 'Plan of Eccleſiaſtical Rules and Orders, in which there are certain Articles, which 'it would be very grievous to the Miniſters and Elders to admit of or receive, foraſ-'much as it appears to them, that the ſaid Articles tend to diſturb the good peace and 'order of the Church, under which the Lord has wonderfully preſerved this land; 'They have reſolved, upon mature deliberation, and unanimous advice, to remon-'ſtrate to the Bretheren of the Synod of *South-Holland* by Letters, to the end that 'this may be laid before his Excellency (*the Prince*) in the name of all the 'churches of *Holland*, that ſo his Excellency may uſe the proper methods for reme-'dying the ſame. And the perſons appointed to write to the Brethren of *South-'Holland* on this occaſion are, *Martinus Lydius*, a Miniſter at *Amſterdam*, and *Hen-'ricus Antonides* of *Enkhuiſen*, Miniſter of the ſaid town. [1] Afterwards by a Memorial drawn up by certain of the Provincial Deputies, in a Meeting of ſome of the *United Provinces* (for thoſe of *Gelderland*, *Utrecht* and *Over-Yſſel* were not preſent) it was propoſed, in the month of *June*, whether it might not be proper to alter the XIIIth Article of the *Union* of *Utrecht*, by common conſent, after the following manner: 'That all the Provinces ſhould oblige themſelves to adhere to the 'Evangelical Reformed Religion, and to make no alterations therein without the 'unanimous concurrence of all the Confederates: upon this condition however, that 'all the Countries and Towns which were afterwards willing to enter into the Con-'federacy, or Union, ſhould be admitted and received, though they happened to be 'of different *Perſwaſions*, and without prejudice to their religion.' Upon this Propoſal, thoſe of *Holland* only came to a certain reſolution, though not to accept it, as it had been offered, but only thus: [2] 'That [a] the *Evangelical Reformed* religion a 'ſhould be maintained and defended, [b] without tolerating the publick teaching or b 'exerciſing of any other in the Provinces at preſent united; and further, that others 'ſhould be admitted into the ſaid Union, according to the Article.' But the reſt of the Provinces deferred coming into the ſame reſolution from time to time, ſo that it was never concluded by the *Generality*: And this gave occaſion afterwards to ſome to aſſert; that ſuch a Declaration of the States of *Holland* did not bind that Province according to law, ſince there was no Treaty or Agreement made with the others in conſequence of it.

The Reſolution of thoſe of Holland *upon that Propoſal.*

At *Dort*, in the mean while, the fire of diſcord lay ſmothering, and ready to burſt out among the Clergy. *Herman Herberts*, a Miniſter of that town, being ſuſpected of Heterodoxy in his Doctrines, was accuſed by ſome of his Brethren, that he had endeavoured to reprint the *Wonder-Book* of *David George*. He had owned, as ſome of the Clergy afterwards wrote, in the preſence of the Commiſſioners deputed by the Government, on the 23d of *March* of the current year, that he conſented to the printing of the ſaid book, for which he begged pardon, and pretended that he would publickly acknowledge his fault from the Pulpit. But *Herbert* himſelf denied it all, and afterwards made his appeal in print to the ſaid Commiſſioners, the Heers *William Janſon Wit*, *William de Yonge*, *Yonker John vander Mijle*, and *Henry van Niſpen*, who, as well as thoſe of the Claſſis, were not permitted to vote in this matter; whereupon the deciſion of it was put off. He likewiſe related, that the Printer, *John Kanin*, had of his own accord applied to him for leave to print the ſaid *Wonder-Book*, and that the Miniſters having no proof of the charge about the ſaid Book, did nevertheleſs maintain, that he was obliged to own what they accuſed him of, and preſſed him ſo hard to do it, that at laſt the Heer *van Niſpen* ſaid to them: *Gentlemen, I have read the Hiſtory of the* Spaniſh Inquiſition, *but I never was in a place where I ſaw ſo lively a picture of it as here.* After this, the ſaid *Herberts* was called to *Gouda*, where there again happened trouble and uneaſineſſes between him and the Miniſters of the other towns, of which we ſhall give an account at the proper time.

3

[1] Hooft. Lib. XX. *p.* 872. [2] Grot. Apol. Ch. II. Uitenb. *p.* 937, &c.

It

It was now, or a little earlier, that *Richard Folkhartſon Koornhert*, who by diſcovering a deſign upon *Enkhuiſen*, had ſhown his fidelity to his country the year before in Civil matters, undertook ſomething, which, as he thought, might be no leſs advantageous to the Government in Eccleſiaſtical affairs. [1] He writ a little Treatiſe againſt the *Netherland* Catechiſm, which he entitled a *Tryal*, and dedicated it to the States of *Holland*, to whom, as unſeaſonable, it was very diſpleaſing. However, before he publiſhed it, he ſent it to the Heer *Nicolas vander Laen*, deſiring him, that if he found in it any thing falſe or heterodox, he would throw it into the fire; or if he judged that the publiſhing it at that juncture might be prejudicial to the country, he would keep it private for a while. In the Dedication he told the States;

An° Dom. 1582.

Richard Folkartſon Koornhert *writes a book againſt the* Netherland Catechiſm.

An Extract of his Dedication to the States of Holland.

'That there was nothing in humane ſocieties but what might in time be ſo corrupted, 'as to ſtand in need of a *Reformation*. This was plain even in the church of the 'Apoſtles themſelves: Since which, the evil had ſo greatly increaſed, that at laſt 'it could not eſcape the notice of the common people; but that the Governours of 'the Church cared ſo litle for it, that when they moſt deſerved to be reproved, then 'would they leaſt of all endure it, but perſecuted thoſe who reproved them with 'the Sword, the Halter and Fire, in ſo inhumane a manner, that the people's pa'tience was exhauſted by their bloody tyranny. The ferment being thus ſtrong, the 'veſſel burſt, and the head of it was toſſed away.——The inhabitants of this land 'had loudly complained againſt the puniſhing the Reprovers of known abuſes, deem'ing it intolerable tyranny, and intolerable oppreſſion, and forcing of conſciences. 'This oppreſſion of conſcience had been maſterly deſcribed by the Heer *du Pleſſis* 'in his Hiſtory of the Church; and thoſe who reproved the corruptions of the 'Church, compared to ſuch as cried out Fire, or ſounded to Arms, when they ſaw 'the houſes burning, or the enemy ſcaling the City-walls.——That as for him'ſelf (*Koornhert*,) he had been ſilent and ſat ſtill, waiting with patience ever ſince 'the year 1579, to ſee what would be the effects of the Clergy's proceedings; and 'now he found that their only aim was to lord it over all others *in matters of Faith*; 'ſince they openly and in print declared, *that a liberty to every man to believe as he 'pleaſed, was diſagreeable to them.* This was likewiſe their deſign, in introducing 'their Catechiſm only, with an excluſion of all others. That he looked upon this, 'their endeavour of forcing conſcience, and poiſoning the minds of youth, to be 'more pernicious than that of a hoſtile invaſion, or the ſetting a town on fire; and 'that now or never was the time to cry out fire and arms, in order to rouſe up 'both the Governours and the Governed. He hoped that what he was then doing '(in which he aimed at ſerving the publick) would not be taken ill of him, ſince he 'only made uſe of *Liberty of Conſcience*, which was one of thoſe deſirable fruits, that 'the dreadful and deſtructive war had produced. Which Liberty, as he thought, 'conſiſted in ſpeaking the truth with reſpect to religious matters, for the advantage 'of our neighbour, with a becoming boldneſs, and without fear of puniſhment. That 'he did ſo, ſeriouſly and faithfully, not only to all his fellow-ſubjects, but alſo to 'their Lordſhips the *States* themſelves, in hopes that it might ſeem beſt to them, in 'their godly wiſdom, not to proceed in judging (much leſs in executing any judgment 'or reſolution) before they had fully heard the other party, of which he owned 'himſelf to be, againſt the aforeſaid Catechiſm, and againſt all ſuch as pretended to 'juſtify it; being ready, in caſe his little Tract (*The Tryal*) was not ſatisfactory 'enough to delay their ſentence, and provided he might be heard (not before par'tial Commiſſioners, whoſe report was not to be confided in, but) before the States 'themſelves, whom it alſo very much concerned, to explain himſelf more fully 'againſt the Champions of that Catechiſm: That ſo nothing might be determined 'without a true cognizance of the cauſe, in a matter of ſo great import as this was: 'as alſo to the end, that if the Miniſters were neither able to vindicate their Cate'chiſm from ſo many foul ſpots and errors, nor to prove their own Miſſion, no 'more credit might be given them, to the oppreſſing of all other religions; and that 'they might be obliged to tolerate others, till the Lord ſhould take the matter into 'his own hands, by ſending his Angels to root out that which plainly appeared to be 'weeds; leſt men, by unſeaſonably attempting to do ſo, ſhould offend, by plucking 'up the good wheat at the ſame time. For, *concluded he*, it is not long ſince the 'indiſcreet zeal of the Government thought, that the putting to death the Diſciples

[1] Bor. Lib. XVIII. *p.* 35. Koonhert's *Works*, Part III. f. 465.

An° Dom. 1582.

‘ of *Chriſt*, was doing God good ſervice; wherefore he prayed God to preſerve the ‘ States from purſuing the like methods.’

The States, after ſome deliberation, referred *Koornhert*'s little Treatiſe to a Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, to be peruſed by him, with the aſſiſtance of a Miniſter. Theſe were to extract what they judged contrary to the Catechiſm, and then to digeſt it into ſhort propoſitions, in order to be communicated to *Koornhert*, to ſee whether he would maintain them to be moſt agreeable to the word of God; or, if they were not drawn up according to his mind, that he might put them into the proper method, to the end that the controverſy might be tried by the only true touch-ſtone. But he on the contrary thought, they needed not to fiſh for propoſitions on his part, ſince the *Catechiſm* advanced two poſitions which were oppoſed in his book, *The Tryal*: Firſt, *That it is impoſſible perfectly to keep the Commandment of Love to God and our Neighbour*; Secondly, *That we are all by nature inclined to hate God and our Neighbour.* Theſe ought to have been the ſubject of their diſpute.

A Memorial preſented by the Reformed *Miniſters in oppoſition to* Koornhert.

The *Clergy* likewiſe preſented a Memorial to the States, in which they grievouſly complained of *Koornhert* and his proceedings; adding, ‘ That they neither ‘ diſtruſted their own doctrines, nor ſought for evaſions, but earneſtly deſired they ‘ might be heard againſt him. They were not, *ſaid they*, people of ſuch a temper, ‘ as not to bear with good and neceſſary reproofs, or any inquiry into their doctrine. ‘ ——— They did not ſeek to be ſupported right or wrong. If they were found to ‘ be inconſiſtent with themſelves, they ſhould be content to be diſcharged from ‘ their Miniſtry. If their religion ſhould appear to be falſe and miſleading, they ‘ would be ſatisfied not only that all other religions ſhould be tolerated with theirs, ‘ but agree, as it was but juſt, that theirs ſhould be ſuppreſſed. They did not doubt ‘ but to convince all impartial men, that the foul ſpots and blemiſhes were not in ‘ their Catechiſm, but in the eyes of their adverſaries. That not the *Reformed* ‘ Churches, but this Oppoſer of them, had apoſtatized from the doctrine of the ‘ Apoſtles, or rather had never rightly embraced it; and that *Koornhert* was en‘ deavouring to revive the ancient Hereſies of *Pelagius* and *Cæleſtius*, which the ‘ Church had condemned from the word of God. That not their Miſſion, but his ‘ Cenſures were unlawful, undecent, and ungodly. In a word; it was not they, but he, ‘ who deſerved not to be credited, to the diſturbing of the Church, and the obſcuring ‘ of Truth.’

The States, after ſeveral conſultations and deliberations, reſolved, with the conſent of the Prince of *Orange*, to ſummon the Miniſters and *Koornhert* to the *Hague*, that they might hear what they had to ſay againſt each other, fifteen perſons being appointed to preſide at their debates, *viz.* Six out of the High Council, One from the Court of Juſtice, and Eight from the Aſſembly of the States. Before theſe Deputies, or Commiſſioners, *Adrianus Saravia*, Profeſſor of Divinity, was to maintain one ſide of the queſtion, and *Koornhert* the other. But every thing was to be minuted by two Notaries, one for each party.

A Diſputation between Koornhert *and* Saravia, *at the* Hague:

The diſpute began on the 27th of *October*, and was continued to the 3d of *November*, upon which day *Koornhert*, by leave of the Commiſſioners, went poſt to *Harlem* to ſee and comfort his wife, who lay at the point of death. At his return, the conferences were renewed, upon the 28th of *November*, but *Saravia* harangued near four days together; inſomuch, that what he ſaid, amounted to about 20 ſheets in writing; whereupon the Commiſſioners allowed *Koornhert* to go home again, and draw up his Anſwer in writing. This was yet larger, and the Rejoinder of the Miniſters, ſtill much more prolix. The States being informed that ſo much time had been ſpent in debating the firſt Article, which was but one out of fifty, judged it would be an endleſs work, and ordered them to ſtop there, that it might not produce more diſcord. Thus *Bor* relates it; but [1] *Koornhert* ſays, that the Miniſters failed on their ſide, leaving his laſt paper unanſwered, and ſo breaking up the Conference; but that the following year he went to live at the *Hague*, purely with deſign to promote a diſpute with greater zeal. However, both parties did not ceaſe afterwards to pelt one another from the Preſs. Some attempted to get the Placard of 81, againſt ſcandalous and ſeditious books, extended to that which *Koornhert* had writ againſt the *Catechiſm*. But he ſaid in a certain Memorial, that, ‘ he could ‘ not believe the States would prohibit good and edifying books, ſuch as he con-

Which is broken off.

‘ ceived

[1] *See his Works*, Part III. p. 429, 468, &c.

'ceived his to be; and in caſe that was their intention, he did not apprehend he was 'obliged to obey them in that reſpect. But ſince it was a hazardous thing to live 'under ambiguous Laws, of which the interpretation depended more on the 'makers than on the ſenſe of the ſubjects,' he petitioned them (*the States*) by the 'Magiſtrates of *Harlem*, that they would vouchſafe to give a plain and ſimple de-'claration of the aforeſaid Placard, to the end that he might either conform him-'ſelf to it, or elſe leave the country.' What anſwer was returned him, does not appear. An° Dom. 1582.

Not long after, *John Meſſuus*, a Miniſter of the *Reformed* Church at *Midelburg* in *Flanders*, was put into a Sack, and drowned for his religion. *William Pres*, Miniſter of *Aloſt*, fell into the hands of the enemies when that town was ſurrendered to the Prince of *Parma* in the month of *December*. They demanded two thouſand Gilders for his ranſom, and he pleading poverty, and maintaining that they ought not to require ſuch an extravagant ſum of him, they told him: *You muſt pay it, becauſe your people treat our Clergy ſo ignominiouſly, and force poor Monks, that have not a farthing of their own, to ranſom themſelves at ſuch unreaſonable rates.* He ſignified this to the Conſiſtory of *Gant*, who ſought aſſiſtance from *Imbyſe*, but did not meet with the ſame favour as formerly. For which reaſon, the enemy finding no money coming, out of hatred to his religion, and without any form of law, threw him into a ſtone Quarry, where he periſhed: this was in *March*, 1584. *Two Miniſters drowned in* Flanders.

In *Flanders* the affairs of the States went very ill: This was occaſioned not only by the tumultuous zeal of the people, and other illegal and irregular practices, but alſo by the hypocritical management of ſome of the *Spaniſh* party, who concealed themſelves under the diſguiſe of the *Reformed* Religion. The Prince of *Chimay* was, by the people of *Bruges* and its Dependencies, and afterwards by other Members of the Province of *Flanders*, declared their Stadtholder; they paſſing by the Prince of *Eſpinoy*, whom *Orange* had recommended to them on the ſame account, as being a man of great merit, and though a *Papiſt*, very faithful to the intereſts of the States. [1] Whereas *Chimay*, by having changed parties three times already, had given ſufficient proof of his inconſtancy. But having lately made open profeſſion of the *Reformed* Religion, to qualify himſelf for marrying the Counteſs of *Megen*, they ſeemed now to think him ſincere. By his hypocriſy he won the hearts of the Miniſters, and by them thoſe of the people. In the mean while he carried on a ſecret correſpondence with the *Spaniards*, by the help of a boſom-friend, one *John Haren* of *Valenciennes*, admitted again to the office of Miniſter to the *Walloons* in *Bruges*, contrary to the opinion of ſeveral, after having apoſtatized, and obtained *Alva*'s pardon, in order to keep his eſtate. However, to avoid all ſuſpicion, *Chimay* ſcarce ever miſſed a Sermon, and frequented the Sacrament with great appearance of devotion. He cauſed a Prieſt, taken at Maſs, to march along the ſtreets in his ſacerdotal veſtments, with the Hoſt and Chalice in his hands, quite to his own houſe, by way of contempt; nay, 'tis ſaid of him, that to give a greater proof of his hatred to the *Romiſh* Religion, he drank of the conſecrated Wine to the by-ſtanders. He cauſed above an hundred *Popiſh* families to be turned out of *Bruges*, in order to eſtabliſh his credit with the *Reformed*, and to prevent the recalling of the Duke of *Anjou*. But afterwards he ſuffered moſt of them to return, making them believe they owed that affront to the Magiſtrates of the *Reformed* perſwaſion. Then the Magiſtrates began to ſee into his management, and had reſolved to ſecure him, and to exclude him out of the Adminiſtration. But he being too cunning, was beforehand with them, depoſing them by force, and putting thoſe of the *Spaniſh* faction into their place, he yielded up both that town and *Damme*, by agreement, to the Prince of *Parma*. He ſtill pretended for a while to be of the *Proteſtant* Religion, but at laſt was publickly reconciled to the Church of *Rome*; and his Chaplain *John Haren* made an Abjuration of his Faith once more, in the hands of the *Jeſuits* at *Antwerp*. But the Princeſs of *Chimay* had ſuch a horror for the conduct of her huſband, that ſhe parted from him on that account, and retired into *Holland*. *Hypocritical Conduct of the Prince of* Chimay.

Some time after, another artifice was made uſe of by the enemy. Several papers were ſcattered among the people, tending to hinder all accommodation with *France*, and to promote that with *Spain*. The Authors of them were perſons who indeed *Writings publiſhed at this time.*

[1] Hooft, Lib XX. *p.* 869. Bor. Lib. XVIII. *p.* 36. Grot. Annal. Lib. IV. *p.* 82.

An° Dom. 1582.

ſpake ſome truths, but did it in the opinion of many with a quite contrary deſign, and in order to ſtifle the truth; for they advanced: 'That being now in a manner be-'ſieged by the invincible arms of the moſt powerful King in the world, people might 'plainly perceive how much God was diſpleaſed at the prophaning of holy things with 'blood, and at the founding of a religion in violence and murder. That on the 'contrary, the *Primitive Chriſtians* bore the government even of impious Princes with 'patience, when they perſecuted them with the greateſt rage, as a burden laid upon 'them by God himſelf, who, when he thought fit to alleviate or remove it, did 'not do it by putting arms into the peoples hands, but by changing their Governours. 'The ſupreme authority of Peace and War belonged entirely to the Prince, and no-'thing remained to the Subject but prayers and ſufferings. It was likewiſe a greater 'benefit to piety it ſelf, by being frequently oppreſſed, to grow and flouriſh, than 'to become effete and languid by too much liberty. It was true, that in the reigns 'of the Emperor *Charles*, and of King *Philip*, there died many by the hand of the 'Executioner; but how many more had ſince periſhed in the Civil war? more happy 'the former, ſince they died without their own fault; whereas in theſe domeſtick 'troubles, they who were ſufferers in the tragedy were as miſerable as the actors. 'Beſides, if the thing were conſidered, this was not the real occaſion of the war, 'but only the ambition of a few, who to avoid any private loſs or damage to them-'ſelves, did not care if their whole country were utterly ruined.'

The Conditions upon which the Hollanders *were inclined to receive the Prince of* Orange *as Count of* Holland.

In *Holland*, after various Conſultations and Treaties with the Prince of *Orange*, matters were ſo diſpoſed, that they were ready to receive him, and do him homage, as Count of that Province, upon the following conditions among others; viz. *That he ſhould maintain and defend the true* Reformed Chriſtian *Religion. That with reſpect to the exerciſe of it, and all that belonged to it, there ſhould be as ſoon as poſſible, a general plan of Church-Government, framed and put in practice with the approbation of the Council, and leave of the State; and which ſhould continue unchangeable, unleſs the States, aſſembled for that purpoſe, ſhould think fit to make an alteration therein. And laſtly, that he ſhould not cauſe any perſon whatever, to be examined or impriſoned on account of his faith, or compelled to embrace the opinion of a particular ſect, nor ſuffer any one to be proſecuted and moleſted with any ſuch intent.* [1] But before this deſign, which was oppoſed for a while by thoſe of *Amſterdam* and *Gouda*, could, in ſpite of thoſe towns, be put in execution; the Prince died, having been

The Prince is ſhot.

ſhot at *Delft*, on the 10th of *July*, by one *Balthaſar Geraerds*, a *Burgundian*, a baſe and impious Aſſaſſin, hired by the enemy for that purpoſe; as he fell, he cried, *Mon Dieu! ayez pitié de moi, & du pauvre peuple:* that is, *O my God! be gracious to me, and this poor nation.*

The Conſequences of his Death

And though (theſe countries being deprived, by this bloody act, of their chief ſupport) it ſeemed that the weak edifice of the new-born State would fall to the ground, and its inhabitants return to their old *Spaniſh* yoke, yet the Almighty vouchſafed to produce a clear light out of this thick darkneſs, and not only moſt graciouſly and wonderfully ſupported the State, but alſo preſerved the people from a new ſervitude,

His Character.

in which they were too far engaged. He was notwithſtanding a Prince of very great virtues, and of no leſs moderation in the buſineſs of religion, never conſenting that any one ſhould be compelled in point of conſcience, much leſs perſecuted for religion with fire and ſword. He would never ſuffer the *Menniſts* or *Anabaptiſts*, nor the *Lutherans*, to be oppreſſed, but left them in peace and liberty, while they gave no diſturbance to civil ſociety. He likewiſe protected thoſe of the *Romiſh* religion a long while, by which he drew much hatred upon himſelf. His murderer, *Balthaſar Geraerds*, underwent his deſerved puniſhment with an incredible obdurateneſs, ſuffering his right hand to be burnt to the ſtump, and the fleſh of the moſt muſculous part of his body, to be pinched off with red-hot irons, without diſcovering the leaſt token of pain. And he even ſhook the ſtump, as if he would croſs and bleſs the people with

The Murtherer confirmed in his Reſolution by a Jeſuit *and a* Franciſcan.

it. [2] He had before revealed to a certain Jeſuit at *Trier*, this deſign of aſſaſſinating the Prince, and the ſaid Jeſuit had imparted it to three others of his Order, who all aſſured him that if he periſhed in the attempt, he ſhould be ranked among the Martyrs. He likewiſe mentioned it at *Tournay* to one *Gery*, a *Franciſcan* and Doctor in Divinity, who encouraged him, and gave him his bleſſing upon it. To facilitate his

3 acceſs

[1] Bor. Lib. XV. *p.* 204. —Lib. XVIII. *p.* 14. —Lib. XIX. *p.* 3. Hooft, Lib. XX. 878, &c.

[2] Bor. Lib. XVIII. *p.* 422. Hooft, Lib. XX. *p.* 894. Eſt. Hiſt. Mart. Gorkum, *p.* 338.



G. Vertue Sculp:

The Illustrious
WILLIAM. I. Prince *of* ORANGE.

acceſs to the Prince, he pretended to be the ſon of a man that had been put to death for the ſake of the *Reformed Religion*; and making a ſhew of great zeal, he diligently frequented the church for a while, and carried always a Bible, a Pſalm-book, or ſome other religious treatiſe about him. After his death, ſome of the *Papiſts* eſteemed him ſuch a Martyr as deſerved to be canonized by the Pope. Not above a month after the death of the Prince, Yonker *John van Imbyſe* was condemned to die, on account of ſeveral miſdemeanours, and eſpecially for a private correſpondence with the *Spaniards* to betray the towns of *Dendermond* and *Gant*. He made intereſt with the Miniſters and others of the *Reformed*, for ſaving his life, in conſideration of what he had formerly done for them; but people were of opinion that he and his puniſhment ought to ſerve for a general example; for which reaſon he was publickly beheaded at *Gant*, in the 70th year of his age, and not without tokens of repentance. Such was the end of this man, a vehement oppoſer of every thing that was moderate, orderly, or decent, who had been the cauſe of introducing the *Reformed Religion* into *Gant*, by ſtirring up the populace to ſedition, and who by rejecting the *Religious Peace*, and exaſperating the *Walloons*, had likewiſe been the occaſion of rooting out the ſame religion, not only in the ſaid city, but at laſt in all *Flanders* and *Brabant*.

Anº Dom. 1583.

Imbyſe *beheaded at* Gant.

Soon after, *Dendermond* was beſieged and taken by *Parma*, where he ſeized upon two Miniſters, who thought to have ſaved themſelves among the ſoldiers of the Garriſon, hanging one and drowning the other, contrary to the Capitulation, as *Bor* ſays; but *Hooft* is of opinion, that that Prince had excepted them both, for the ſaving his honour; however, he had little regard to his honour in murdering theſe poor men, though they had been excluded out of the Treaty. [1] On the 17th of *September*, *Gant* was alſo ſurrendered to the *Spaniard* by agreement. During the Capitulation, upon that account, *Richardot*, *Parma*'s Deputy, put a trick upon the inhabitants, by an equivocating anſwer to their deſire of ſecuring the exerciſe of the *Reformed* religion, only telling them, *that this being the moſt important matter, it would be beſt to defer it to the laſt.* They having conſented to it, he complied with them ſo readily in all the other Articles, that being allured by temporal advantages, they dropped that of Religion, upon his flatly telling them, that if they inſiſted too ſtifly upon this laſt, all the reſt would fall to the ground. All therefore that the *Reformed* could obtain was, *The liberty of ſtaying in the city for two years, without being called to account, provided they committed no miſdemeanours, nor gave any ſcandal or offence; and that only in order to conſider and reſolve in the mean time whether they would live there in the exerciſe of the* Romiſh Religion, *which if they refuſed to do, they ſhould be allowed, without hindrance, to depart the land.* The Duke of *Parma* put into the Magiſtracy none but *Papiſts* and Exiles, who (according to the manner of ſuch as having been once excluded the Government, have again gotten the reins into their hands) raged furiouſly againſt all ſorts of *Proteſtants*. This moved ſome of them to implore the favour of the Regent, who was more moderate and reaſonable than their own Fellow-citizens. Since then, many of the moſt conſiderable as well as of the meaner Burghers, out of hatred to the *Romiſh* Religion, took ſhelter in *Holland*, *Zeland*, and other parts; ſo that it was thought the town loſt above half its people. The Miniſter, *Peter Dathenus*, who had been made uſe of in parlying and treating with the enemy, was ſome time after ſeized at a village called *Freeſwick*, on account of ſeveral miſdemeanours, of which he had been ſuſpected, and carried from thence and impriſoned at *Utrecht*: When he had lain there about eight weeks, ſeveral Articles of Impeachment were communicated to him from the Council of State, as it was ſaid, but he anſwered them all, and we do not find that any thing more befel him on that occaſion. After which, upon giving ſecurity for his taking his Tryal, if it ſhould be thought fit, he was permitted to lodge at the houſe of one of the Burghers. And at laſt, ſince none appeared againſt him, both he and his Bail were diſcharged by the Magiſtrates, on the 28th of *December*. Then he retired by the way of *Amſterdam*, to *Holſtein* and *Staden*, where he went by the name of *Peter Montanus*, and maintained himſelf by the practice of *Phyſick*. There it was rumoured that he had changed his religion; to remove which ſcandal the *Netherland* Synod ſent two Miniſters to him, named *John Gerobulus* and *Chriſtopher Peſelius*, to whom *Menſo Alting* joined himſelf: *Dathenus* excuſed the changing of his name, becauſe of the dangerous

Two Miniſters murthered at Dendermond.

The ſurrender of Gant.

Petrus Dathenus *is taken, but releaſed.*

His Adventures and Death.

[1] Bor. Lib. XIX. *p.* 33.—Lib. XXIV. *p.* 73. Hooft, Lib. XXI. *p.* 83.

An° Dom. 1584. dangerous times; and the changing his Office, or Profeſſion, he aſcribed to neceſſity; but as for the changing of Religion, he utterly denied it. Being aſked how he came then to contract ſo intimate a friendſhip with one *Chunradus*, a great ſtickler for the opinions of *David George*? he confeſſed that he had ſtumbled a little at that ſtone, but that God had preſerved him from falling and apoſtatizing; adding, that in caſe he were called to the ſervice of the Church again, he would chearfully accept the Call, and refute thoſe ſlanders. Having reſided about a year at *Staden*, he went from thence to *Dantzick*, where the *Anabaptiſts* complained of him to the Magiſtrates, as a ſeditious fellow, and the occaſion of the loſs of *Flanders*; which met with ſo much credit, that they forbad him the town, without ſuffering him to juſtify himſelf at all, or ſo much as to ſtay there one night; ſo that he was forced to lye without the city, at a place called *Scotland*, from whence he departed for *Elbing*. There he was kindly received, and allowed to practice Phyſick, and ſo to ſpend the remainder of his life in peace and tranquility; and he ſo endeared himſelf to the people of that place, that when he died, they erected a Monument for him, and ſet up his Effigies in ſtone as big as the life. After his death, ſome accuſed him of *Arianiſm*, but the Miniſter *Burghman*, and others that attended him to the laſt, atteſted his adherence to the doctrine he had profeſſed and taught in the *Palatinate* and elſewhere. He died the 19th of *February*, 1590.

I have followed *Dathenus* out of our own country, and beyond the ſeries of time too, which was the year 84, in which (to return to the events it produced) the Church of the *Hague* found itſelf infeſted with no ſmall contentions. *John Peterſon*, formerly Miniſter of *Weſel*, and at that time of the *Hague*, had brought ſome accuſations againſt his Collegue *Jerom Hortenſius*, ſon of *Lambert Hortenſius*, formerly Maſter of the School at *Narden*. He was charged with *aſcribing too much to the merit of Good Works*; by maintaining, in a certain Letter handed about among the people, that *a ſinner, as long as he continued in the ſinful luſts of the fleſh, and was united to the vain, periſhable, and mortal nature, muſt of neceſſity be excluded from the kingdom of God, and everlaſting life; nor was he capable of it, though God would beſtow it upon him, ſince he was no more qualified or diſpoſed to receive it, than a Blind man to ſee, a Cripple to walk, a Deaf man to hear, or even a Cow to fly. If any man objected againſt this doctrine, he ought* (he ſaid) *to convince him calmly by Scripture arguments. But that they who were commiſſioned to examine him, had not done ſo, having joined* Adam *to* Chriſt, *yea* Chriſt *to* Belial; *and what was more, one of them had ſufficiently owned himſelf the ſlave of ſin, by affirming that he could not avoid ſinning one hour, no not a minute.*

Eccleſiaſtical Quarrels at the Hague,

This controverſy had laſted above two years, both ſides having their followers; till at laſt it was thought moſt adviſeable, to diſcharge them both from their Miniſtry in the *Hague*, and to fill their places with others. Nevertheleſs, they were both reputed to be of the Brethren, and tolerated as Teachers of the *Reformed* perſwaſion. *John Peterſon* was afterwards called to *Kaſtricom*, and *Jerom Horteſius* to *Waſſenar*, where they continued Miniſters till their death.

And at Medenblik.

At *Medenblik* there likewiſe aroſe a diſpute, at firſt between the Members themſelves, and afterwards between the Magiſtracy and Conſiſtory. The Miniſter *Jurian Henrikſon*, obſerving the differences to increaſe, left them, in whoſe place *Sonoy* ſent them another, who had officiated at *Heerentals*, till the town was reduced: but the Magiſtrates, after ſome trial of him, diſmiſſed him: *Sonoy* demanded their reaſons, and they gave them; and then procured from *Leyden* one *Peter Hakkius*, by way of loan for four months, and ſet him up in oppoſition to the Conſiſtory: He preached there accordingly, but was forbidden by *Sonoy*, and when he perſiſted in doing it, by order of the Magiſtrates, he cauſed him to be publickly ſeized, and obliged him to leave the town. The Burgomaſters upon this complained to the States of *Holland*, who deputed two Gentlemen to *Medenblik*, to enquire into the matter. Theſe having heard *Sonoy*, were of opinion that it was not proper to place *Hakkius* in the Pulpit again; but conſented that the Burgomaſters might for once recommend a Miniſter from any part of *North Holland*, or from *Amſterdam* or *Harlem*, who ſhould then be called by the Conſiſtory and Congregation. After this, the States ſent two other Deputies thither, to accommodate this quarrel if poſſible, and if they could not, then to make a report of their proceedings; but how it ended we do not find.

[1] In the mean time the people of *Antwerp*, blocked up on all ſides by the Duke of *Parma*, and kindly invited by him to a reconciliation with the King, inſiſted, in a civil Anſwer to his Letter, upon Liberty of Conſcience; repreſenting to him, that they were well informed that the buſineſs of religion (upon which however, they ſaid, the whole War turned) was not in his power to adjuſt; and that even the King himſelf was in ſuch ſubjection to the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, that he could not grant to his own people, being *Chriſtians*, the favour which the Pope and many *Italian* Princes allowed the *Jews*; and without which they ſaw no means of diſpelling thoſe terrible clouds of miſeries which hung over their country, and continually ſucceeded one another; perceiving therefore no dawning hopes of peace and tranquility, they were compelled by neceſſity to proſecute the War. An° Dom. 1584. *A Letter from thoſe of* Antwerp, *to the Prince of* Parma.

To this part of their Letter, it is ſaid, that *Parma* thus replied: *That he did not pretend to argue upon that point, on which they affirmed the whole War to turn; but however, that he muſt needs add, that according to his opinion, and all that he had ever learned about the true nature of* Chriſtianity, *it would be impoſſible for them to prove it conſiſtent with a good conſcience, to take up arms againſt their lawful Prince on this account, and to burn, rob, plunder, pierce the Dykes, and lay their own country under water, and even to reduce all to deplorable confuſion and deſtruction.* Parma's *Anſwer.*

The States of *Holland*, urged by the ſucceſs of the *Spaniards*, or by other cauſes, renewed the Placard againſt the *Papiſts* and their Conventicles, as likewiſe againſt the wearing Eccleſiaſtical habits, together with the Order about Books, Pamphlets, and Ballads. *The Placard againſt the* Romaniſts *renewed in* Holland.

In this ſame year, there was a little Treatiſe publiſhed by one *Eraſmus Johannes*, formerly Maſter of the *Latin* School at *Antwerp*, with the following Title: *A plain Proof, that the Kingdom of* Antichriſt *began to prevail in the Church of* Chriſt *immediately after the Apoſtles death; and that therefore all the Councils and Books of the Fathers, holden and written ſince the ſaid time, are infected with many* Antichriſtian *errors, even that moſt famous Council of* Nice *it ſelf, which was celebrated in the year of our Lord* CCCXVIII. Eraſmus Johannes *publiſhes a book concerning* Antichriſt.

The deſign of this Piece was to ſhow, as well from the Epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul*, as from the Tranſactions of the primitive Churches, that 'even the firſt 'five hundred years were not free from *Antichriſtian* errors, and ought therefore 'to be ranked under the kingdom of Antichriſt.' From whence he further inferred, that 'unleſs we ſhould paſs by and poſtpone the whole ſeries of 1500 years, 'run off ſince the days of the Apoſtles, there could be no true nor laſting *Reformation*; and that in order to procure ſuch a *Reformation*, it would be neceſſary 'to conform to the truly Apoſtolical Churches, both in doctrine and diſcipline. 'That in ſo doing, it would be better to aboliſh and forget the new phraſes and 'manners of ſpeaking, invented by the ſaid Fathers, and brought into the Church; 'and to delight in, and inure ourſelves to that ſimplicity in expreſſing matters of religion, of which *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles have left us an example. *He farther 'added*, that none ought to conclude from his expoſing the errors of the Fathers, 'that he aimed at condemning or rejecting them and their books; for when one 'reads the writings of *Cyprian*, *Auſtin*, and ſome others, one muſt own that they 'could not have had the power to write ſo well for the *Chriſtian* Religion, without 'the enlightening of the *Holy Ghoſt*; for which reaſon they ought to be eſteemed 'as pious and ſincere Chriſtians, that ſought God with all their heart, and found him 'too.' And in another place, that, 'it were not amiſs to peruſe their writings 'with temper and prudence, and obſerve the good things in them, taking care 'however not to rely upon their authority, nor to chuſe the bad inſtead of the good. 'That we ſhould not confine our ſelves or others, and much leſs the Church of '*Chriſt*, to any of the writings or expreſſions of the *Councils* and *Fathers*, as if any man 'were to be obliged to ſpeak and believe juſt as they did, and as if all were *Hereticks* 'who did not talk in their language, but that we ought rather to keep to the words 'and ways of ſpeaking uſed by *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*. What can we require more, '*ſays he*, of any body? and if we do, by what authority is it? Therefore let every 'one make uſe of his chriſtian liberty in this matter, and let him not hinder others.' He concludes with theſe words: 'If then there is any man that thinks himſelf un'der an indiſpenſable neceſſity to make uſe of new and ſtrange terms, in order to de-

'clare

[1] Bor. Lib. XIX. *p.* 38. Hooft, Lib. XXI. *p.* 57. Meteren. Lib. XII. *p.* 234.

An° Dom. 1585.

'clare his notions and belief about divine matters, inſomuch that the words of the 'Prophets and Apoſtles cannot ſerve him; it is moſt certain, that not only the 'words are new, but alſo his doctrine and religion too; otherwiſe it would not be 'poſſible for him to fail of good and appoſite expreſſions in Holy Writ.'

This book was not well received, but conſtrued as if the author aimed at calling every thing in queſtion, at ſetting himſelf at the head of a party, and diſturbing the national Church. It was likewiſe reſolved, to ſeize upon the books and the writer too. But ſuch care and diſcretion was uſed in purſuing him, that he was ſought for in one town after another, and even in the very place where they knew he lodged the night before; inſomuch that they only obliged him to go off privately and leave the country.

Popiſh Cruelties.

It was after a very different manner that the *Spaniards* treated *John Florianus*, a Miniſter of the *Reformed* at *Bruſſels*, who, upon their taking that city in the year 1585, fell into their hands at *Liere*, and was carried to their Camp at *Bevere*, near *Antwerp*. Though ſome Trumpeters were ſent to deſire his diſcharge, the enemy endeavoured by threats and ill treatment to make him abjure his religion; but he remained inflexible. Upon which they diſpatched him, by putting him into a Bag, and throwing him into a ſtinking ditch, where there was ſcarce water enough to cover him. There he was ſeen to move a great while, till at laſt ſome body thruſt him through with a Pike, and ſo ended his pain and life in the ſixty third year of his age. They ſent a Drummer to his Widow, whom he left incumbered with eight Children, to inform her that he was dead of the Plague; but afterwards ſhe received information of the whole truth from credible witneſſes, and withal of the cruelty of the Marquis of *Ryſburg*, who, a little before they murdered him, uſed theſe expreſſions; *I rejoice that I have lived long enough to aſſiſt at the condemnation of ſuch a deſperate* Heretick *as you.* But ſhort was this falſe pleaſure, and quickly followed with true miſery; for on the very day that *Florianus* died in the water, being the 4th of *April*, this wretch periſhed in the flames of a Fireſhip, by which *Parma*'s Bridge over the *Schelde*, and above five hundred Soldiers were deſtroyed.

About the ſame time, three *Anabaptiſt* women were burnt at St. *Fijt*, in the Duchy of *Luxemburg*; and at the town of *Furnes* in *Flanders*, the Burgomaſters and the *Schepens*, upon the firſt of *June*, ſentenced to a ten years baniſhment, *John de Greve* and his Wife, on account of their religion, requiring them to leave the town before ſun-ſet, and the country within eight days, on pain of being whipped till the blood came. They owned, that they had never been at *Confeſſion* nor *Sacrament*. When they were exhorted to reconcile themſelves to God and the Church, they anſwered; *We are of the* Reformed *religion, and do not intend to abjure or forſake it.*

An Inſurrection of the Romaniſts *at* Nimeguen.

At *Nimeguen* in *Gelderland*, the *Papiſts*, puffed up with the ſucceſs of the *Spaniards*, had ſome time before arrogantly demanded a Church, according to the terms of the *Religious Peace.* But when the Count of *Nieuwenaer*, apprehending ſomewhat worſe, endeavoured to ſecure the town by more Troops, they got together and drove the Garriſon out, and afterwards gave up the place to *Parma*. *Dooſburg* followed their ſteps; for which reaſon there were ſtronger Garriſons put into the reſt of the towns of *Gelderland* and *Over-Yſſel*, which were meditating the ſame thing; and the *Papiſts* that were moſt ſuſpected, were turned out of them. This was done at *Kampen*, *Arnhem*, and *Deventer*. At *Amersfort*, ſix and twenty of the *Popiſh* inhabitants being ſuſpected, were obliged to leave the town.

In *July* after, *Mechelen* firſt yielded to *Parma*, and next *Antwerp*, by agreement. Three days after the Treaty was concluded between the Town and the Duke, the Magiſtrates gave the Miniſters, and other Officers of the *Lutheran* Church, at their deſire, a very honourable Certificate under the Seal of *Antwerp*, in which they teſtified, 'That the ſaid Miniſters and their Aſſiſtants had, ever ſince the year 1578, 'when the free exerciſe of their religion was allowed them, to that very day on 'which they were forced to forbear the ſame, behaved in the government and di'rection of their Church, and in all other matters relating to the common good, 'and publick tranquility, modeſtly and dutifully towards the Magiſtrates and all the 'higher Powers, according to the ſtipulations between them and the Magiſtrates of 'that city.' In the concluſion they deſired, 'That all thoſe to whom theſe Teſti'monials ſhould be communicated, would pleaſe to ſhow all favour and aſſiſtance to 'the bearers and their families.' This Certificate, of which I have ſeen an authentick copy, was written in *Latin*, and ſigned, *Joachim Gillis.*

A Teſtimonial given to the Lutherans *by the Magiſtrates of* Antwerp.

[1] The Heer *van Aldegonde*, who had been Burgomaſter of *Antwerp*, fell at the time of its ſurrender, under the diſpleaſure of the States, ſo far that they forbad him to come into the *United Provinces* afterwards; however, returning to *Zeland*, he was confined to his own houſe, and whatever he could alledge in his own defence, or the Heer *la None*, in his juſtification, he was never after employed by the Government. It was not well taken, that *Parma* allowed him, not only four years for the diſpoſing of his effects, as he had done to the reſt of the inhabitants of *Antwerp*, but likewiſe the unlimited enjoyment of them. He gave great offence too by a certain flattering Letter which he writ to that Prince in *May*, in which, among other things he declared, *That he had never been of opinion, that it was lawful for Subjects to take up Arms againſt their Sovereign in defence of their Religion.*

An° Dom. 1585. Aldegonde *in diſgrace with the States of the* United Provinces.

[2] In another Letter which he writ to the Heer *vander Mijle* from *Antwerp*, in which he gives up his Country and Religion for loſt, his opinion was; *That it was high time to accommodate matters with the enemy, ſince he was reducing all the towns by degrees.* ——*That all poſſible means were to be uſed for promoting a General Agreement with the enemy for the preſervation of Religion, ſince by the particular Capitulations of the towns, the whole ſtate of affairs would go near to be ſubverted. I intreat you*, added he, *to conſider, that it is not only ours, but* Chriſt's *cauſe that is depending. I have done my utmoſt with the Prince of* Parma, *and with ſuch as have any influence upon him, to procure his conſent to ſome Liberty of Religion, at leaſt for* Holland *and* Zeland. *They did not ſeem to be very averſe to it neither, provided they could get the King's conſent. There is indeed no certainty of that; but as for* Parma, *whatever he promiſes, you may depend on it, he will ſtrictly perform.* And accordingly, *Parma* being deſirous to bring over the *United Provinces* by gentleneſs, endeavoured to get leave to offer the people of *Holland* and *Zeland*, the exerciſe of the *Romiſh* and *Reformed* religion together; but he had but ſmall thanks for his pains. The *Popiſh* Clergy alſo in *Brabant* and *Flanders* had conceived ſuch a mortal hatred againſt the *Proteſtants*, that nothing but the utmoſt ſtiffneſs was to be expected from them. After the loſs of *Antwerp*, and of almoſt all the reſt of the towns in thoſe provinces, an innumerable multitude of the *Reformed* withdrew themſelves into the *United Low-Countries*, whither they carried with them the Trade and Manufactures, beſides their own private Stocks. By theſe means *Holland* and *Zeland* became very populous, and conſequently very rich; but at the ſame time, the ancient and conſtant *Dutch* ſimplicity and modeſt neatneſs, were turned into wantonneſs and luxury. The *Brabanders* and *Flemings* who fled from their native country for the ſake of religion, introduced into the towns of their refuge, all their pomp and coſtlineſs of apparel, ſeducing the inhabitants to the abuſe of their leiſure, and to a more delicate and riotous way of living, formerly unknown and uneſteemed in theſe parts. [3] Theſe people, who were always looked upon to be of an uneaſy, mutinous and ambitious temper, being more hot-headed than the *Hollanders*, and hurried on by a zeal for religion, which made them care very little by what means they promoted it, were, in a ſhort time, ſome of the forwardeſt in oppoſing the preſent Government of the States in the following troubles of the Earl of *Leiceſter*.

The *United Provinces* were now become ſo faint-hearted by repeated loſſes and misfortunes, that, as unable to ſupport them any longer, they expoſed themſelves to ſale to their neighbouring Potentates for almoſt nothing at all. *Firſt*, They tendered the Sovereignty of their Country to *Henry* III. King of *France*, on condition, among other things (in order to ſecure their Religion as far as poſſible) *That neither he nor his Miniſters ſhould make any alterations in matters of religion, nor examine into any man's conſcience.* But that King rejected their offer by means of the artifices of the *Spaniards*, who in concurrence with the *Guiſian* faction, cut him out ſo much work at home, that he did not think it convenient to draw upon himſelf a new war for the ſake of uniting the *Netherlands* to his Crown. This, which was then conſidered as a great misfortune, and a mark of God's wrath againſt this nation, (ſo ſhort-ſighted are our underſtandings, and ſo miſtaken are our wiſhes) proves now the greateſt benefit; ſince we, over whoſe heads there ſeemed to hang an everlaſting bondage of ſoul and body, have at laſt, after long wreſtling with Slavery, gotten the better of it, and ſecured our Liberty; ſo that we muſt confeſs, that it proceeded from God's ſingular

The Sovereignty of the Netherlands *offered in vain to the King of* France.

[1] Bor. Lib. XX. *p.* 38, 46. Hooft. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 316.
[2] Epiſt. Sel. Cent. II. *p.* 967.
[3] Taffin *of Repentance*, *p.* 127. Hooft. Lib. XXVII. *p.* 333. Ep. Eccl. *p.* 475.

An° Dom 1584.

It is offered to the Queen of England.

Aſſiſtance obtained from England.

The ſubſtance of the Treaty with England, *as far as it regarded Religion.*

mercy to us, that our prayers were not heard. In the next place, the States offered themſelves again to Queen *Elizabeth*, for they had done it once before the invitation of the Duke of *Anjou*; [1] but they could not perſwade her, in whom ſome had placed their chiefeſt truſt, as being ſo greatly intereſted in the protection of the *Reformed* religion, to any thing more (and that too after long importunity) than to aſſiſt them with ſome Troops at their own charges, and upon their delivering very valuable pledges, to wit, certain Towns and Forts that were the Keys of *Holland* and *Zeland*. With reſpect to Religion, it was ſtipulated, that, 'the General of the *Engliſh* forces 'ſhould be of the true *Chriſtian Faith*. That the Governours of the mortgaged 'towns ſhouldſwear, among other things, to maintain and defend the ſame in the 'true *Chriſtian Religion* as then profeſſed in *England* and in the *United Provinces*. 'That the *Engliſh* Council of State ſhould be of the ſame perſwaſion. That neither 'the General nor Council ſhould innovate or attempt any thing in prejudice of the 'ſaid Religion.'

[1] Bor. Lib. XX. *p.* 68. Hooft, Lib. XXIII. *p.* 120. Grot. Apol. Lib. II. *p.* 22.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK XIV.

ROBERT DUDLEY [1] Earl of *Leiceſter*, whom the Queen of *England* had appointed General of the auxiliary Troops ſhe ſent into theſe parts, arrived in *Holland* about the end of *December*; and in *February* 1587, was recognized Governour-General of the *United Netherlands*, with very large powers. But before he came, Count *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*, ſecond Son of the late Prince of *Orange*, was, upon the propoſal and by the advice of the Heer *John van Oldenbarnevelt*, Penſionary of the town of *Rotterdam*, made particular Stadtholder, General and Admiral, of *Holland* and *Zeland*; and obliged by the firſt Article of his Commiſſion, *to promote and defend the exerciſe of the* Chriſtian Religion, *together with the Sovereignty, Privileges, and Welfare of the land.*

An° Dom. 1585.

The Earl of Leiceſter *comes into the* Low-Countries.

He is received as Governour General of the United Provinces.

Count Maurice *of* Naſſaw *made* Stadtholder *of* Holland *and* Zeland *before the Earl's arrival.*

This promotion of Count *Maurice*, who, according to the cuſtom of the *Germans*, was likewiſe ſtiled *Hereditary Prince of* Orange, was much againſt the inclinations not only of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, but alſo of many inhabitants of theſe Provinces: Few were able, at that time, to perceive the danger of a new ſervitude, or apprehend by what means the State would e'er long extricate it ſelf, and preſerve its Liberty: The hatred againſt the *Spaniards*, and the averſion to the *French*, eſpecially to *Anjou*'s treachery, induced the moſt zealous among the *Reformed* to depend the more entirely upon the *Engliſh*, and their General *Leiceſter*: The favour he had acquired among our Common-people, and eſpecially with the Clergy, is not to be expreſſed. For inſtead of ſeeing a Duke of *Anjou* daily going to Maſs, and tormenting himſelf, and racking his thoughts how he ſhould repair the ruins of Popery, they could obſerve this Lord, an artful mimick of piety and virtue, publickly frequenting the Sacrament, and breathing nothing but a fiery zeal for propagating the *Reformation*. Wherefore, many promiſed themſelves greater things from him, than from the late Prince of *Orange*, who (as they ſaid) had connived at many things, either for fear of hatred and envy, or for want of power and authority; whereas *Leiceſter*, ſupported by the Queen, had none to care for but her. At *Utrecht* he was very much cried up immediately. The Count of *Nieuwenaer*, obſerving the affected zeal of *Leiceſter* in eſtabliſhing the *Reformed* religion, had a mind to ſhow the like in diſturbing thoſe of the *Romiſh* Communion. His Halbardeers therefore fell upon the Cloiſter of the *White Nuns*, on that of the *Burning-Oil*, and with the aſſiſtance of the *under Scout*, on that of St. *Serva*; breaking open cheſts and coffers, and carrying away all the Church-furniture, and things belonging to the Maſs.

The Earl in much eſteem with the people.

The Count of Nieuwenaer's *zeal at* Utrecht.

[1] Bor. Lib. XX. *p.* 85, & Lib. XXI. *p.* 6. Hooft. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 131, &c.

An° Dom. 1585.

Leiceſter *ſuffers himſelf to be ſet againſt the* States.

Leiceſter ſuffered himſelf likewiſe be animated againſt the States at the inſtigation of certain foreigners, namely, *James Reyngold*, *Gerard Provink*, alias *Deventer*, *Daniel de Burgrave*, and others, (ſome of whom endeavoured to intrude themſelves by irregular methods into the Government, and to ſerve the *Spaniſh* intereſt, by bringing all into confuſion,) accuſing ſome Members of that Body of an inclination to *Popery* and *Spain*. [1] It was true indeed, in ſome of the Aſſemblies of the States of the particular Provinces, and perhaps alſo in that of the States-General, there now and then appeared ſome of the *Romiſh* Sect, but they were ſuch as had behaved ſo bravely in ſhaking off the *Spaniſh* yoke, that there was not the leaſt queſtion of their ſincerity or affection to the State. However, theſe ſlanderers and pick-thanks had ſo much credit with the Governour, that ſcarce any thing the States did, could pleaſe him, nor did he much regard them in any thing that he himſelf thought fit to undertake. Nay, to ſet the people the more againſt the States, and procure their adherence to him, he had the art to fortify himſelf with the aſſiſtance of many of the Miniſters, for the moſt part ſtrangers, who hurried on by blind zeal, and unexperienced in worldly affairs, were become the *Dupes* of his hypocriſy. Having drawn ſeveral of the Magiſtrates, and eſpecially the Clergy into his intereſts, and being backed by them, and conſequently by the populace; he involved the whole country in confuſion: He ſet Province againſt Province, Cities againſt Cities, the People againſt their Rulers, and occaſioned ſuch diſcords, diviſions and ſchiſms, as had well nigh ended in a Civil war: He did all he could to endear himſelf to the Clergy; the firſt inſtance of which happened at *Utrecht*: The *Reformation*, as introduced by the late *Hubert Dovehouſe*, and eſtabliſhed in St. *James*'s, had flouriſhed there in ſuch a manner, that of the ſeven Miniſters who belonged to that city, three were of St. *James*'s church, and of his perſwaſion; to which church, that of St. *Mary* had been added, on account of the great increaſe of the Congregation, as we have ſhown above:

He makes uſe of the aſſiſtance of the Clergy.

He encourages thoſe of the Conſiſtory *at* Utrecht.

[2] Now to ſtop their progreſs, and to extinguiſh this kind of *Reforming*, the other Miniſters, by the encouragement of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, prevailed upon two of the three, to wit, *Hermanus Elkonius* and *Cornelius Martinſon Roijenburg*, (in ſpite of their whole Congregation, and, as it is ſaid, againſt their own ſolemn proteſtations,) to join with thoſe of the *Conſiſtory*, upon XVIII certain Conditions, or Articles, which were to be obſerved till they knew the ſenſe of the next Synod; by which means the differences were rather ſuſpended than ſuppreſſed, and the church of St. *James* was brought under the yoke of the *Conſiſtory*. *Tako Sybrandſon*, the third Miniſter, refuſed to ſign this Union; the rather becauſe the Articles of it required, among other things, a ſubſcription of the *Netherland-Confeſſion*; and he could not come up to it in the point of *Predeſtination*: The others thought it adviſeable, that he ſhould enter into an amicable conference upon that Article, with ſome of the Miniſters, ſuch as he himſelf would chuſe: He deſired them that it might be *John Uitenbogart*, who had been admitted about a year before as Miniſter, by the *Conſiſtory*, with the approbation of the Magiſtrates, being eſteemed more moderate upon the point of *Predeſtination* than his brethren, and for the ſame reaſon better liked by thoſe of St. *James*'s: This man prevailed ſo far, that *Tako* was allowed to retain his opinion with reſpect to Predeſtination; but on condition, he ſhould expreſs himſelf in the words of the Confeſſion of *Zurich* upon that Article: But after this, *Tako* fell into another diſpute with ſome of his brethren, and deſired his diſmiſſion: *Uitenbogart*, on the contrary, laboured earneſtly to keep him, and ſeemed to ſet a greater value on him alone than on both his Colleagues, *Elkonius* and *Roijenburg*, together; but *Tako*, rather than act againſt his conſcience, civilly rejected all offers, and left the town: The Count of *Nieuwenaer*, who, as Stadtholder, aſſiſted at the whole conference, together with one Dr. *James*, deputed thither by *Leiceſter*; underſtanding that *Tako* had a numerous family, ſaid, after he was gone: *This muſt needs be an honeſt man, who having ſuch a company of children, and very little means, has choſen to leave us, rather than to ſtay and act againſt his conſcience:* On the 28th of *April* he preached his laſt Sermon on theſe words; *I will ſmite the Shepherd, and the Sheep ſhall be ſcattered*; which he explained with an uncommon zeal, exhorting his hearers to ſteadfaſtneſs, and to the practice of what they had heard and learned for many years; and not obſcurely inſinuating, that their publick Aſſemblies were not likely

3

[1] Hooft. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 142. *Deduct. of the State of* Hol. *p.* 63. J. van Sandes Hiſt. *p.* 50. Trigl. Hiſt. *p.* 348 & 716. Bor. Lib. XXI. *p.* 112.

[2] Uitenb. Hiſt. *p.* 233.

likely to last any longer: He was afterwards accused of keeping a great Conventicle at his house; but when they came to inquire into it, they found the poor man sick in bed of grief, and of the many troubles he had met with, his Wife and Children weeping about him, together with two or three friends only, that came to comfort him: When he departed, the Magistrates gave him a very handsome Certificate, as he deserved, for he was a person of a very pious and virtuous life and conversation, and every body pitied him on account of his burdensome family: That Agreement which *Tako* could not submit to, was no less unacceptable to the States and Government of *Utrecht*; as being mostly inclined to those of St. *James*'s, and as apprehending that the *Consistory*, which prevailed so greatly in Ecclesiastical matters, might afterwards easily thrust themselves into the direction of Temporal affairs. An° Dom. 1585.

In the mean time, the Clergy, sensible of *Leicester*'s favour and kindness for them, were not idle, but begged of him to call a National Synod, to the end that they might oppose what had been transacted in the Assembly of the States about four years before, with reference to the scheme of Church-government: The Earl, who was so fond of the title of *Foster-father* of the Church, whereby he inveigled the people into his interests, and hoped in time to lord it over the States; consented to their request, and caused the Synod of the *Dutch* and *Walloon* churches to be summoned to meet in the *Hague*, upon the 20th of *June*, without taking notice of, or owning the authority of the States in that matter; and the Clergy likewise assumed to themselves the power of making and constituting a general Church-government according to their own fancy, and of promulgating the same: But when it was published, it was by no means agreeable to the States of the *United Provinces*; each of whom asserted their own authority and supremacy in these and such like matters; having, by the respective Unions and Conventions, expresly reserved to themselves the right of making such Laws and Orders, with respect to Ecclesiastical affairs, as they judged most useful and necessary for their own Countries and Churches: What was most obnoxious in the Church-government established by this Synod was; 'That they 'had left very little share to the Magistrates of towns and places in the choice of Ministers, Elders and Deacons: That it was agreed likewise to hold a National Synod 'every three years, without any mention of asking leave of the Civil powers: That 'the subscribing to the *Netherland-Confession* was insisted on in much stricter terms 'than formerly, to wit; **That upon the first refusal, the Minister should be actually 'suspended** ab officio, **and if he persisted, be finally deprived**: In like manner it was 'required, that every *Sunday* afternoon the *Catechism* should be expounded by the 'Minister in his Sermon:' Whereas others were of opinion, that no Humane, but only Divine writings should be introduced into the Pulpit, and expounded to the Congregation: It was further resolved in this same Synod, 'That the Magistrates of the 'places (if they thought fit) might depute one or two persons, being Members of 'the Church, to be present in the *Consistory*, and to be consulted with upon what 'should then occur:' This Article appeared strange to some: Nay, there were some Ministers so hardy as to maintain, that the Civil Magistrates ought not to be admitted into the Church Assemblies, unless they would allow the Ministers the same privilege in their Temporal Courts and Meetings.

The Earl of Leicester *calls a* National Synod *at the* Hague.

Some account of the Church Government *established by the* Synod.

In this Synod were likewise agitated certain disputes in Doctrine with *Herman Herberts*, at that time Minister of *Gouda*, about the *Perfection* of *Christians*, the *Letter* and *Spirit* of the *Scriptures*, and about *Justification* and *Predestination*: They proceeded so far in these matters, that they seemed to be all accommodated, upon his declaring, among other things, *That those who were lost, were lost through their own fault and evil will, for rejecting the grace of* God *and of* Christ, *and all his benefits*: As for the Confession, consisting of XXXVII Articles, he received it as scriptural, and was willing to subscribe it; provided the XVIth Article, relating to *Predestination*, might be understood in such a sense, as not *to make God the author or cause of Sin*: He likewise approved of the *Catechism*, provided that the Exposition of the 114th Answer, affirming, That *even the most holy men have only a small beginning or principle of obedience in this life*; might be understood with respect to the most perfect holiness in the next life: He likewise owned, that he had treated his brethren too severely in his book, intitled, *A short Exposition*, &c; promised more fully to explain certain absurd and obscure passages in the said book; and to that end to consult with the Professor *Saravia*, and some other Clergymen: But this raised a new

Disputes with Herman Herberts.

An° Dom. 1585. new ſtorm, which raged ſo furiouſly, that ſeven years were ſpent in calming it: This Gentleman was in great repute with the Magiſtrates of *Gouda*, as well for his edifying diſcourſes, as regular and exemplary life; ſo that they, perceiving, that he could not give the Synod content with all his pious, virtuous and honeſt propoſals, forbad him to enter into any more conferences with them; promiſing him farther, to protect him in his Miniſtry againſt any Excommunications of the Clergy, and to allow him his yearly maintenance: When they were afterwards going to excommunicate him, the States of *Holland* put a ſtop to it, till means could be found out to accommodate matters among them upon reaſonable terms, by the intervention of *John Uitenbogart* and *Francis Lanſbergen*, whom the States had commiſſioned for that purpoſe: In this Agreement they left him to his above-mentioned explanation in the buſineſs of *Predeſtination*, in which, as he thought, the chief difference conſiſted.

The Caſe of Koolhaes *brought before the Synod and decided.*

The Caſe of *Jaſper Koolhaes* was likewiſe brought again upon the ſtage in this Synod:---Since his Excommunication he had indeed abſtained from preaching, but not from writing publickly in his own defence; in which alſo he attacked the doctrine and proceedings of the Churchmen: This was not a little connived at by the States of *Holland*, and the Magiſtrates of *Leyden*: Hereupon the Miniſters applied to *Leiceſter*, and procured an order that *Koolhaes* ſhould appear before the Synod; where, by the mediation of ſome perſons deputed by the Earl, a certain agreement was made, upon condition he ſhould declare, that he held the Confeſſion to be ſcriptural, excepting the matter of *Reprobation*, contained in the XVIth Article; and conſent, that his books ſhould be ſuppreſſed. In relation to the ſaid XVIth Article, he was to declare his opinion to be, that, *All thoſe who are ſaved, are not ſaved by their own merits, worth, or holineſs, but by the pure Grace and Mercy of God, (which operates the good will in the Elect;) and that ſuch as are damned, are damned through their own fault, and that God is by no means the cauſe of it: If he would own this doctrine, he ſhould be received into the boſom of the Church, and born with, in what he did not as yet fully underſtand concerning it; provided he continued ſilent, and did not advance nor maintain, that,* **The univerſal Grace of God extended it ſelf to all, and every particular man:** *Koolhaes* ſays, that it was farther ſtipulated, that he ſhould be acknowledged Miniſter of the Word, in the ſame manner as before this quarrel; and that when an account of this agreement was read to the people in the church of *Harlem*, where he was excommunicated, and in that of *Leyden* where he officiated, there was ſomething added, of which not the leaſt mention had been made in the *Hague*, nor any ſtipulation about it; viz. *That after the expiration of ſix months, being lawfully called by the Congregation as a Miniſter of the Word, he ſhould be at liberty to preach, and that none might hinder him:* This kind of ſuſpenſion for ſix months, he thought was purpoſely thruſt in, for his reproach; nevertheleſs he went daily to the church and ſacrament. But about twelve months after, upon his preaching twice at *Warmont*, at the requeſt of *Peter van Oy*, Miniſter of that place, who was an ancient man, and tormented with the ſtone, as well as of the Lady of the Mannor, (and without drawing any of the people of *Leyden* after him;) new troubles came upon him: The Conſiſtory of *Leyden* ſent to him two of their Elders, *James Volmaer* and *Peter Crutſiger*, who reproved him for what he had done, and forbad him to approach the Lord's Table, till the time that he owned his fault, and joined himſelf again to the church: He being of opinion that by abſtaining twelve months inſtead of ſix from the exerciſing of his function, he could not have committed any crime; aſked them, *Whether they treated him thus for that good work*; viz. *for his preaching two Sermons tending to edification, without cenſuring any of the other Miniſters?* To which they replied, *We do not reprove you for that good work, but becauſe you did it without the leave of the Conſiſtory and Claſſis of* Rijnland: After this *Koolhaes* was looked upon by many of the *Reformed* with an evil eye.

The Synod of the *Hague* (from which this account of *Koolhaes* has carried me) did at the ſame time confirm the agreement between the church of St. *James* and the *Utrecht*-Conſiſtory made in *April* laſt: And, to give the greater weight to the ſaid Agreement, or Union, it was declared from the pulpit in the churches of that city, that *all thoſe who had till then received the Sacrament in St.* James's *church, might, for the future, do the ſame in the Cathedral, without applying to, or being examined by, any body:* However there came very few of the St. *James*'s people to that church; nay,

nay, they would not hear their old Miniſters themſelves; alledging, that *they were become* **Conſiſtorial**, *and ſhifted with every wind:* *Elkonius*, perceiving the minds of his congregation to be thus eſtranged from him, left them ſoon after, and returned to *Harlingen*, the place of his nativity; where they called him for their Miniſter, and where he died in their ſervice. An° Dom. 1585.

[1] In the month of *Auguſt* the new Draught of Church-government was preſented to *Leiceſter*, for his approbation and confirmation, by the Miniſters, without taking any notice of the States; and it was accordingly ratified by him on the 6th of the ſame month, without ſtaying for the opinion of the States, to whom he ſent it: And at the ſame time he publiſhed a Placard, requiring all Stadtholders, Magiſtrates, Miniſters, Conſiſtories, and all other perſons whatſoever, to conform thereto, till further order: Thus it ſeemed as if it was intended to force an Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution and Church Laws upon the nation, by the authority of a military Governour; whoſe approbation had however but little weight allowed it in the matter, excepting in the Biſhoprick of *Utrecht*, where all the Country Miniſters that refuſed to acknowledge and ſubſcribe the *Synodical Decrees*, and had preached upon the foot of St. *James*'s, together with ſome *Romiſh* Paſtors, were deprived of their office, and *Conſiſtory*-men put into their place: Thus the National Synod, as ſome thought, produced nothing but bitter fruits: It was the leſs ſtrange that the Clergy ſhould prevail ſo much at *Utrecht*; ſince a little before, the followers of that Earl had turned out ſome of the principal men, being partly of the St. *James*'s Sect, and partly *Romaniſts*, but all of whom had been ſteady and true to the common cauſe againſt the *Spaniards*, and had required them to leave the town before ſun-ſet: Thus ſtrangers and foreigners, who had enjoyed a long and ſafe retreat in this city, drove away the beſt of its citizens and inhabitants, without any trial or form of law, and without laying any crime to their charge, and divided their offices and places among them; particularly, on the 1ſt of *October*, the day of election, at which time, paſſing by all that ſided with the *Conſiſtory*, they choſe no other Magiſtrates but ſuch as were agreeable to the Clergy, and particularly to the Miniſter, *Herman Modet*, who was the chiefeſt ſtickler for the *Leiceſtrian* faction: *Gerard Provink*, abovenamed, was made ſecond Burgomaſter, contrary to the City Rights, he being a foreigner: To him were added, many other mean people, who knew nothing of government, but happened to be the Miniſters favourites: This partiality, or reſpect of perſons, was of ill conſequence during the *Low-Country* troubles; there being frequently choſen into the Magiſtracy unfit and unexperienced people, who had nothing elſe to recommend them but a ſhew of zeal for religion; whereas, perſons that were qualified and well inſtructed in political affairs were rejected, becauſe they were not entirely devoted to the *Reformed Religion*. This was the occaſion of many diſorders in publick affairs, and gave but too great a handle to ſuſpect, that the yoke of the *Proteſtants* would be as intolerable as that of the *Papiſts*; and that as ſoon as ever they were delivered from the fear of the *Spaniards*, they would ſuffer none but themſelves to enjoy Offices in the Government: So that it made *Elbertus Leoninus*, Chancellor of *Gelderland*, and a man of great judgment, ſay; that, *the new* Gueuxes (that is, the Rigids) *would drive away the old*, (that is, the moderate ones.)

The new Draught of Church-Government *confirmed by* Leiceſter.

Miniſters who refuſed to ſubſcribe it, deprived.

[2] *Leiceſter* domineering thus at *Utrecht*, endeavoured to play the ſame game in *Holland*; to which end he appointed ſeveral Governours over ſome of the towns, robbing the Stadtholder, by this means, of the authority and privilege belonging to him: At *Gorkum* he appointed *Julian Kleerhagen* their Governour, and being apprehenſive that the Magiſtrates would oppoſe ſuch an innovation, he writ to the Miniſters, *to ſupport their Governour*, Kleerhagen, *againſt* Papiſts *and* Malecontents, (ſo runs his letter) *by their Prayers and Aſſiſtance:* But notwithſtanding moſt of the Clergy of theſe countries, as we have already ſaid, were favourers of *Leiceſter*'s faction; yet he was miſtaken in the Miniſters of *Gorkum*; for they refuſing to exceed the bounds of their duty and vocation, delivered his Letter to the Magiſtrate; who knew not how to behave themſelves, the examples of *Utrecht* being ſo freſh in their memory: Afterwards, when they of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Freeſland*, complained to the *Engliſh* Governour of ſeveral irregularities happening under his management; he repreſented to them

The Earl writes to the Clergy of Gorkum.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXI. *p.* 38, 79, 112. Reyd. *p.* 135. Hooft, Lib. XXIV. *p.* 195.

[2] Reyd. *p.* 139. Hooft, Lib. XXIV. *p.* 195. Bor. Lib. XXI. *p.* 62.

Anº Dom. 1585. them, by way of anſwer, on the 11th of *November*, that, *the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution projected ſome time ago had not yet been reduced to a uniform practice, and deſired them with great proteſtations of the Queen's and his own piety, that they would come to ſome reſolution on this head.*

He preſſes the receiving the new ſcheme of Church-government.

At *Utrecht* all was in confuſion: The Senate, or Council, of the City, upon a Petition delivered them by the Militia Officers, reſolved no longer to endure thoſe who were elected to perſonate the Clergy in tranſacting the publick affairs; nay, they proceeded ſo far as to diſcard thoſe Gentlemen, who repreſented the firſt Member of the States; alledging, that they who were poſſeſſed of ſpiritual goods, were no otherwiſe to be reputed than as ſpiritual perſons, and conſequently that they ought not to concern themſelves about temporal matters: This was done on the 1ſt of *December*; but it was oppoſed by the Nobility of the Province.

The Senate of Utrecht *diſcards thoſe who repreſented the firſt Member of the State.*

A few days before, *Leiceſter* having made known his deſign of going for *England*, the States endeavoured, by their Deputies, to diſſwade him from the journey, for ſeveral reaſons; the rather, becauſe divers of the Clergy who were familiar with him, gave out among the people, and publiſhed it from their Pulpits, that *His Excellency the Earl of* Leiceſter *went away much diſſatisfied with the States:* rumours that tended to terrify the people, and excite them to tumults. He being acquainted with it, returned a very ambiguous anſwer, *viz.* that, *They ſhould be taught to preach otherwiſe.* Then taking his leave of the States, he recommended it to them, for the laſt time, *to take care of the buſineſs of Religion, which*, ſaid he, *being well ordered, would cauſe the land to flouriſh.* Above all, he deſired that the plan of Church-government lately drawn up by the Synod in the *Hague*, and proviſionally confirmed by him, might be eſtabliſhed. Before his departure he cauſed *James Reingout* his favourite, who, at the requeſt of the States, had been impriſoned for his ill practices, to be releaſed contrary to his promiſe. After which *Reingout* went to *Fluſhing*, from whence he deſerted to the enemy, and then, this zealous man that could not ſo much as bear a ſervant in his houſe that was not a good *Proteſtant*, turned *Papiſt* at *Bruſſels*, and died in that Communion.

Seditious Preaching.

The Earl inſiſts upon the eſtabliſhment of the new Church-government.

* p. 404

As ſoon as the Earl was gone, the ſeditious preaching, againſt which ſuch complaints had been made, was continued with yet greater freedom. The ſtorm fell chiefly upon the Deputies of the States-General, becauſe they ſcrupled to approve and ratifie the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution without the leave of their Principals, the States of each Province.

Seditious Preaching.

At laſt the States of *Holland* agreed to the ſaid Conſtitution, in their Aſſembly of *December*, but only till they ſhould ſee fit to revoke it, and upon certain Conditions and Reſtrictions, whereby the ſaid States ordered, that *None ſhould be obliged by it but ſuch as were Members of the* Reformed Church. *That the States, Nobility, Magiſtrates of towns, and others ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of their ancient Rights and Privileges relating to the admitting or rejecting and depriving Miniſters and Schoolmaſters. That therefore none ſhould be received into the Miniſtry, but thoſe who were pure in life and doctrine. That the Profeſſors and Inſtructors in the principal ſchools ſhould be of the* Reformed *perſwaſion, or at leaſt well affected to it. Moreover, that the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution ſhould not be prejudicial to the States, with reſpect to their Right and Authority in Civil matters; and that all Miniſters, Elders, and Deacons ſhould be in ſubjection to them, as were the reſt of the Burghers and Inhabitants of the land. Laſtly, That the ſaid Conſtitution ſhould never be altered but by the previous lawful permiſſion of the States.* The Deputies of *Dort* owned themſelves ſatisfied with the Declaration of his Excellency, with regard to the *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution*; but added, that they ſhould not oppoſe any reſolutions that the Nobles and Towns ſhould think fit to take in the matter.

Reſolution of the States upon the point of Church-government.

In the year 1587, upon the laſt of *January*, people began to feel the conſequences of *Leiceſter*'s Government. *William Stanly* and *Roland York*, both *Papiſts* and the latter a double traytor, delivered the town of *Deventer*, and the Fort over againſt *Zutphen* (both which were confided to them againſt the States will) to the *Spaniards*. The Council of State, to whom, by Letters Patent he had committed the chief direction of affairs, endeavoured to obviate this evil, but found their hands tied by another Inſtrument which revoked the former, and which having been at firſt kept ſecret, was now communicated to them, when they were endeavouring to obſtruct the deſigns of thoſe traytors. This double dealing of a perſon who had no-

thing but *Religion* in his mouth, and the enſuing treaſon, produced great ſuſpicions in the States. Thoſe of *Holland* agreed, for the preſervation of their Country, that Prince *Maurice* ſhould make uſe of his authority, purſuant to his Commiſſion and Inſtructions as Stadtholder and Captain General of *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Freeſland*, and have the command over all Military Officers within the ſaid Provinces; they therefore obliged all ſuch Officers to receive their Commiſſion from him, and to take a new Oath to him and the States; and in caſe they refuſed, they were to be caſhiered. *Diedrick Sonoy*, Commander of the Troops in the North part of *Holland*, looked upon himſelf to be ſo ſtrictly engaged to *Leiceſter*, that he refuſed to take the ſaid Oath, and ſhut the Gates of *Medenblik* againſt Prince *Maurice*, and ſome of the Deputies of the States. This was the beginning of domeſtick troubles. Nay, the Burgomaſter, *Jacob Corneliſon Moerkerken*, of *Delft*, declared afterwards in the preſence of the Heer *Cornelius Peterſon Hooft*, Burgomaſter of *Amſterdam*, from whoſe Memoirs I have tranſcribed this paſſage, that he heard *Sonoy* ſay, not long before the Siege, by which he was reduced; *If the Province of* Holland *were an Egg, and I had it under my foot, I would rather cruſh it to pieces, than not attain my ends.* But the good fortune of our country prevailed ſo far, that his courage was ſoon cooled for want of power. They endeavoured, but in vain, to bring him to a ſenſe of his duty, by arguments; and he made uſe of the mediation of ſome Miniſters, who declared under their hands, That *there was no injuſtice in the refuſal, but that he ſincerely endeavoured to promote the honour of God, the advantage of the Church, and the welfare of his Country by what he did:* This declaration was dated the 1ſt of *April*, and ſigned by *Simon Hebelenius*, *Chriſtian Sinapius*, *John Ceporinus*, and *Peter Adrianſon*.

An° Dom. 1585.

Troubles occaſioned by Sonoy.

A Teſtimonial of certain Miniſters in his favour.

[1] In *Freeſland* the Clergy were yet bolder: A great number of the Miniſters thought it proper, that the Sovereignty of the *Low-Countries* ſhould be offered to Queen *Elizabeth*, without any conditions or reſtrictions: Upon which ſome body wittily obſerved, That *they did ſo, to ſave the trouble of treating with her:* The moſt probable reaſons for ſo extravagant an offer were, that ſome were tranſported with a raſh and imprudent zeal; others ſeemed to have in view the improvement of their Stipends out of the Eſtates of the *Popiſh* Clergy, according to the way in *England*, where the Miniſters had rich Benefices and Promotions; for this ſtring was touched upon even in thoſe times. They held two Synods upon this project of giving up their Country to the Queen, and ſent over one of their Body, at the proper charges of the Church, to *England*, though they were earneſtly admoniſhed by Count *William* of *Naſſaw*, Stadtholder of *Freeſland*, to confine themſelves to their own buſineſs, and not to meddle with the affairs of the Government, which by theſe proceedings they tacitly reproached of neglect. The Synod of *Freeſland*, aſſembled at *Sneek* in *April*, ſent a Petition by the Miniſter *Balthaſar Arnem*, to the *Engliſh* Envoy, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, in order to be tranſmitted to her Majeſty: In the ſaid Petition they extolled her, for having compleated that *Reformation* which her Father had begun, and her Brother carried on; comparing thoſe to *David*, *Hezekiah*, *Joſias*, *Theodoſius*, and *Charlemain*, and the Queen her ſelf to *Deborah* and *Judith*. They exhorted her to promote the honour of God, and the ſafety of the *Netherlands*, ſaying, *Courage, illuſtrious Queen, exert your power. For God's ſake dally no longer, the enemy has drawn his ſword, and ſet it to our throats; like Bears they threaten us with their claws; like Lyons they terrify us with their roaring, deſigning our bowels and blood for their prey. God forbid, O religious and magnanimous Queen* Elizabeth! *God forbid, we ſay, that the reproaches of vain and worthleſs men ſhould defeat the pious reſolutions of your noble Soul, diſturb your Councils, or in any wiſe eſtrange your good diſpoſitions of defending the Honour of our Lord!* In the concluſion, they burſt out into theſe expreſſions: **Have mercy on the diſtreſſed Church. Come to the aſſiſtance of Chriſt; who like a Refugee, throws himſelf and his Children into your arms, imploring your protection.** This their Addreſs, or Petition, was looked upon by ſome, *as complaining without cauſe, requeſting againſt order, and flattering beyond meaſure, and laſtly, as tending to uproar and ſedition.* It was ſigned the 22d of *April*, Old Stile, by *Herman Luinga* and *Martin Lanerman*, Miniſters of *Beelcum* and *Sneek*, in the name of the Synod; by the firſt as Preſident,

Many Freeſland *Miniſters are for offering the Sovereignty of the* Low-Countries *to the Queen of* England.

A Petition of the Freeſland *Synod to the Queen.*

[1] Bor. Lib. XXI. *p.* 35. Hooft, Lib. XXV. *p.* 237. Reyd. *p.* 160.

An° Dom. 1587.

Preſident, by the other as Secretary; and next by *Balthaſar Hydoræus Arnemius*, *Johannes Meppel*, *Albertus Sibrandus*, *Gellius Acronius* and *Johannes Hilbrandus*, in the name of the Claſſes of *Dokkum*, *Bolſwaerd*, *Leeuwarden*, *Franeker* and *Sneek*: The Lord *Buckhurſt*, upon receiving the ſaid Petition, ſent for Maſter *William Bardeſius*, Counſellor of State to the Stadtholder of *Freeſland*, to know whether matters ſtood ſo ill in that Country as was repreſented: Upon this, the Stadtholder writ the 20th of *May* to the Claſſis of *Sneek*; *That they ſhould immediately tranſmit to him a copy of the inſtructions lately given to that Miniſter, whom they had diſpatched to* Buckhurſt, *which* (ſaid he) *they ought to have done of their own accord, and not have concealed a meſſage of that nature from him, contrary to the earneſt and late advice he had given them about it*; (adding likewiſe) *that he obſerved how they endeavoured to blacken the Government of* Freeſland. *That by theſe proceedings ſeveral innocent people were ſo far miſled as to ſpread theſe dangerous rumours, though out of an honeſt intention and zeal. That in the number of ſuch there were likewiſe ſome Miniſters themſelves, as appeared by their Sermons and daily Diſcourſes. They*, added he, *bring reproach, not ſo much upon us (becauſe we know that no wiſe man will give any credit to ſuch ſlanders againſt our perſon) as upon themſelves and the Church, confounding many good, but ſimple people, and diſturbing and interrupting the courſe of publick affairs by their indiſcreet zeal, and abuſe of their calling.*

Count William Lodowick, *Stadtholder of* Freeſland, *writes to the* Claſſis *of* Sneek.

Before this happened, [1] *Herman Stryker*, alias *Modet*, and *Philip Rataller*, had been likewiſe ſent to *England*; *Rataller* with inſtructions relating to the abolition of the firſt State, or Eccleſiaſtical Member of the Government, and *Modet* with a Commiſſion in writing from the churches of the province of *Utrecht*, importing, 'That he was to implore her Majeſty's ſtricter protection of the diſtreſſed and 'threatened Church; further aſſiſtance, and ſpeedy return of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, 'whoſe fidelity, prudence and holy zeal, had already been fully manifeſted to all 'that had at heart the honour of God, and welfare of their Country.' His Commiſſion was ſigned by *Nicolas Sopingius*, *Werner Helmichius*, and *John Uitenbogart*; but the laſt-mentioned writes in his Hiſtory, that theſe inſtructions were extorted from them by *Modet* and others, contrary to the opinions of many, and even of Miniſters themſelves, who were not able to ſtem the torrent.

Modet *ſent to* England.

At *Amſterdam* great pains were taken, not only by the new Governours of *Utrecht* underhand, and by the Chief of the Militia, but alſo by the Clergy themſelves (who began about that time to exert a mighty zeal for *Leiceſter* and his Party) to change the Magiſtracy, in imitation of what had been lately done at *Utrecht*. They likewiſe writ particular Letters, in the name of the *Conſiſtory*, in favour of the ſaid Earl, to *England*; but it does not certainly appear whether they were diſpatched thither or no. But ſome of the Miniſters did not ſcruple to expoſe, and to deſcribe in their Pulpits in ſo plain a manner, as if they had pointed at them with their fingers, ſome of the Government, who, according to the reſolution of the Senate, were daily ſent, and not without danger, to the Aſſembly of the States; and yet the then Government of *Amſterdam* conſiſted of four Burgomaſters, who had been all of them Refugees and Exiles, for aſſerting the Liberty of their Country, and conſequently were above all ſuſpicion and jealouſy. It was then alſo obſerved, that ſome who had been born out of *Holland* were warmer than all the reſt; which made *Martin Lydius*, at that time Profeſſor of *Franeker*, ſay of them; *Iſti homines perdiderunt nobis Flandriam & Brabantiam, & niſi prudens Magiſtratus proviſerit, perdent nobis etiam Hollandiam & Zelandiam:* That is; *Theſe people have cauſed us to loſe* Flanders *and* Brabant, *and unleſs the prudence of the Government prevent it, they will be the ruin of* Holland *and* Zeland *too.* The States of *Holland*, conſidering, that the diſcontents of the Clergy daily bred ill blood among the people, to the great prejudice of the Common cauſe; found it expedient to ſummon *Adrian Saravia*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, together with twelve of the principal Miniſters of *Holland*, to the *Hague*, and to appoint ſome of their Deputies to confer with them about the ſtate of the Church and Nation. Accordingly, they were attended on the 14th of *May* by the ſaid Profeſſor and the following perſons; *Jeremiah Baſtingius* and *Henry Corputius*, Miniſters at *Dort*; *John Damius*, Miniſter at *Harlem*; *Thomas Tilius* and *Arnold Cornelius*, Miniſters at *Delft*; *Peter Everhardus*,

Great intereſt made at Amſterdam *in favour of the Earl of* Leiceſter.

H. Saravia, *and twelve other Miniſters ſummoned to the* Hague.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXII. *p.* 7. Hooft, Lib. XXV. *p.* 212. Uitenb. *p.* 239. Hooft's *Annotations*, &c.

Everhardus, Minister in the *Hague*; *John Kuchlinus*, Minister at *Amsterdam*; *Bartold Wilhelmus*, Minister at *Hoorn*; *Everhard Geesteranus*, Minister at *Alkmaer*; *Andrew van Kastricum*, Minister at *Enkhuisen*; *William Lanius*, Minister at *Lutkebrook*; and *Cornelius Meindertson Sprit*, Minister at *Berkhuit*. To all these the Heer *vander Mijle*, President of the Court of *Holland*, made a long speech in the name of the States, to the following purpose, representing to them, 'What had 'been done for the deliverance of *Holland*, and what had been the consequences 'in other parts of the *Low Countries*, of which some had fallen again into the 'enemies hands, to the destruction of the Churches, which had been occasioned 'by the divisions between the Civil powers and some of the Clergy. That from the 'same causes they might to expect the same effects here, for which reason he 'exhorted them to unanimity and submission to the Government; telling them, 'that on the contrary, little respect or reverence was paid to the States of the Land, 'and that their proceedings were misrepresented, and rendered suspicious: for it 'had been given out by many of them, that they did not observe what had been 'stipulated with *England* and *Leicester*; that they endeavoured to oppress the 'Church, or at least, did but coldly protect it; and that they were entring into pre-'judicial Treaties with the enemy. Others, on the contrary, laid to their charge, that 'they would not hearken to any terms of Peace; that there were some among the 'States, and in the Magistracy, who did not make any profession of the *Reformed* 'religion, nor ever came to the Sacrament; that also the zeal for our Faith, as well 'as for our Civil Liberties, continually decreased; and lastly, that the Ministers were 'streightened in their allowances.' He endeavoured to set them right in all these matters, to the end they might also set the people right, and retain them in their duty. He shewed them how much the Queen of *England*, and her Governour *Leicester*, were respected by the States. He shewed them further, 'That instead of 'discountenancing or suppressing the *Reformed* religion, there was no other publickly 'tolerated, though scarce the tenth part of the people of the Land were of the said 'religion. This therefore ought to be accounted a great mercy of God, that they 'who were by much the fewest, might publickly hear the Word preached to 'them without molestation, and enjoy the exercise of their religion, when all the 'rest, who far surpast them in numbers, were debarred the same privilege.——— 'That as to making Peace, the States were resolved not to enter into any Treaty 'with the enemy, being convinced that he would never consent they should enjoy 'the liberty of their religion; however, they heartily desired Peace, provided it 'might consist with their Civil and Religious Rights. ——— That it were indeed to be 'wished, that every Member of the States, and every Magistrate, professed the '*Reformed* religion, nay that the truth of it were manifested to the whole world; 'but since it could not be so, and that conviction came only from God, they could 'not shut them out of the Government, nor lose so many brave Patriots, and thereby 'increase the number of their enemies; for which reason, though some of the Rulers 'were not of the established Church, they ought nevertheless to be reverenced and 'respected.——— And as to the smallness of the Ministers * stipends, that was to be 'imputed to the smallness and distress of the country; it was hoped however that 'the same might in time be increased. ——— In fine, that the jealousies and distrusts 'conceived against the States, were without any foundation, and therefore they, 'the Ministers, were obliged to exhort their Flocks to unity and obedience, and to ad-'vise their brethren to do the like; and if they still remained under any dissatisfaction 'or difficulty upon that head, endeavours should be used to remove it.

AN° DOM. 1587.

The President Vander Mijle's *Representation to the Ministers.*

The Clergy in their Answer said, 'That they had always exhorted their people 'to unity and a due respect to the Government; but could not forbear shewing their 'byas and inclination to the *English*; *further hinting*, That the business of 'Religion had been but lamely promoted by the States: That having now enjoyed 'the exercise of the *Reformed* religion for about fifteen years in these parts, yet 'they had never been able, by all their submissive applications, to procure, from 'the Government, the Establishment and Confirmation of *Church-Discipline*: 'That too little care was taken of the publick Schools, and of the University of

Their Answer.

* *The Wages of a Minister were then no more than* 40 *pounds* Flemish, *or* 240 *Gilders, which may amount to about* 24 *pounds* Sterling. Bor. Lib. XXII. *p.* 91.

An° Dom. 1587. 'Leyden: † That they had represented to the States, that at *Woerden* no other religion was publickly exercised but the *Lutheran:* That in several places, both towns and villages, the *Popish*, *Anabaptist*, and other erroneous Sects, were almost publickly tolerated; insomuch, that for a few children that were brought to church to be baptised, an incredibly greater number remained without Baptism, or else received it from *Papists* and others: That in some schools the *Jesuits* Catechism was taught: That at *Bergen*, on the Downs, there were yearly Processions made, attended by hundreds of people: That not only some persons who blasphemed the true Religion, and denied our Saviour, were tolerated or connived at, but likewise every thing written against the Faith, was printed and sold, even the *Catechism* itself was openly attacked, and the books that were published against it, were inscribed to the States themselves: That it was become one subject of their complaint, that some persons in the Government shewed their aversion to religion both by word and deed, and were therefore unworthy of their stations; yea, it was come to such a pass, as many affirmed, that it was enough to exclude a man out of the government, if he exerted his zeal for religion; and the reason given was, that Piety and Policy were not very compatible in the same person.'

They urged other grievances relating to Courts of Justice, and the affairs of Peace and War; all which the States Deputies received with great temper, endeavouring to satisfie them with good reasons. They told them then, That 'Care should be taken about the Processions: That as for Church-government, it was not fit to press so much for the establishing of it, for if they did, the scheme or project of it must be laid first before every particular Senate or Council of the towns, some of which it was probable would not approve it, in whith case they ran a risque of losing the whole; whereas they now enjoyed the peaceable exercise of it:——That as for Schools, a watchful eye should be kept over them:——That it would be difficult to attempt any change in religious matters at *Woerden*; besides, whatever was done against the *Lutherans* in that town, would be returned to the *Reformed* in *Germany:*——As for the Toleration of religion, enjoyed by the *Papists*, *Anabaptists*, and others, the States could not forbid it; but on the contrary, the *Reformed* ought to thank God that they could exercise their own without interruption in the midst of so many others:——That the States would call in the book against the *Catechism*, and cause the copies of it to be destroyed:——That if some of the Deputies of the States did not go to church themselves, they were to be born with as long as they concurred in the maintenance of religion:——That if some of those had let fall rash and unadvised expressions, they ought not to impute it to the whole body of the States, no more than they, the States, ascribed any of the imprudent words or actions of a few Ministers to all the Clergy in general; for they had been informed that some Ministers had said; **that the States intended to change the Garrisons in** North-Holland, **to the end they might deliver the places to the enemy.** And that **others had projected the deposing the Hereditary Council at** Utrecht.' At last, when the Deputies of the States thought they had now given a full answer to all the complaints of the Clergy, the latter told them, 'They could not yet be satisfied that the States had done their best in promoting religion, and therefore desired to enter into a closer discussion of that affair:' Adding (when the Deputies acquainted them that they were not further instructed upon that head) that 'they would draw up fresh Representations, in order to procure a more particular audience of the States.'

The Reply to the Ministers Answer.

A Synod at Alkmaer.

At the same time the *North-Holland* Synod was assembled at *Alkmaer*, where they sat from the 12th to the 15th of *May*; and a question being put to them by the Classis of the town: *Whether it was lawful to baptize the Child of any Parent who, being present and examined upon the usual points of examination, should refuse to make an answer?* The Synod replied, that, *pursuant to the resolutions of the general Synod, the Parents ought to be seriously exhorted thereto; but in case of their refusal,*

† *Notwithstanding what the Ministers alledge in this Answer, the use of the Town Church at* Woerden *was given to the* Reformed, *in the year* 1580, *and the* Lutherans *were obliged to preach in a Barn or Stable, out of the said town: I am amazed therefore that they should affirm, that at* Woerden *no other Religion was publickly exercised but that of the* Lutherans; *or did they mean, that most of the inhabitants frequented the* Lutheran *Conventicle, and consequently that there was no exercise of the* Reformed? *They should have said, that the* Lutherans *ought to have been obliged to come to church, in order to exercise the* Reformed Religion. *That this was their meaning, seems to appear from the Answer of the States Deputies.*

refuſal, the Child ſhould be however baptized, by virtue of the covenant with God. It was likewiſe queried, *whether it was not neceſſary, for the obviating any diſorders and irregularities, to take ſome care about the great aſſemblings of young people, who being met, uſed to begin with a Prayer, and conclude with a Thankſgiving, after expounding ſome paſſage in Scripure by way of a Sermon?* To this queſtion it was anſwered, that *thoſe and ſuch like Aſſemblies ſhould by no means be allowed where they were not already practiſed; and where they were, the Conſiſtory ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs them by proper methods.* An° Dom. 1587.

Soon after there aroſe at *Utrecht*, on the 5th of *June*, a great tumult againſt the Stadtholder, the Count of *Nieuwenaer*, who would have ſeized upon the Miniſter *Herman Modet*; whether it was for his oppoſing the States General, or out of private reſentment, ſuſpecting that *Modet* endeavoured to ſupplant him, and to bring the Lord *North*, an *Engliſhman*, into his Stadtholderſhip. Upon this, all was in confuſion, the Gates were ſhut, the Inhabitants armed, and the eight Captains of the Companies marched to the Biſhop's Palace, where the Count reſided, in order to defend *Modet*. Thus their blind zeal was like to end in a ſea of blood, when by the authority, prudence, and diligence of the old Elector *Truxes*, and the old General *Norris*, who by good fortune happened to be then in the city, and who interpoſed between both parties, things were at laſt accomodated, the Migiſtrates gratifying the Count by depoſing *Modet*, and *Modet* himſelf forbearing to preach for ſome weeks, though much againſt the will of the Conſiſtory, who loudly demanded to know the reaſon. In the mean time the quarrel between the Count and him was made up, and the Miniſter not only recovered his Pulpit, but inſinuated himſelf more deeply than ever, into the favour of the Stadtholder. *A Tumult at* Utrecht.

During theſe things *Leiceſter* ſtirred the coals of Diſcord and Sedition with his own hand, writing Letters to all kinds of people, and even to the Clergy themſelves, and complaining in harſh terms, of the indignity offered him by the States. Several Letters paſt between him and the Miniſters of *South-Holland*, one of which was to this effect. *The Earl of* Leiceſter *foments the Diſputes by a Letter.*

Gentlemen,

THAT I did not return ſuch an Anſwer to ſeveral of your Letters as you deſired and expected, was not for want of a good will towards ſerving the cauſe of God, and defending the poor people, but it was becauſe I had not yet received her Majeſty's reſolutions about what was further neceſſary to be done for the ſervice of your country. But the Queen having given me full directions, with regard to the Forces ſhe will ſend to your aſſiſtance, and having laid her commands upon me to return; I therefore poſtponing all private views and conſiderations, and abandoning all thoſe advantages which God has beſtowed on me in this kingdom, intend to haſten over, and ſatisfy the deſires of a people who have ſo often called for me, to which the zeal and good inclinations of ſome have more induced me, than the demerits of others that ſuffer themſelves to be made tools for keeping me back by ſlanders and detractions; which I ſhall nevertheleſs enter into my book of oblivion, that no harm may befal thoſe who ſeek to do me ſuch diſſervices; and I hope I ſhall never give the people any cauſe to diminiſh their good will and affection for me: In the mean time I intreat you to go on in your duty, and to admoniſh and excite thoſe under your care, to peace and unity, to the end that they may more and more deſerve all the benefits they receive. For the reſt, I refer myſelf to my arrival, and ſo I recommend you, Gentlemen, to the protection of the Almighty.

Given at *London*,
Jan. 7. O. S.

Your Good Friend,

R. Leiceſter.

They that were accuſtomed to the conſtant language of the People and Miniſters, eaſily underſtood the meaning of ſuch letters.

[1] In the ſame month, to wit, on the 17th, the States General, at the inſtances of the *Engliſh* Envoy, gave further explanations on certain Articles contained in a Letter of Complaint or Remonſtrance ſent to *Leiceſter* in *February* before, touching his unjuſtifiable conduct. In the ſaid Explanations, they ſay very plainly; that, —— Certain

[1] Reyd. *p.* 153. Hooft, Lib. XXV. *p.* 225. Meteren. Lib. XIX. *p.* 263. Bor. Lib. XXII. *p.* 97.

An° Dom. 1587. *A Declaration of the* States General.

Certain ill people, covering their designs with a cloak of love to religion, and friendship for the Earl of Leicester, endeavoured to gain credit with him, and to work him up to a jealousy and distrust of the chiefest and most faithful men in the nation, and even of the States themselves, whom they calumniated as enemies to religion, because they had not consented to the foregoing petitions of certain Ministers, who endeavoured to introduce such regulations and discipline into the church as they thought proper, which the late Prince of Orange, of Glorious Memory, as well as the Nobles and Deputies of the towns, were always of opinion would occasion nothing but mischief both in Church and State, on account of the difference of perswasions among the aforesaid Members of the States, which would have produced great schisms in the Churches, and confusions in the Provinces, as had been seen in other parts. They had therefore notwithstanding left the churches at liberty, without obliging every body by their authority to comply with such regulations. Those who best understood the nature of this people, and the situation of our affairs, were convinced of the necessity of acting thus for the union and safety of the States. And yet these Calumniators had found so much credit with the Earl of Leicester, that he, upon some of the Ministers presenting to him a Petition, though they were mostly foreigners, and but indifferently informed of the present condition of these provinces, consented to call a general Synod, where the said Ministers proposed and decreed what they thought fit, without any participation of the General and Provincial States, or Council of State. Their decrees were afterwards confirmed by his Excellency, which, as they believed, he would never have done, had not the aforementioned turbulent and wicked spirits perswaded him that the said States and Councils were enemies to religion.

Pilgrimages forbidden.

A few days after, *viz.* on the 23d, there was a Placard published against *Pilgrimages* (one of the things complained of by the Ministers) which were universally prohibited, upon a penalty of 24 Gilders. The Court of *Holland* likewise prohibited Stage-Plays, on the 19th of *August*.

Leicester in the mean time being arrived in *Zeland*, was complemented, not only by Prince *Maurice* and the Deputies of the States, but also by some persons in the name of the *Reformed* churches, who among other things said to him: *It is with great sorrow we have heard that your Excellency has some thoughts of leaving us again*; (this was industriously given out) *We believe you may have been provoked to such a resolution by just and weighty causes. But what has the Church of God and Christ done, how has it offended you, that you should forsake it, and so leave it for a prey to be destroyed? —— We beseech your Excellency to set before your eyes the apparent ruin of these churches, which will soon follow your departure! In a word, here they are before the eyes of your Excellency. Behold, Sir, the Members of them, men and women, young and old, casting themselves at the feet of your Excellency, with eyes full of tears, begging your Excellency, in the name of* Jesus Christ, *not to leave them a prey to the* Spaniards. *We ought not to doubt, Sir, but that, through the help of God, some means may be found to give your Excellency all necessary content and satisfaction; for which purpose, that we may not detain you too long, our churches offer your Excellency whatever is in their power, to be employed for your service; and this they do with that humility and affection, to which they are bound by so many benefits and favours which they have and do enjoy from her Majesty and your Excellency.*——

Proposals of the Clergy to the Earl of Leicester.

[1] About this time, the Magistrates of *Leyden* had received a private intimation that there was a contrivance or plot of some persons to seize upon the town, and to change the Magistracy, according to the pattern set them by those of *Utrecht*. The Burgomasters knowing that the town was full of *Flemings*, and other refugee strangers, and considering the influence of some of their own Ministers, who leaned to the *English* faction, found it necessary to add to the fifty Patrolers, whom they kept in constant pay, a hundred Warders, for the security of the town; and at the same time they thought it but just, that they who were to serve the Publick, should be defrayed out of the publick Incomes. One night, about the end of *September*, the Heers *Gerard van Wijngarden* and *Leonard Kasenbrood*, went to the Heer *John van Oldenbarnevelt*, Advocate and Counsellor to the States of *Holland*, and acquainted him

[1] Bor. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 16. Hooft, Lib. XXVI. *p.* 268.

him that *Leiceſter* had marched ſome companies of *Engliſh* ſoldiers to *Maeſland-ſluys* and *Delfſhaven*, and that he himſelf was come from *Dort* to the *Hague*, in order to ſeize him, the ſaid Advocate, and ſend him to *England*, [1] for he was extreamly irritated againſt him for having gotten a copy of his ſecret inſtructions, in which he had diſcovered things that it highly imported the States to be apprized of. Upon this notice, *Oldenbarnevelt* retired, being terrified by the example of the Heer *Paul Buis*, and remembering what pains it had coſt to releaſe him out of the hands of the *Engliſh* party; ſo that he immediately went towards *Delft*, where the Miniſters that very night publiſhed from the Pulpit, that, *people were harboured in the town, who had given out, that* Leiceſter *had received directions from the Queen to propoſe a Treaty of Peace to the States, by which all was to be ſurrendered to the* Spaniards: *but that it was what they could not prove.* Prince *Maurice* alſo left the *Hague* the next day, to avoid the ſnares of the ſaid Earl.

An° Dom. 1587.

A Deſign upon the Heer Oldenbarnevelt

At the ſame time there was a liſt given to *Leiceſter* of fourteen of the boldeſt Aſſertors of the liberties of their country, among whom was the Heer *Cornelius Peterſon Hooft*, a Member of the Council or Senate, who had been formerly *Schepen*, and in the following year was choſen Burgomaſter of *Amſterdam*; of all which perſons it appeared he intended to have freed himſelf by the hand of the Executioner: *Oldenbarnevelt* was doubtleſs upon the roll, having been long obnoxious to the *Engliſh* faction, and eſpecially to the Governour himſelf; foraſmuch as the States chiefly relied upon his prudence and indefatigable zeal in the management of their affairs. Things being upon ſuch a foot, the retreat of Prince *Maurice* made a great noiſe. The moſt affectionate friends of their country were as thunderſtruck, not being able to foreſee the conſequences. Moſt of the Common people that were of the *Reformed Religion*, dazzled at the appearances of *Leiceſter*'s zeal, approved of all he did, and vomited out fire and flame againſt the States. A few days after, that Earl went for *Utrecht*, having other projects in his head: He took great pains to draw certain of the town, by particular negotiations into his intereſt, for which purpoſe he made a Tour about *Holland*, from one town to another, [2] where he always choſe to conſult with Officers of the Militia, with certain ſimple Miniſters, wholly unexperienced in State-affairs, and with private perſons, rather than with the Magiſtrates of the towns themſelves; which prepoſterous methods of treating, began to diſpleaſe many of the moſt ſenſible people.

A Proſcription.

The Magiſtracy of *Amſterdam* were, about this time, informed, that *Leiceſter* had projected to make himſelf maſter of the Church, by which canting term his followers meant the City; but his deſigns were baffled by the wiſdom of that honeſt *Dutchman*, *Peter Corneliſſon Boom*, the then Burgomaſter. Thereupon he turned his eye toward *North-Holland*, flattering himſelf, that though he had miſſed of the *Church*, he ſhould have better luck with the *Chappel*, by which they underſtood *Enkhuiſen*.

The Earl's deſign upon Amſterdam.

Here the Earl thought himſelf ſure of attaining his ends, by the help of the Clergy; but *Gerard Foſterman*, the Miniſter, (as I my ſelf have learnt from inhabitants of that town, who were very ancient and worthy of credit) ſided with the Magiſtrates, and even ſo heartily recommended the duty owing to the Civil Powers, to many of his congregration, that they all ſhowed themſelves zealous for maintaining their authority. *Francis Malſon*, Penſionary of the town, made uſe of two faithful Burghers, *Gerard Wit* and *Adam Kortleven*, ſending them about to ſome of the publick houſes, and other places, where they publickly related the deſigns of *Leiceſter*, and turned the hearts of the inhabitants againſt him. The Magiſtrates encouraged by this, ſent a letter to the Earl, who was on his way, entreating him, for the prevention of all ſuſpicion, that he would be pleaſed to put off his journey for that time, the Burghers, as they ſaid, being uneaſy at a report ſpread abroad, as if *Sonoy*, making uſe of his Excellency's name and preſence, intended to poſſeſs himſelf of the town, to the prejudice of the Rights of their Stadtholder, Prince *Maurice*, and of the States of the Province. But when *Leiceſter* (anſwering their letter without taking any notice of his journey) went on board a ſhip at *Hoorn*, and proceeded on his way to *Enkhuiſen*, the Magiſtrates aſſembled all the Officers of the Militia, and

His Expedition, in order to ſeize Enkhuiſen.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXI. *p.* 33.—Lib. XXII *p.* 26. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 20, &c. Hooft, Lib. XXIV. *p.* 165.—Lib. XXV. *p.* 225.—Lib. XXVI. *p.* 282. [2] Reyd. *p.* 208.

An° Dom. 1587. and the ſeventy two Captains of the Burghers, and made them the following propoſal: [1] *Since ſome of the inhabitants were for admitting the Earl into the town, and others againſt it, they deſired to know of them whether they would leave the matter to the Magiſtrates themſelves.*

The ſeventy two, excepting one or two of their body, were for leaving it to the Magiſtrates to act in it as they judged moſt ſalutary for the land, and particularly for the town it ſelf. Upon this they ſet guards at the gates, and deputed ſome of the Senate to the Earl, who was come to *Grotebrook*, about a League from *Enkhuiſen*. Theſe Gentlemen delivered their meſſage in reſpectful terms, yet ſo that he, fearing to find the gates ſhut againſt him, ſtaid all night at *Streek*, and from thence next morning went to *Medenblik*. [2] A certain *Fleming*, who diſcloſed the whole conduct of *Leiceſter*, being made uſe of to attend the Earl, and to give ſeaſonable warning to the good people every where, diſappeared about this time, and was never heard of more: No body knew what was become of him; but it was thought the *Engliſh* had found him out, and ſent him where he ſhould tell no more tales.

In the mean time there was a Remonſtrance, or Memorial, drawn up by four Miniſters, *Henry Korput*, *Arnold Cornelius*, *Peter Moreau*, and *Peter Everhardus*, in the name of the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Churches, and dated the 2d of *October*, importing, that, 'The Miniſters of God's word, ſummoned to the *Hague* before *Whitſuntide* laſt, by order of the noble, wiſe, and powerful the *States* of *Holland* and *Weſt Freeſland*, had rendered an account of their proceedings in the particular Synod of the Churches, according to cuſtom, where it was reſolved to appoint ſome perſons in behalf of the *Chriſtian* Community, that ſhould wait upon the ſaid States occaſionally, and in caſe of need, in order to recommend to them the welfare and protection of the country, and of the *Chriſtian* churches. —— For this reaſon they, the Memorialiſts, could not forbear humbly to acquaint the Lords the States, with the great ſorrow they obſerved in the countenances of good chriſtians, and lovers of the nation, becauſe of the ſtop put to the ſucceſsful progreſs of the arms of the State, againſt the common enemy, and the great loſſes that had befallen the country, which ſeemed to be farther threatened with utter ruin, for want of unity between the Governours and Magiſtrates of all degrees, and among the provinces themſelves; by which means alſo the Alliance made with *England* was like to come to nothing. Now, ſince it was not only lawful, but expedient, for every good Inhabitant and Chriſtian, and much more ſo for the Miniſters of the holy word, whom God had graciouſly appointed his Meſſengers and Rulers over his houſe, to repreſent to the Government, what they conceived was for their countries good: they therefore beſought the States, who were now aſſembled, in order to conſider of returning an anſwer, and of giving ſatisfaction to his Excellency the Earl of *Leiceſter*, that they would have no other views but thoſe of maintaining the honour of God, and preſervation of the Church and Nation. They did not queſtion but that their Lordſhips had theſe things at heart; but ſince it ſo happened ſometimes, that ſuch methods were put in practice as did not always tend ſo directly towards the common good, becauſe particular and by ends might divert the eye of the mind from ſeeing the right path; they implored Almighty God to give the States the Grace, that extricating themſelves from all ſuch obſtacles, they might haſten to ſuch good reſolutions as ſhould prevent further miſchief, and reconcile the affections of her Majeſty and his Excellency to theſe provinces.' They concluded with that expreſſion of our Saviour; *A Kingdom divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand*; and the warning of the Apoſtle, *If you bite one another, take heed that ye be not devoured one of another.*

A Repreſentation made to the States *in the name of the Churches of* Holland.

At firſt, theſe Miniſters (as if the States had taken nothing ill of them) were civilly told, that, *the States would conſider their Memorial.* But ſome days after, *Oldenbarnevelt*, the States Speaker, gave them to underſtand; that, *there was nothing in their paper but what the* States *knew already, and a great deal more: that the ſaid* States *had the good of their country at heart, as much as they, and could take care of it without them: that they would do well therefore to return home, and leave their Lordſhips to proceed in their own way.*

The Anſwer of the States.

[1] *Hiſtory of* Enkhuiſen, *p.* 182. [2] *Life of* Oldenbarnevelt, *p.* 18.

But

But the matter did not ſtop here; for the *States* of *Holland* reſolved to return a publick anſwer to thoſe Miniſters who in ſo publick a manner pretended to meddle with the affairs of the Government. [1] Being therefore met at *Harlem* in the middle of *October*, they cauſed an Anſwer to be drawn up in writing, by which they declared, 'That ever ſince the beginning of the war they (*the States*) had uſed their utmoſt 'endeavours for preſerving and promoting the welfare of theſe countries, by maintaining the true *Chriſtian Reformed Religion*, together with the Liberties, Privileges and 'laudable Cuſtoms of the ſaid Countries. In which path they had hitherto walked no 'leſs ſteadfaſtly in adverſity than in proſperity, without ſuffering themſelves to be diverted by any force, or offers of accommodation; and they did not doubt but the 'Almighty God would on that account be yet merciful to theſe provinces, and give 'them a happy iſſue out of all their troubles: That it was for theſe reaſons they had 'ſummoned ſeveral of the Miniſters before *Whitſuntide* laſt, and acquainted them 'with it, to the end that they and their brethren might be eaſy under theſe aſſurances, and proceed in the faithful diſcharge of the functions belonging to them, 'and promote unity and peace among the people: That it was very agreeable to the 'ſaid States, that all who were well affected to the Government, and eſpecially the 'Miniſters of God's word, ſhould remonſtrate, or repreſent to them whatever they 'thought conducive to the good of the nation: That it was no ſmall ſubject of grief 'to all good chriſtians and lovers of their country, and conſequently to the States 'themſelves, that the courſe of our advantages againſt the common enemy of the 'land, and of the church of Chriſt, had been ſtopt theſe laſt four years, and that 'the good cauſe had ſuffered ſo much. But that beſides the general reaſon, which 'was our ſins, they (*the States*) could think of no other, unleſs it were that ſome 'perſons, even in the higheſt ſtations, as well as others, had under the cloak of an 'extraordinary zeal for the *ReformedReligion*, inſinuated themſelves firſt into the government of the neighbouring provinces; and having drawn into their party ſome of 'the principal Miniſters of the word of God, had kindled the fire of diſcord, endeavouring a long time both openly and ſecretly to render ſuſpected and odious to the Community, that brave Prince of *Orange*, of glorious memory, who had ſacrificed 'his life and fortune for the ſervice of theſe Provinces. And having attained that 'end, they had diſcovered what they drove at, by the ſurrender of whole countries 'and towns, and by the loſs of our religion and liberties.——And though many 'of thoſe people that had been in the Magiſtracy, as alſo ſome Miniſters of the holy 'word (whoſe hypocriſy and treachery were too well underſtood) had deſerted 'to the common enemy, forſaking the true Chriſtian religion; yet was it greatly to 'be feared, that many others who had not yet acted the ſame part ſo publickly, had 'yet diffuſed themſelves, like ſparks of the ſame fire of diſcord, through *Holland*, '*Zeland*, and others of the *United Provinces*, and creeping into the government 'both of Church and State, under the like cloak of religion, would fain bring theſe 'provinces into the ſame condition to which they had reduced their own; but that 'perceiving the States of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Freeſland*, with the Princes of the 'houſe of *Naſſaw*, and their friends, to ſtand in their way, they endeavoured to render thoſe of the ſaid Houſe, the Nobility, Gentry, and Magiſtracy of the ſaid 'provinces, and other perſons of unſhaken fidelity, ſuſpected and odious to the 'Community, and to all the world; and to ruin the nation by projecting ſtrange 'and unuſual methods of governing, and by ſowing and cultivating jealouſies and 'diſcord. It was for this, as the States believed, that there had been ſuch writing, 'ſuch poſting and ſending to and fro, ſuch pains taken day and night, and ſuch ſcandalous ſeducing of many ſimple and harmleſs people, who (if not timely warned 'and brought into the right way) would repent it when it was too late, and matters paſt remedying; of which there had been ſuch freſh and obvious inſtances in 'other towns and provinces, that it was very amazing, that many people, and particularly ſome of the Miniſters of God's word, made no better uſe of the warning. 'The States firmly believed, that the Queen of *England* would never ſuffer the 'laudable Alliance made between her Majeſty and theſe Provinces to fall to the 'ground, nor ſeparate from their intereſts, only becauſe they (*the States*) deſired 'to maintain and defend that for which they had entered into the war, that which

An° Dom. 1587.

Another Anſwer of the States delivered in writing.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 57. Hooft, Lib. XXVII. *p.* 319.

An° Dom. 1587.

'had coſt the lives of ſo many thouſands of men, the deſtruction of ſo many towns 'and countries, and for the preſervation of which, her Majeſty's aſſiſtance had been 'deſired and promiſed.—And it was very much to be feared (*they ſaid*) that thoſe 'who ſpoke loudeſt in favour of his Excellency the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s authority, aimed 'at the ſame end which had been ſeen accompliſhed in *Flanders*, in begetting ſuch an 'averſion to the Prince of *Orange*, of glorious memory, and to the States of *Holland*; 'or at leaſt, that their view was to promote their own credit and intereſt, and to 'bring about by their own power, and according to their fancies, by irregular means, 'what ought to be done with a good and mutual agreement by the General and Pro-'vincial States, and by the Stadtholders, Governours, and other inferior Magi-'ſtrates in their particular diſtricts and ſtations.—Laſtly, they deſired the afore-'ſaid perſons and all other Miniſters of the word of God, as they tendered their duty, 'that they would direct all their actions to unity, and to the edification, or build-'ing up of the Church of Chriſt; that they would take warning by the deſtruction 'of the churches in *Flanders*, and avoid the rocks which they had ſplit upon; as alſo 'that they would beg of God to preſerve all people both high and low, from ſteering 'the ſame courſe, and that every one would peaceably diſcharge his reſpective fun-'ction, for promoting the welfare and happineſs of the nation.'

This Anſwer, dated the 16th of *October*, was printed and publiſhed by order of the States, and ſent to the Magiſtrates of all the towns in *Holland* and *Weſt-Freeſland*, who were required to ſummon the Miniſters before them, to put a copy of it into their hands, and to order them, *to exhort their congregations to quietneſs and unity*; *to exerciſe themſelves in teaching and preaching*; *and to leave matters of Government and Policy to the States and Magiſtrates*. But this reprimand bred no good blood in the Churchmen, who thought they had drawn up their Repreſentation handſomely enough, and did not expect ſo rough a return.

[1] About the ſame time *Provink* endeavoured to excite the people of *Dort* to tumults in favour of *Leiceſter*; for which purpoſe he had prepared a certain Petition that they were to have ſigned, and preſented to his Excellency, in which, beſides ſeveral reflexions upon the States, *they promiſed to ſtand by him* (the ſaid Earl) *with their lives and fortunes, and to uſe their utmoſt power to the eſtabliſhing his authority every where*.

This Paper was ſhown by a *Brabander* to *Korput* the Miniſter, in the preſence of a certain Limner; but *Korput* diſſwaded them from delivering it, at leaſt for that time. It fell afterwards into the hands of the Magiſtrates of *Dort*, who, though moſt of them were in the *Engliſh* intereſt, thought fit to lay it before the States in their Aſſembly at *Harlem*. But in no city of *Holland* was there ſown a greater quantity of the ſeed of rebellion and inſurrection by the *Leiceſtrian* faction, than at *Leyden*; for in this town there were ſeveral thouſands of *Brabanders* and *Flemings*, who being fled thither on account of Religion, fancied that the States, and particularly the Magiſtrates of *Leyden*, deſigned to weaken the authority of the Earl, to get the game into their own hands, and even to keep the Church (to the confuſion of all religion) under the laſh. And indeed, the Conſiſtory was much more bridled here than elſewhere; for which cauſe they had a great averſion to their Governours, and ſome ambitious ſpirits laid hold of this opportunity, to the end that, by their depoſition, they might thruſt themſelves into the Government. From hence aroſe a conſpiracy that produced very dangerous conſequences, and in which many were engaged. The Chiefs of the party were, *Adolph van Meetkirke*, formerly Preſident of *Flanders*, introduced into the Council of State by *Leiceſter*, but expelled by the States; *Chriſtian vander Wouwere*, a Miniſter; *Jacob Volmer*, an Elder of the Church; *Jacob Schot*, who had been formerly *Schepen*; *Hobbe Floritſon*, a Goldſmith; *Henry van Zooſt*, *Gerard Johnſon Dubijn*, *John Kabeljauw*, *William vander Weege*, *Francis van Lanſkroon*, one of the principal Officers of the Militia, and Dr. *Adrian Saravia*, Profeſſor of Divinity.

A Conſpiracy at Leyden.

In order the more effectually to invigorate each other, and to animate the people, every thing was produced which they imagined they had to object againſt the Government. [2] The ſum of all was, as appears by what they afterwards publiſhed, That 'the Magiſtrates of *Leyden*, in order to oppoſe the national Synod of the *United* '*Provinces*,

The Grievances pretended by the Conſpirators.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 63. Hooft, Lib. XXVII. *p.* 332. Reyd. *p.* 190.

[2] Bor. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 67. Hooft, Lib. XXVII. *p.* 333.

'*Provinces*, ſummoned to meet in the *Hague* by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, had forbid- Anº Dom.
'den the Conſiſtory of their town to depute any body to the Provincial Synod, which 1587.
'was called to ſit at *Rotterdam*. And that, upon the Remonſtrances of the Mini-
'ſters, and other perſons of the Conſiſtory, ſhewing that they were obliged to com-
'ply with the orders of the Earl of *Leiceſter* their Governour; *John Johnſon Baer-*
'*dop*, the then ruling Burgomaſter, made anſwer, **That in this matter they had**
'**nothing to do with him**; and that the Magiſtrates of *Leyden* owned no body's autho-
'rity in ſummoning ſuch aſſemblies, but that of the States in their lawful meetings.
'Whereas, on the contrary, the late Prince of *Orange* had twice convened ſuch a
'national Synod; and the States of *Holland*, though deſired, would not ſend any
'of their Deputies thither, nor declare the ſaid Synods to be holden by their autho-
'rity, but left it to the Prince to do as he pleaſed. That private Synods had been
'holden in *Holland* yearly, both before and ſince, without any Order or Interpo-
'ſition of the States. That the Magiſtrates of *Leyden* had introduced, maintained,
'and hired, *Jaſper Koolhaes* and *Peter Hakkius*, heterodox Teachers, and enemies
'to Chriſtian diſcipline, in order (as *Hakkius* himſelf afterwards owned) to bring
'the Church into confuſion, forbidding them to uſe the ſame diſcipline as other
'churches. That they, the ſaid Magiſtrates, ſought to force upon all other churches
'a particular model of government; nay, that *Peter Adrianſon vander Werf*, and
'*Hakkius*, and *Koolhaes*, had often boaſted, that *Leyden* ſhould be the pattern for
'the whole province. That on the 22d of *May* laſt, *Hakkius* had the confidence to
'ſay, in a full Conſiſtory, that the Magiſtrates of *Leyden*, as they had reſiſted the
'*Spaniard* and the *French*, would alſo put a ſtop to the haughtineſs of the *Engliſh*;
'adding theſe words: Paul Buis *was here yeſterday, and adviſed the Magiſtrates not*
'*to behave themſelves like women, but timely to oppoſe the Earl's deſigns. And ſo they*
'*are reſolved to do at* Leyden, *though there ſhould not remain one ſtone upon ano-*
'*ther. We will rather return to the* Spaniſh *Inquiſition, than admit the Diſcipline of*
'Geneva, **that pocky Whore**! Thus have I ſometimes expreſſed my ſelf in the
'Pulpit (ſaid *Hakkius*,) and the Magiſtrates commended me for it.' He further
'added, that the Burgomaſters *vander Werf* and *Baerſdorp*, had exhorted him to acquit
'himſelf courageouſly, for they would ſtand by him. That he had been deſired to
'take his oath upon it, but he had promiſed it by giving his hand. That when theſe
'things were repreſented to the Burgomaſters, they ſtifled the matter, without giving
'*Hakkius* the leaſt reprimand, but expreſly ordering in writing, That no words
'ſhould be made about it, or they would turn all the Miniſters out of the town.
'Againſt this the Clergy had oppoſed a Remonſtrance, ſhewing the injuſtice that
'had been done them, to which no reply was made. That when *Hakkius* had been
'ſuſpended from the exerciſe of his Miniſtry on account of the falſe and ſeditious
'Sermons which he preached both againſt the *Engliſh* and againſt the Church, he
'and *Koolhaes* were ſtill continued in pay. That the famous and learned *Donellus*
'had been depoſed from his employment for his honeſty, for his zeal for religion,
'the *Engliſh* intereſt, and the welfare of the land. That *Saravia* was likewiſe per-
'ſecuted by them. That a certain *Jeſuit* or *Papiſt*, named *Aſſendelf*, was allowed
'to keep a publick School, and that the *Jeſuits* Catechiſm was taught in it, and
'the Burgomaſter *vander Werf* had ſent his Son thither. That at the laſt
'election of the Magiſtrates, moſt of the *Reformed* were ſet aſide, and *Papiſts* or
'Apoſtates from our religion choſen in their ſtead. That Burgomaſter *Baerſdorp* had
'not ſcrupled to declare; that, *let him go to church, and diſſemble as much as he*
'*would, yet if he were to be opened, they ſhould find a double Catholick in his*
'*heart*. That another had publickly ſaid, *That it was not a farthing odds, whe-*
'*ther he were of the* Spaniſh *or* Engliſh *religion*. That when a certain Letter and
'Memorial ſent from the Earl of *Leiceſter* to all the towns was read in the Senate of
'*Leyden*, *vander Werf* ſhould ſay, *It was the cuſtom under the Old Law, for people*
'*to rend their cloaths at the hearing of blaſphemy; and he was ſure that here was*
'*ſufficient reaſon to do ſo*. That the hatred conceived againſt the true Religion and
'the Governour, had not only taken deep root in the hearts of the Magiſtrates of
'*Leyden*, but likewiſe in the hearts of ſome of the principal Members of the
'States of *Holland*. This appeared by their whole conduct towards the *Engliſh*.
'That afterwards they ſuffered the town of *Sluce* to fall into the hands of the
'enemy. And as things were then diſpoſed, all the *United Provinces* were by their

An° Dom. 1587.

‘ diſcords e’er long, one after another, likely to fall again under the yoke of *Spain*.
‘ That all theſe miſeries ſprang from the hatred to the true Chriſtian faith, the
‘ Clergy, and Conſiſtories, and from the contempt of the Queen of *England*, of
‘ *Leiceſter*, and the people of that nation. To obviate all which, his Excellency
‘ ought to be re-eſtabliſhed in that firſt authority which the States-General had ten-
‘ dered him at his arrival.

By theſe exaſperating reflections, containing various charges, which the Magiſtrates, when it came to their knowledge, declared to be lies and calumnies, they puſhed on the people to mutiny. [1] *Leiceſter*, being appriſed how things went, had ſent for one *Coſmo de Peſcarengiis*, a *Piemontois*, formerly a Pawnbroker in that city, and afterwards Colonel of a Regiment, but lately diſbanded; acquainting him, that thoſe of *Leyden* had often ſignified their deſire of reducing their city under the Queen’s authority and his own, and repreſented the feaſonableneſs of ſuch an undertaking, in caſe they had but a good Leader. He then ordered the ſaid *Piemontois* to repair thither, with *Henry van Zooſt*, an inhabitant of the town, and to communicate the deſign to ſuch others as *van Zooſt* ſhould name, and then to aſſiſt in the execution of what they approved and agreed upon; but added, that they muſt act with caution, and with as little tumult and bloodſhed as poſſible, leſt other towns ſhould be deterred from following their example. *Coſmo* wanted no ſpur, but deſired inſtructions in writing. Upon which the Earl replied; *I will ſupport my own work*; *I ſhall not leave you in the lurch, but come to your aſſiſtance, though it ſhould coſt me all my fortune*; promiſing alſo to reward him well.

A Meeting of the Chief of the Leiceſtrian *party at* Leyden.

Coſmo being come to *Leyden*, applied himſelf to Captain *Nicolas de Maulde*, who lay there with his Company in Garriſon, and got him on his ſide. The ſame day came ſome of the *Engliſh* faction, *Chriſtian van de Wouwere*, *Jacob Volmaer*, *Henry van Zooſt*, and the ſaid *de Maulde*, to the houſe of the *Piemontois*; but before the arrival of *de Maulde*, *van Zooſt* ſtarted a great many objections againſt the attempt, which *Coſmo* ſlighted, and made as if he would take the whole upon himſelf, begging them earneſtly not to raiſe ſuch difficulties in the preſence of *de Maulde*, who being a young Officer, and unexperienced in ſuch buſineſs, might be diſcouraged. It was then debated which way they ſhould make themſelves Maſters of the town with the Soldiers of *Maulde*, together with thoſe of one *Heraugiere*, who was to come from *Delft* to the ſame end, and with the aſſiſtance of ſuch inhabitants as were let into the ſecret; and how they ſhould ſeize upon ſome of the Magiſtrates and others, that ſtood in the way. Soon after, *Coſmo*, being ſuſpected of ſome other crime, was taken up and impriſoned. This occaſioned great terror immediately among the Conſpirators, who thought they were all diſcovered; but afterwards finding their miſtake, they diſpatched *Volmaer* and another perſon to *Leiceſter*, to conſult further about this undertaking. The Earl required them to go on, and ſhewed himſelf diſſatisfied that ſo much time had been loſt by their fears. On the 9th they had another meeting at the houſe of *Adolf van Meetkirke*, and they agreed to put their plot in execution on the 11th, being *Sunday*. *Maulde* was to aſk the Magiſtrates leave the night before, to draw his Company out of the town, according to an Order which he received from *Leiceſter*, and upon *Sunday* morning by ſix o’ clock he was to march his Soldiers along the *Broadſtreet* till he came to the Stadthouſe, where being met by fifty or ſixty of the Inhabitants armed, they were to ſtop him, declaring, that what they did was for the ſervice of the Church, and of his Excellency *Leiceſter*. As ſoon as they had ſeized the Stadthouſe, they were immediately to publiſh a Declaration from thence, and in other parts of the town, to the following purpoſe: **This is to make known to all whom it may concern, that the good Burghers have been obliged to take up arms for the ſervice of the Queen of** England, **for the maintenance of the true** Chriſtian Religion, **and for re-eſtabliſhing the Earl of** Leiceſter, **the Governor General of the** United Netherlands, **in that power and authority which was conferred on him by the** States-General **at his firſt coming into this country. Every one therefore is hereby ſtrictly required to behave peaceably, and to moleſt no man, nor do him any harm in body or goods, on pain of death.** The watch word, or general cry, was to have been; **Long live the Queen of** England **and the Earl of** Leiceſter.

A Plot for the ſeizing of Leyden.

One of the chief Conſpirators ſeized, but on another account.

Another Meeting of the Conſpirators.

The method propoſed for executing their deſign.

[1] Reyd. *p.* 209.

Nevertheleſs

Nevertheleſs, the deſign was not put in execution upon the appointed day. When it came to the pinch, the Plotters ſtood ſtill. They were afraid (as the Magiſtrates aferwards declared in a Manifeſto they publiſhed on this occaſion) that the Burghers, whom they had drawn into the Plot, by making them believe that almoſt all thoſe of the Court of Juſtice, excepting two or three only, were engaged with them, would not be brought to take up arms; but that, keeping back till they ſaw the others advance, the effuſion of blood, which they apprehended, would not fall upon thoſe for whom it was deſigned, but rather upon themſelves. In the mean while, the Plot was diſcovered to the Magiſtrates by *Andrew Schot*, one of the Conſpirators; upon which *Volmaer* was apprehended, *Coſmo* more cloſely confined, and Captain *Maulde* ſeized at *Woerden*, and brought back to *Leyden*. [1] *Volmaer* owned the whole matter, but laid it upon the Earl of *Leiceſter*. They aſked him, if he could produce any written Orders from him? He anſwered, he had no other but his word and honour; and being told, that if he could ſhew no Commiſſion, the ſaid Earl would deny his word, he burſt out into this expreſſion; *O then I am a dead man.* *Coſmo* confeſſed that *Leiceſter* had engaged him in this undertaking, with great promiſes of rewards; and *de Maulde*, that he was drawn in by *Coſmo*, lamenting that he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced by the name of that Earl, and by the reputation of *Meetkirke*, *Coſmo*, and ſeveral other perſons of the *Reformed* religion. None were tortured but the ſaid *Coſmo*, who being upon the Rack, cried out; *O Excellence, à quoy employez vous les gens!* that is; *O your Excellency, what work do you ſet men about!* All three of them were tried before the *Schepens* of *Leyden*, ſome Deputies of the States of *Holland* preſiding, condemned to death, and beheaded upon the 26th of *October*. The ſame day was publiſhed an Act of Indemnity, in the name of Prince *Maurice*, as Stadtholder of *Holland*, whereby all thoſe Burghers that had conſented to this Plot, or who knowing of it, had not diſcloſed it, were pardoned for the ſaid crime, and the *Scout* and other Officers of Juſtice, were required not to proſecute them, unleſs any of them ſhould concern themſelves in new mutinies or tumults. But out of this Pardon were excepted *Chriſtian van Wouwere*, *Adolf van Meetkirke*, *Hobbe Floritſon*, *Henry van Zooſt*, *Gerard Johnſon Dubijn*, *John Kabeljauw*, *William vander Weege*, Dr. *Adrian Saravia*, and the reſt of thoſe who had met on the 4th of *October* at *Coſmo*'s houſe, about contriving, and on the 9th at *Meetkirke*'s houſe, about fixing the time for the execution of their deſign. After this came out the Apology or Defence of theſe people, under the title of; *A Juſtification of* Jacob Volmaer *and the reſt of the perſons that have been executed, or obliged to ſeek their ſafety by flight*, printed at *Utrecht* by the States Printer. The Authors of this Pamphlet, who, in mentioning the Earl of *Leiceſter*, had the impudence to declare that he knew of the Plot, endeavoured to lay all the blame on the States of *Holland*, and the Magiſtrates of *Leyden*; and ſo much was owned to the prejudice of the perſons that were put to death, and of the Writers of the ſaid Pamphlet themſelves, that the Magiſtrates (who, that they might not appear to approve of it, had prohibited it in their city) declared plainly, in a certain printed *Admonition and Warning to the Burghers*; 'That the Contrivers of that book did not only 'confirm and juſtifie the ſentence that had been pronounced, but likewiſe charged 'themſelves, and proved, that they had deſerved the ſame puniſhment: They alſo 'pointed at ſeveral untruths in the ſaid Book, and concluded with an exhortation to 'all perſons inclining towards Novelties, that they would learn by the example of 'thoſe who were lately executed, how dangerous it was to meddle with matters of 'State which were foreign to them, and which, as they were ſtrangers, did not become 'them neither; and eſpecially, not to make ſuch ungrateful returns to their Rulers, who 'had received and harboured them with ſo great friendſhip, who had encouraged them 'with ſo much trouble, and protected them with ſuch care, even as if they had been 'natives of the place; to the end, that if they behaved well, they might ſtill enjoy 'the protection of the Government, provided they did not further brand themſelves 'with the two infamous marks of undutifulneſs and unthankfulneſs.

This was the iſſue of that attempt, which we have been obliged to relate the more particularly, becauſe it was carried on partly with the intention of promoting *Religion* and *Reformation*; and partly under that pretext. Many, eſpecially among the com-

2 mon

ANNO DOM. 1587.

The Plot diſcovered.

Three of the Conſpirators beheaded.

The Warning of the Magiſtrates of Leyden *to the Burghers.*

[1] Bor. Lib. XXIII. *p.* 64, &c. Reyd. *p.* 210.

An° Dom. 1588.

mon people, looked upon this punishment of the Conspirators to be very hard and severe, especially that of *de Maulde*, a fine young Gentleman, whom the Judges themselves pitied for his civility and other virtues and good qualities, as well as for the services he had lately done the States at *Sluce* in *Flanders*, of which he bore the marks; being likewise a son of the late Heer *van Mansart*, who had been very useful to Prince *William* and the nation; two of his Brothers had also sacrificed their lives in the service of their country; and he, as has been said above, was enticed into this Plot; but others were of opinion with the Judges, that such an attempt of using those very Arms which he and his Soldiers bore at the charge, and for the defence of the nation, against it, and in order to seize upon the town of *Leyden*, to the breach of the peace and tranquility of that town, and consequently of the whole country, could deserve no less a punishment: and that though the said *Maulde*, and it may be *Volmaer* too, had offended in this business more out of error and frailty than malice, yet the rigour exerted against them was very wholsom, in order to restrain those uproars and tumults, which then were come to a great height.

1 Some of the Conspirators retired to *Utrecht*, others staid a while at *Dort*, but most of them fled afterwards to *England*, particularly *Meetkirke*, who ended his days there. The Professor *Saravia* had been likewise apprehended, if his son, who at the time of the discovery was at the *Hague*, had not given him a private intimation of it: After which, he delivered a Petition to the States, praying, that he might be tried before the Court of *Holland*, in order to manifest his innocency with respect to the Plot against *Leyden*, and declaring, that he never approved the thing, and had therefore disclosed it to his *Excellency*; but without distinguishing whether he meant *Leicester* or *Nassaw* by that word: 2 He was afterwards made Professor of Divinity in the University of *Cambridge*, and continued in great esteem among the *Reformed*, on account of his learning and other virtues. In a certain Letter which I have seen written with his own hand, he says; *I have had great injustice done me, but God be thanked, without damage. If any harm has resulted from it, it has fallen upon the authors themselves. I have always, as much as any other Minister of God's word, done my utmost to promote peace and the authority of the Magistrate.* The famous Historian *Thuanus* speaks, as if *Franciscus Junius* was likewise suspected of having been concerned in this attempt upon *Leyden*, and had therefore removed to *Altorf*; 3 but he mistook the name, relating of *Junius* what he had said before of *Donellus*, who indeed retired to that place. *Junius* lived at this time at *Heidelberg*, and was called about five years after to *Leyden*. *Donellus* was a Lawyer of great name, who, on account of his zeal for the *Reformation*, was forced to leave *France*, his native country. Having been also invited to *Leyden*, he suffered himself to be so far drawn away by the *Leicestrian* party, that he forgot that duty, which by virtue of his office, he was bound to teach others. Some think that he knew of the attempt against *Leyden*, and that indeed he opposed it, but did not discover it. 4 But *Reid* says, he was turned out of his place before by reason of a certain scandalous Letter (given out to be writ from *London*, and dispersed among the people) which the States of *Holland*, upon a strict enquiry, had traced home to him, and convinced him of having distributed some copies of it, but could not oblige him to confess how he came by them. The Earl of *Leicester* was at *Alkmaer* when he heard of the fate of his Creatures; and it is reported of him, that he should say; *It is high time to take care of my own head:* And not long after he left the country and returned to *England*, from whence he fomented the tumults, even after he, by the Queen's order, had resigned the Government.

A Letter of Saravia *in his own justification.*

The Earl of Leicester *returns to* England.

A Tumult at Horn.

5 In the beginning of the year 1588, Prince *Maurice* went to *Horn*, to tender the new Oath to the Soldiers there in Garrison, from whence arose great disorders. The Soldiers, though not above one hundred and fifty in number, stifly refused it, being sensible of the support they had in the city, not only from the Mob, but from several of the most substantial Citizens, Captains of the Militia, and some of the Senate. The *Leicestrian* party held secret Councils every night at the house of one of the Ministers, where strange things were projected, both for standing by the Soldiers and for subduing the City for the Earl; but the sounder part of the Citizens proving the stronger, the Military men were obliged to take the oath, and upon admitting another

2

[2] Grot. Ann. Lib. V. *p.* 104. Bor. Lib. XXVIII. *p.* 29. Thuan. *cap.* 941.
[2] Epist. Eccl. *p.* 360, &c.
[3] Voss. Præf. Hist. Lat. 3.
[4] Reyd. *p.* 164, 210.
[5] Vel. Chron. Horn. *p.* 266.

another Company, and publiſhing a General pardon, all was quieted again. *Sonoy* continuing obſtinately in his rebellion at *Medenblik*, was at laſt reduced by ſiege. This ſeditious temper was in other places pacified by gentle methods; except at *Gertrudenburg*, which in the following year was ſold and betrayed to the *Spaniards*. Thus ended the faction of the Earl of *Leiceſter*. An° Dom. 1588.

[1] But becauſe theſe our domeſtick diviſions have been very differently underſtood and related, I think it convenient to add the teſtimony of *Cambden*, (who writ the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*,) in order to prove that many perſons uſed all kind of means, not excepting *Religion* and the *Reformation*, to ſtrengthen the *Leiceſtrian* faction: He ſays therefore, 'That when the Earl of *Leiceſter* was aware that he daily loſt 'ground, he betook himſelf to fraud, and reſolved to foment diviſions among the 'people, in order to reduce *Leyden*, and other towns to his obedience; but being 'diſappointed therein by the puniſhment of ſome of his faction, and having given 'great offence to the *Dutch*, he was recalled by the Queen, and accordingly reſigned 'his Government, and left to the States the free direction of theſe Provinces.' And a little after he ſubjoins; 'It is not to be doubted but that he intended to have made 'himſelf Maſter of theſe Provinces; but theſe people, by their prudent conduct, have 'not only ſecured their ancient native Liberties againſt the power of the *Spaniards*, 'who know ſo well how to carry on the war by money and treachery, but alſo 'againſt the tricks of the *French* and *Engliſh*, and even againſt the artifices of the 'crafty Prince of *Orange* himſelf; and have not only preſerved, but, by the favour 'of their neighbours, encreaſed their Liberties beyond all belief. Cambden's *teſtimony againſt the Earl of* Leiceſter.

In the month of *April* this year, the *Spaniards* began to revive the old perſecutions; *Chriſtian Rijcen*, an *Anabaptiſt*, was burnt at *Hondſchoten* for his religion. *A Perſecution.*

In the mean while, the *Engliſh* ſuffered themſelves to be allured into a Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, deſigned to take them off from the care of their defence againſt the great *Armada* that ſoon after appeared. The *States* found themſelves under great difficulties at this juncture, and were irreſolute as to their entering into the Treaty at the deſire of the *Engliſh*. Thoſe of the Courts of Juſtice, and of the Chamber of Accompts, being conſulted by the States of *Holland*, made anſwer; That *theſe Provinces could not be reſtored to the King of* Spain *by any Treaty whatever, without the ruin of the Church of God.* And the Heer *Adrian vander Mijle*, Preſident of the Court of *Holland*, was eſpecially of that opinion, and inſiſted, when the States of that Province deputed him to the Council of State for the *United Netherlands*, that he ſhould not be employed in any Treaty of Peace with *Spain*; reſolving, if that were put upon him, rather to retire into ſome other country, to the end, that neither his conſcience, nor any other, ſhould ever reproach him with having promoted an agreement which he himſelf could not confide in.

[2] In the ſame month, Prince *Maurice* ſummoned ſeveral Miniſters to the *Hague*, deſiring their advice and opinion upon the Article which the Queen of *England* was to propoſe in the Treaty with King *Philip*, relating to religion, importing, that *the* Low-Countries *ſhould enjoy Liberty of Conſcience and Religion*; at the ſame time aſking them; *Whether they could, without offending God, accept of ſuch a Peace, whereby the public exerciſe of the* Reformed Chriſtian Religion, *as then eſtabliſhed in theſe parts, ſhould be excluded?* To this queſtion the Miniſters replied; That *they could not perſwade themſelves, that her Majeſty intended to preſs theſe Provinces to ſuch a Peace as ſhould only conſiſt in a bare Toleration or Liberty of Conſcience, excluſive of the preſent publick exerciſe of religion, which the aforeſaid expreſſion of* Liberty of Conſcience and Religion, *did not, as they thought, neceſſarily imply. Beſides, that if the King of* Spain *would conſent to no more than the bare Liberty of Conſcience, it ought to be conſidered, that the conſequences of it would be the utter extirpation of the publick worſhip of God in theſe Provinces, to the diſhonour and reproach of his holy name, to the fall and diſperſion of ſo many noble churches, and to the flight and expulſion of ſuch a number of poor Believers, with a ſequel of dreadful calamities and effuſion of blood*; *for all which reaſons the ſecurity of Religion ought to be abſolutely inſiſted on.* This general Anſwer did not ſatisfy the Prince. He therefore required a farther explanation upon three heads, or queſtions, which were more diſtinctly propoſed to them, the laſt of which imported; *Whether they thought that the* Reformed Religion, *and thoſe who profeſſed it, would be ſufficiently ſecured,* *A queſtion put by Pr.* Maurice, *to certain Miniſters of* Holland. *The Anſwer of the Miniſters.*

2 *if*

[1] Cambden. An. Edit. Lond. *p.* 472, &c. al. 509. [2] Bor. Lib. XXIV, *p.* 67, 93.

Anno Dom. 1588.

A farther Answer of the Ministers.

if what they insisted upon in their answer were performed, since they made no mention of prohibiting the exercise of other religions? To this they answered in writing, That *the expression of* **Liberty of Conscience** *would not suffice in this case, but that when it came to a Treaty, those words must be more fully explained, and the compleat publick exercise of the* Reformed Religion, *with whatever belonged to it, must be most clearly expressed.* As to the question about excluding other religions, they said; that *having seriously considered the many difficulties and inconveniences which, as they thought, would happen as well from the publick exercise of the* Popish religion *(which the King would undoubtedly insist upon) together with the* Reformed, *on the one hand, as from the prohibition of it on the other; they were nevertheless of this opinion, that it would be by no means proper to agree to a re-establishment of the* Popish Religion, *nor a* Toleration *of any other* Religion *in these Provinces, whilst they had such an enemy to deal with; without prejudice however, by this their opinion, to any Princes or Sovereigns who had permitted the exercise of both these Religions in their respective territories.* The Ministers of *Zeland*, to whom the same questions had been sent, approved of, and concurred in the answer of the Clergy of *Holland*. Those of the Islands of *Schouwen* and *Duveland* demanded, That *no points should be treated of with the enemy, till that concerning* Religion *was adjusted: representing, that when this point was dispatched, all the rest would easily follow; but if it were put off to the last, many mischiefs and divisions would arise in all places, especially from those who seemed to have more regard to a Civil or Temporal peace, than to the Spiritual and Religious state of their country.* Some think, that the Clergy acted in this matter in concert with Prince *Maurice*, who by their means endeavoured to beget an aversion in the minds of the people to a peace, which he feared above all things.

They insist not only upon a free exercise of the Reformed Religion, *but upon a prohibition of the exercise of all others.*

The Clergy in the city of *Utrecht*, being apprehensive that the *English*, who were now about to treat in earnest with the *Spaniards*, would not sufficiently take care of their religious concerns, projected an Assembly of all the Ministers of the Province, to consider, whether there should not be a Deputation to the Queen, on the part of the Churches, to beseech her Majesty, That *she would be pleased to have at heart the interests of the pure* Reformed Religion; *and to stipulate with* Spain, *that the exercise of it might be continued, after the same manner as it was at that time established in these Provinces.* Upon which it was agreed, that some persons should be sent over in the name of all the churches of these Countries; and *John Uitenbogart* was commissioned to repair to the churches of *Gelderland* and *Over-Yssel*, to induce the Clergy of those Provinces, to join some of their body to the Deputation. Letters were written to the same purpose to *Freesland*, *South* and *North-Holland*, and likewise to *Zeland*. Those of *Gelderland*, *Over-Yssel* and *Freesland* agreed, that the Deputies of the churches of *Utrecht*, who were *Nicolas Sopingius* and *Wernerus Helmichius*, should also be their Representatives; to which end, they sent them their Commission and Instructions. The Ministers of *Horn*, by whose means they endeavoured to bring this matter to bear in *North-Holland*, writ, That *they began too late; that the matter must be left to the divine disposal; that it was not proper to engage themselves in vain expences, nor to bring upon their shoulders all kind of reproaches, without any manner of advantage.* Neither did the Clergy of *South-Holland* come to any resolution. They durst not do it (being disswaded by many) without the knowledge of the States, neither durst they apply to them for leave.

The two *Utrecht* Ambassadors above-mentioned, being arrived in *Zeland* to join others there, and from thence to pass over to *England*, met with some opposition. The Classis assembled at *West-kappel* were indeed for deputing, in case his Excellency of *Nassaw*, Prince *Maurice*, who was then in the Island, agreed to it: But those of *Utrecht* were of opinion, That *it was now unseasonable, after having already sent over their resolution, to bring it again under a doubt, and to put it upon an uncertain issue; besides, that* **it was an ill precedent, and would afterwards be to the prejudice of the Church, if they should leave a matter that was entirely Ecclesiastical, to the good pleasure of the Civil Magistrate.** But the answer was, that *the Times required it.* The Prince referred the Clergy of this Province to the States of *Zeland*, and the States approved the thing; but were of opinion, that their Ministers should not act without the concurrence of those of *Holland*: But the Minister, *Henry Korput*, writ word, That *they were able to do nothing for fear*

* Walcheren

of diſpleaſing the States. Upon this, the *Zeland* Synod met at *Midelburg*, where the Miniſters of *Utrecht* employed their utmoſt efforts to induce them to the like deputation. To remove the difficulty of the *Hollanders* inaction, thoſe of *Utrecht* communicated certain paſſages out of a Letter from *Arnoldus Cornelius*, Miniſter at *Delft*, which he writ to them in the name of the *Holland* churches, in which he ſaid, That *they did not diſapprove of the deſigns of other Provinces, although they could nat join with them at preſent.* Upon which the Miniſters of *Utrecht* declared, That *the reſt of the Provinces intended to go on, though they knew that the* Hollanders *ſat ſtill.* Aſking withal; *What did it matter, if the vote of one Province were wanting?* At laſt it was reſolved to join *Daniel de Dieu*, the Miniſter of *Fluſhing*, to the Deputation, provided that *Villers*, the Court Chaplain, and Counſellor of his Highneſs Prince *Maurice*, would undertake to inform the Prince and the States of it. *Villers* hearing the name of the perſon whom they choſe, was of opinion that he would not be acceptable to the States, and adviſed them to chooſe another, to avoid all umbrage, adding, That the Prince was otherwiſe well enough ſatisfied as to the Deputation, and that it would not be neceſſary to trouble the States about it, which might produce new oppoſition. After further conſultation, they did not think fit to alter the perſon, and declared, that the States needed not to take any umbrage, ſince his inſtructions were limited. An° Dom. 1588.

A Deputation from the Clergy *to the Queen of* England.

The three Ambaſſadors, *Sopingius*, *Helmichius* and *de Dieu*, being arrived in *England*, addreſſed themſelves on the 24th of *June* to *la Fontaine*, Miniſter of the *French* church in *London*, to whom they imparted the deſign of their Deputation, begging his advice, how they ſhould beſt diſcharge their truſt. Among other things, he informed them of one in particular, *viz.* That *the Lords of the Council would by no means ſuffer Miniſters to meddle with State affairs and Government*; *but that they ſhould excuſe themſelves by ſaying*, *That* **they acted only as Clergymen, and concerned themſelves with nothing but Religion.** He added, That *if a good Peace could but be made with* Spain, *little care would be taken of Religion.*

They confer with Mr. la Fontaine, *Miniſter of the* French *Church at* London;

They conferred next with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who commended their deſign, aſſuring them, That *if the Treaty had gone on, the Queen would have taken a particular care of Religion: That he himſelf had the welfare of their Churches as much at heart as ever*; *and that he would embrace all opportunities of ſhewing it, forgiving and forgetting the ill treatment he met with in the* **Low-Countries.** *De Dieu* replied, That *his reſigning the Government of thoſe Provinces had much troubled, and was very diſagreeable to all good men.* Then particular thanks were returned in the name of the Clergy of *Utrecht*, for the holy zeal he had ſhown in defending and promoting Religion there, which they would for ever remember. Thus they ſpake by virtue of their Commiſſion. Among the Inſtructions of theſe Eccleſiaſtical Envoys, there were ſome very remarkable ones. In thoſe of the Clergy of *Gelderland* it was ſaid; 'That a King muſt be choſen out of the 'Brethren, or thoſe of the ſame Faith: That the force of the Covenant, where-'by the Subjects, according to the Divine Law, were bound to be the people 'of God, was ſo great, that ſuch Subjects were obliged to compel an irreligious 'Prince to the maintenance of God's word: That if they could not do it, they 'were then obliged to withdraw themſelves from his ſubjection, rather than conſent 'to the eſtabliſhing Idolatry, as the Holy Scriptures informs us the city of *Libnah* 'did; *adding further*, That no Peace nor League ought to be made with the im-'pious and idolatrous, or thoſe of the *Romiſh* religion.' They were further directed to repreſent to the Queen; 'How much all the people of the *United Provinces* '(the *Papiſts* only excepted) had longed, from the very day the alliance was made 'with her Majeſty, and did ſtill long for her accepting the Sovereignty of the *Ne-*'*therlands*, which had been tendered her ſeveral times.——That the unhappy 'beginning, and yet more unhappy progreſs of this *Ariſtocratical* or *Democratical* 'Government, were ſuch plain tokens of the imperfect ſtate of a **Commonwealth,** 'that it might juſtly be feared, that the end of it would be yet moſt unhappy, by 'the ruin of all the *United Provinces*. That then was the time to prevent this dan-'ger. That nothing could do it but the luſtre of Royal authority. To this the 'Holy Scriptures, the ſure rule of all our Councils, gave a handle. By theſe 'means the invidious diſputes and quarrels among the Towns and Provinces would 'ceaſe.' They concluded with telling her; 'That all the churches of the *Low-*

And with the Earl of Leiceſter.

Some account of their Inſtructions.

An° Dom. 1588.

'*Countries* acknowledged themſelves to be the Foſter-children of the Kingdom 'of *England*, and therefore moſt humbly prayed, that they might be received as 'Subjects of that Kingdom in Temporal matters, to which they confeſſed they owed 'their riſe in Spirituals.

[1] Thus theſe Clergymen, without the conſent or knowledge of their own Sovereigns, offered the ſupreme authority of their country to a foreign Princeſs, and yet pretended they did not concern themſelves with State affairs. The Inſtructions of the *Zeland* churches added particularly; 'That the Queen ſhould be intreated to 'uſe her good offices in favour of the oppreſſed inhabitants of the Countries lying 'under the command of the enemy, that they might obtain ſome liberty of wor-'ſhipping God, without being brought under the yoke of the **Inquiſition.**' Having entered into a conference with *Walſingham*, Principal Secretary to the Queen, on the 12th of *July*, he heard their Inſtructions read, and told them, That *he was of the ſame opinion, that Alliances or Treaties made with the enemies of God, would not be attended with good ſucceſs.* But added, That *great Princes were not always ſo zealous in the buſineſs of religion, being too deeply engaged in political affairs.* As to the free exerciſe of religion, he hinted to them, That *the* Engliſh Ambaſſadors *were not to inſiſt upon it for more than the ſpace of two or three years, by way of interim, till the foreign forces ſhould be withdrawn; and upon condition that then the buſineſs of* Religion *ſhould be regulated by the* States *of all the* Provinces: *But as for the excluſion or prohibition of all falſe opinions,* he inſinuated, that *the* Queen *was inclined to allow ſome liberty to the* Papiſts, *though he himſelf differed from her Majeſty in that point.*

Their conference with Secretary Walſingham.

Their Memorial to the Queen.

On the 15th of *July* they preſented a Memorial to the Queen, which was drawn out of their *Inſtructions*, beginning with 'Thanks for her favours ſhown to the 'churches of the *Low-Countries*, eſpecially for ſending over the Earl of *Leiceſter*, 'who had moſt faithfully acquitted himſelf in that matter. In the next place they 'ſhewed their concern on account of treating with the enemies of God, the *Spaniards*, endeavouring to prove by inſtances drawn from [2] Scripture, that it was 'both unlawful, and fatal to the true religion, to enter into any covenants or en-'gagements with the enemies of it, or with Infidels.——That the *Popiſh* maxim of '**not keeping Faith with Hereticks**, obliged them to diſtruſt the promiſes of *Spain*, 'to which might be added the experience of former perfidiouſneſs.' What they ſubjoined about Liberty of Conſcience is remarkable; 'It will be ſaid, (theſe are the 'very words of their Inſtructions) that there ſhall be Liberty of Conſcience, but 'without a publick exerciſe of religion, and provided that no ſcandal or offence be 'given: But this will be mere banter and mockery; for if conſcience be free, it cannot forbear the publick exerciſe of its perſwaſion, the children of God having learned, 'that [3] *with the heart man believeth unto righteouſneſs, and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto ſalvation.* They could not therefore worſhip God by halves. 'The meaning of ſuch a permiſſion or toleration, was (*they ſaid*) to be conſidered, 'and the uſe which had been formerly made of it, *viz.* They will ſuffer nothing to be 'done that concerns our religion, and nothing to be left undone which relates to theirs, 'otherwiſe they will preſently cry, *It is giving ſcandal*; and yet they will ſay, there is '*Liberty of Conſcience.* If one does but paſs along the publick ſtreets without wor-'ſhipping their Images, or their Wafer-God; or if one reads in a Teſtament, ſings a 'Pſalm, or viſits the Sick, this will be interpreted, *giving Scandal*, and be enough to 'hurry us to a ſtake if we perſiſt in the confeſſion of our faith.——A fine Liberty in-'deed! which deprives a perſon of the uſe of all his bodily faculties and ſenſes, for 'thoſe purpoſes to which God has ordained them, and which, by compelling him 'to the performance of things that God has forbidden, leaves nothing free but his 'thoughts, and them only, becauſe they come not within the cognizance of men. 'This then is ſuch a liberty as is no better than the greateſt ſlavery; and to ſpeak 'properly, it is the greateſt torment that can be inflicted on conſcience. They 'therefore beſought her Majeſty, that at all adventures ſhe would inſiſt upon the 'free exerciſe of the pure *Reformed religion* (**excluſive of all falſe worſhip**) in the '*United Netherlands*, and that it ſhould be in no wiſe prejudiced, impaired or leſſened, but entirely ſecured by ſufficient Guarantees.' They alſo deſired her interpoſition

[1] Bor. Lib. XXIV. *p.* 78, &c. [2] 1 Chron. xx. 35, &c. xviii. 1. xix. 2. [3] Rom. x. 10.

interpoſition for thoſe of the ſame religion in any of the Provinces poſſeſſed by the enemy. An° Dom. 1588.

[1] On the 20th of the ſaid month, they had an audience of the Queen at her palace of *Richmond*, where, among other things, ſhe ſaid to them: *I could wiſh that your churches would not doubt of my care of Religion in this treaty.* —— *I ſhould have inſiſted with the* Spaniard *upon a free exerciſe for three or four years at leaſt, and then the States might have regulated that matter.* When ſhe had ſaid thus, *Daniel de Dieu*, who was their Spokeſman, falling on his knees, replied; **But the greater part of the States are Papiſts.** *I mean*, ſaid the Queen, *the States General.* Upon which the other anſwered again: *Moſt of thoſe are* Papiſts *too.* She aſked then: *By whom are you then deputed? And from what Provinces?* They ſaid; *We are come by the permiſſion of Count* Maurice *of* Naſſaw. *And the States too?* added the Queen. It was anſwered; *We come with their knowledge.* Being aſked; *Whether they were ſent by the churches of* Holland *and* Zeland *only, and not by the reſt?* To this *Helmichius* replied; *We are of* Utrecht *both of us. How*, ſaid ſhe, *is this young man a Miniſter too?* meaning *Helmichius* himſelf. To which it was anſwered, *That he had been ſo above fourteen years, and was not ſo young as he appeared. At firſt it was reputed ſcandalous among us*, replied the Queen, *when ſuch young people were admitted to the Miniſtry: Young men may indeed be endowed with underſtanding and parts, but they can have no experience.* ——— *I hear that you pray as zealouſly for me as if I were your Sovereign; indeed I think I have not acted otherwiſe; I have done ſo much for Religion.* She then told them, that ſhe had not yet read their Memorial; though *Leiceſter* had aſſured them before, that ſhe muſt have read it ſince ſhe was able to repeat the whole ſubſtance of it to him. They concluded with praying her, That *ſhe would continue her favour and protection to their churches.* At parting, *de Dieu* ſaid to the Queen; *There is a particular buſineſs of our, or rather of your, town of* Fluſhing, viz. *That the Lord* Ruſſel *may be continued in the Government of that place, notwithſtanding he has deſired his diſmiſſion.* They farther prayed an anſwer in writing, which was granted them, and imported; That *ſhe* (the Queen) *having always retained the ſame zeal and care for promoting the honour of God, and the welfare of the* Reformed churches *in the* Low-Countries, *which at firſt had incited her to take them under her juſt protection, had of her own motion, and before any application made to her by them, the Miniſters, inſtructed her Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of Peace, and had ſince again commanded them to inſiſt at the ſaid Treaty, above all things, that the people of the ſaid* Low-Countries *might enjoy not only* Liberty of Conſcience, *but likewiſe a free exerciſe of the* Reformed religion. ——— *Thoſe therefore that pretended to call in queſtion the ſincerity of her intentions in this matter, and foment jealouſies or ſuſpicions againſt her, ſhe ſhould look upon as common enemies, who craftily endeavoured to break the Alliance between her and thoſe Provinces, and to betray them to their enemies.* This anſwer did not entirely ſatisfie the Miniſters, ſeeing there was no mention made in it of excluding the exerciſe of falſe religions, *viz.* That of *Popery*, or others, which was nevertheleſs plainly compriſed in their written Memorial; they therefore writ once again in their Letter of thanks to the Queen, That *the true end of their Deputation from the Churches conſiſted herein*; **That the free exerciſe of the only true religion might be preſerved entire, without ſuffering the Popiſh, or any other, to be re-eſtabliſhed.** After which they took their leave and returned to their own Country.

They have Audience of her Majeſty.

The Queen's anſwer to their Memorial.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXIV. *p.* 33. Uitenb. *p.* 264.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK XV.

An° Dom. 1588.

The Synod of North-Holland *meets at* Alkmaer.

BEFORE [1] the departure of the Church-Ambaſſadors for *England*, the Synod of *North-Holland* met at *Harlem*, in the month of *May*, where there happened ſome things which we ſhall briefly touch upon. They deliberated about the great boldneſs, which they were informed the Prieſts and Friers uſed in the publick celebration of their Maſs, and other ſuperſtitions in Baptiſm and Marriage, and in the propagation of their doctrines; as alſo in keeping publick ſchools, where they inſtilled *Romiſh* and other *Jeſuitical* principles into the minds of children. All theſe things tended, as they thought, to produce very bad conſequences, and therefore they ought to be repreſented in writing to the States, to the end that the proper and moſt effectual methods might be taken for their prevention. A motion was likewiſe made concerning two late Miniſters, one of whom was gone over to the *Popiſh* religion, and the other turned *Anabaptiſt*; and it was debated whether they ſhould not be both excommunicated or anathematized.

A Diſpute at Utrecht *concerning Excommunication.*

[2] Concerning the buſineſs of Excommunication, there had been ſome diſputes at *Utrecht*, which though they happened ſomewhat earlier, ſhall yet be taken notice of here. Certain of the *Conſiſtorial* Community fell into ſeveral ſentiments, which were ſaid to be thoſe of *Koornhert*'s: it was propoſed in the Conſiſtory to make uſe of Eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt them, and they were admoniſhed according to the rules of the Church; but when they talked of excommunicating them, *Uitenbogart* repreſented, that he could not come into thoſe meaſures, and that no body ought to be delivered over to Satan for ſuch opinions. One of the ſaid Miniſters, whoſe name was *Cornelius van Dieſt*, having heard that they were proceeding to extremities againſt him, made his complaint to the Civil Magiſtrates, who thought fit to forbid the Conſiſtory to proceed in the execution of their deſign, and communicated this order to them by one of their Meſſengers. The Conſiſtory repreſented to the Magiſtrates, that this method of treating them was very ſtrange and improper; but however they proceeded no farther till the Magiſtracy was changed by the *Leiceſtrian* party. But afterwards, in the time of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s government, the Conſiſtory made no ſcruple to put a ſtop to the excommunicating one man and two women that had embraced the notions of the *Mennonites*, at the command of, and to gratify, the ſaid Earl, notwithſtanding that their names had been publiſhed three times, and that they perſevered in their opinions.

[1] *From the Synodal Tranſactions*, &c.

[2] Uitenbogart's *Life*, p. 5. &c.

The exact time of these occurrences is not mentioned. But upon the 11th of *July* of this present year, when the practice of Fornication and the keeping of Concubines were forbidden at *Utrecht* by a strict Order, (*as crimes that ought not to be committed, nor suffered in a city where the* Reformed *Religion was exercised*;) there was likewise a new Placard published against the exercise of the *Romish Religion*, containing in substance, That, [1] **None of those who were called** Ecclesiasticks **should presume to exercise the said** Romish Religion, **on pain, for the first time, of forfeiting their Prebendaries, or spiritual preferments, and** 50 **Gold** Reals, **or, in case of non-solvency, of being banished for the space of five years; and he that transgressed the second time was to be banished for ever, and to die if he returned. That whoever were present at any such religious Exercises, should forfeit** 25, **and they that lent their barns or houses** 100 **Gold** Reals, **or be otherwise punished according to the discretion of the Judges. The Soldiers were forbidden on pain of death to concern themselves with the execution of any Placards, unless the Scout or his Deputy, or a Captain of the Militia, should desire their assistance; but however, they might seize the Priest and his Hearers in the mean time.**

An° Dom. 1588.

Placards published at Utrecht *against Fornication, the keeping of Concubines, and the exercise of the* Romish Religion.

[2] In *October* of the following year, matters were so disposed by the directions of the States General at *Utrecht*, that *Gerard Deventer*, alias *Provink*, and others, who had before intruded themselves into the Magistracy, were deposed and imprisoned, and the ancient and legal Government restored. Those Gentlemen that had been put out, returned to the city, and resumed their posts. *Modet*, the Minister, who had been a tool of *Leicester* in the foregoing Revolution, was now no less serviceable to the States, in helping to turn out those whom he was then so instrumental to bring in, [3] being induced to it by the promise of a Pension, which was paid him some time after by the States of *Holland*. He was afterwards made use of in several secret Commissions in *Germany*, *viz.* at *Cologn*, *Munster*, and elsewhere; in the execution of which he addressed his Letters to the Heer *Oldenbarnevelt*, and Burgomaster *Reinier Kant*; and the better to conceal his negotiations, subscribed them with the name of *Henry van Benthem*. *Gerard Deventer* continued a great while in prison, notwithstanding the many recommendations in his behalf from the Queen of *England*, till at last he was condemned by the Judges at *Utrecht* to a perpetual banishment, and declared incapable of any publick office.

The Legal Government restored at Utrecht.

[4] A little before the revolution in the Magistracy of *Utrecht*, the *Scout* endeavoured to apprehend one *Cornelius Daems*, a Lawyer of *Brussels*, at a certain Inn at *Utrecht*, where he then lodged, (though his usual residence was at *Gouda*) upon account of his being a favourer of *Socinus* and his doctrine; but *Daems* escaped with the loss of a bag full of papers, printed and manuscript, which the *Scout* delivered to the Senate, and which they referred to *Helmichius* and *Uitenbogart*, to peruse them and report their thoughts of them: But before that *Uitenbogart*, who at the desire of *Helmichius* undertook to read them first, could give an account of them, the Government was altered; and the said *Daems* found means, partly by fraud and partly by force, with the help of two of the Burghers, to get them out of *Uitenbogart*'s hands. This latter immediately acquainted the Burgomasters with it, for his own justification, and to avoid the suspicion of having parted with the said papers willingly, which had been committed to his care by the Senate. But one of the aforesaid Burghers reproached him to the face, that *he endeavoured to bring this man to a stake, and to eat roasted flesh like* Calvin. But *Uitenbogart* replied, that such a thing had never entered into his thoughts, that he was an enemy to all forcing of conscience, and yet more to the putting *Hereticks* to death, as all that knew him, and had ever heard him speak of those matters, could bear him witness.

In *Holland* the *Anabaptists* raged against one another about this time with their *Excommunications* and *Separations* most violently, and with very ill consequences. A certain Merchant of woollen and linnen cloth at *Harlem*, having been excommunicated by those of his Sect, was avoided by his own Wife. This daily occasioned such quarrels and uneasiness in the family, and became so grievous to the poor man, that at last he hanged himself out of melancholy and despair. This was done on the 28th of *June* at night. [5] And something of the like nature happened on the same account at *Amsterdam*.

A dismal consequence of the Avoidance *practised among the* Anabaptists.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXIV. *p.* 113, &c.
[2] Uitenb. *Hist.* p. 265. Bor. Lib. XXV. *p.* 24, &c.
[3] Bor's *Additions to the* XXVIIth *book*, p. 32.
[4] Bor. Lib. XXI. *p.* 113. Socin. Epist. *p* 97.
[5] Episcop. in Matth. v. *p.* 482.

Richard

An° Dom. 1589.

[1] *Richard Koornhert* finding his time too much taken up at *Harlem*, retired to the houſe of his friend *Cornelius Boomgard* at *Delft*, to the end that he might ſpend a year without interruption upon a work which he was in hopes might prove beneficial to many, and hurtful to none; it relating to certain Extracts and Annotations which, with great pains and induſtry, he had been collecting and preparing in ſeveral books and papers; which Notes he had now a mind to digeſt and methodize. Whilſt he was thus employed, he was interrupted by two Vergers or Officers of the town, who read to him a certain paper, requiring him to quit the town within 24 hours, upon ſuch a penalty as was therein expreſſed. He deſired a copy of the Order, but it was refuſed him; upon which he complained by a Memorial to the Burgomaſters, praying to know the reaſon of this treatment, or at leaſt that his Plea might be received in a Court of Juſtice, to the end he might have an opportunity to make a proper defence of his good name and reputation. But he could get no other anſwer than by word of mouth to this effect, that, *he was no Burgher of that place, and therefore had nothing to do but to conform himſelf to the aforeſaid Order.*

Koornhert is obliged to quit the City of Delft.

Upon this he departed for *Gouda*, where he publiſhed a ſhort Apology, under the Title of: *A Defence of his Honour, againſt the ill treatment he had received at* Delft. In the ſaid Writing he complains; That, 'he who was a good Patriot, and 'known to have deſerved well of his country, was refuſed that juſtice at *Delft*, 'which was uſually allowed even to the worſt of men, not being able to obtain a 'hearing, or knowledge, or the leaſt intimation of what they accuſed him of. He was 'therefore obliged to defend his good name, not with the pains and charge of a 'Suit at Law, in which they would be too hard for him, but honeſtly and legally 'by this Treatiſe. They ſhould never be able to convict him of any miſdemeanor 'againſt the Publick. The diſputes he had held with the Miniſters, were at the 'requeſt of themſelves, and with the approbation of the Prince of *Orange* and the 'States of *Holland*; ſo that he had neither offended againſt his Country, nor againſt 'the Placards of the States; but the Magiſtrates of *Delft* had forced him to leave 'their town, only becauſe he had acted according to his conſcience.' He was of opinion, that the Clergy had played him this trick. Some alſo attempted to get him condemned to a perpetual impriſonment at *Muiden*, or elſewhere, but neither the Government nor the Prince of *Orange* could be brought to conſent to it.

In the beginning of the year 1589, the Magiſtrates of *Enkhuiſen* thought fit to appoint two perſons of the Council or Senate to aſſiſt at every Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly; which the Conſiſtory agreed to, without oppoſition. [1] The Magiſtrates Order, with the ſubſequent Approbation of the Clergy runs thus: **At the Meeting of the Senate of the Town of** Enkhuiſen, **on the** 27th **of** January, 1589, **it is decreed, and the Burgomaſters are hereby authorized to depute two perſons out of this Aſſembly, being of the** Reformed Religion; **who, in purſuance of the** XXXIVth **Article, or Canon, of the national Synod which was holden at the** Hague **on the** 20th **of** June, 1586, **ſhall be preſent at all Church-meetings, and aſſiſt at the making ſuch Orders as ſhall be found to be moſt proper for the ſervice and benefit of religion.** To this Reſolution of the Senate was added by way of Poſtſcript: **There appeared this day, being the** 27th **of** January, 1589, **before the Burgomaſters,** Herman Johnſon, John Dirkſon, **who conſented to the aforeſaid Reſolution on the part of the Conſiſtory.**

A Reſolution of the Council of Enkhuiſen, *for appointing two of their number to aſſiſt at all Meetings of Church-Officers called* Conſiſtories.

Upon the 3d of *February* following, the Burgomaſters deputed their Fellow-Senators, *John Tyſon* and *John Peterſon*, as their Commiſſion runs, *to appear in their name, and on their part at all Church-meetings; and there to hear and deliberate on all occurrences.* From which expreſſions we may obſerve, that the inſtructions given to the Deputies or Commiſſioners, were not ſo extenſive as the Reſolution taken thereupon in the Senate. What induced the Magiſtrates to the ſaid Reſolution, we do not find in any of the Memoirs of thoſe times. But in a certain paper drawn up by the Synod of *North-Holland*, held at *Edam* in the year 1631, the Clergy aſſert that this Seſſion of the Laity was introduced at *Enkhuiſen* on the occaſion of the *Leiceſtrian* faction: for the Magiſtrates being ſenſible how partial ſome of the Miniſters were to the *Engliſh*, were reſolved to be upon their guard.

---

[1] Bor. Lib. XXVIII. *p.* 9. [2] *Hiſtory of* Enkhuiſen, *p.* 186, &c.

Not long after this, that is to say on the 9th of *March*, the Placard of the 20th of *December*, 1581, againſt prohibited books and *Popiſh* ſuperſtitions was renewed and made more rigorous. An° Dom. 1589.

The Placard againſt prohibited Books and Romiſh *Superſtition, renewed.*

In *Flanders* the Perſecution proceeded with equal violence, but with more caution than formerly. Two *Anabaptiſt* men and one woman were ſtrangled privately in the Caſtle of *Gant*. Whether it was that the Government feared the power of publick Confeſſions, ſealed with the blood of thoſe that made them, or whether they had other views, we cannot determine. [1] One of thoſe men, *Jooſt de Tollanaer*, writ a very grave Letter from the Priſon to thoſe of his perſwaſion, exhorting them to peace. He lamented their being ſo addicted to quarrels and diſputes at *Harlem* and other places: Oh, ſays he, *that God would but grant, that they might bear with one another in love! and that the chief of them might bow themſelves to God! It would by no means wrong their conſciences if they yeilded a little for the ſake of peace. If every one were little in his own ſight, how ſoon would all be pacified?* Thus the *Anabaptiſts* did not want Monitors among themſelves, who wiſely oppoſed the violent and untractable humours of ſome of their brethren.

Three Anabaptiſts *ſtrangled at* Gant.

Among the *Reformed* too, the pride of ſome ſowed again the ſeeds of diviſions. At *Midelburg* in *Zeland*, one *Adrian Vaſſeur*, a *Brabander*, Secretary to the Lord *Ruſſel*, the *Engliſh* Governour of *Fluſhing*, was impriſoned for endeavouring to create differences between the Government and the *Engliſh*, and for having ſaid, in a certain Letter which he writ to the Miniſter of *Bergen-op-zoom*, that the States endeavoured to deliver the ſaid town to the enemy, with other ſlanders of a very criminal nature. Upon the ſeizing of this man, the Lieutenant-Governour of the town, one *Burglaſs*, became very troubleſome, by arreſting ſome of the Burghers of *Midelburg*, who happened to be then at *Fluſhing*, and threatning to burn their Warehouſes and Country-houſes that lay without the town, in caſe they did not immediately diſcharge the ſaid *Vaſſeur*.

[2] Upon the ſame account there likewiſe aroſe a diſpute between two of the Miniſters at *Midelburg*, one of whom maintained, that *the ſaid* Vaſſeur *being a Member of their Church, ought to have been delivered up to the* Conſiſtory, *his proper Judges*. But the other being of a different opinion, they fell out in the Market-place, and gave one another very ill language in the hearing of above a hundred people. And afterwards the ſame matter was twice diſputed between thoſe two Miniſters in the Council, Prince *Maurice* being preſent as Stadtholder of *Zeland*; all which tended to bring the Government into contempt, and to ſcandalize the Community. However, the States would not depart from their right of judging the priſoner.

A Diſpute concerning the Authority of a Conſiſtory, *in oppoſition to that of the Civil Magiſtrate.*

In the month of *Auguſt* following, the Synod of *South-Holland* met at *Gouda*, to which *Richard Koornhert*, who dwelt there at that time, writ a Letter, and ſent it by *Everhard*, the Miniſter of that place: *In which he offered to maintain the diſpute about the Catechiſm, begun in the* Hague, *by order of the States, in* October 1581, *(and which the Miniſters themſelves had dropt) againſt them all, or againſt any perſon they would name for that purpoſe; and that it ſhould be either in a publick conference, by word of mouth, or in writing in order to be printed, ſince every body was concerned in the buſineſs; in which latter method it might be managed with more temper and leſs noiſe.* Adding, that *if this were refuſed, he intended, for the diſcharge of his conſcience, and for the common good, ſhortly to convince the world, that he had long, nay too long, been ſilent with regard to the groſs errors of the ſaid* Catechiſm, *notwithſtanding he could have refuted them by the truths of the Holy Scripture.* This Letter having been communicated to the Synod, was ordered to be returned to the writer of it, by him that brought it, with this anſwer; *We know the man well enough; we will have nothing to ſay to him. If he wants any thing, let him run to the Lords the States.*

Koornhert, *in a Letter to the Synod of* South-Holland *at* Gouda, *offers to reſume the Diſpute concerning the* Catechiſm, *but his offer is rejected.*

About this time *Philip de Marnix*, Heer *van St. Aldegonde*, wrote a little Treatiſe, and publiſhed it under the following title: *A faithful Admonition to the Chriſtian Congregations of* Brabant, Flanders, *and* Hainault, *and other neighbouring countries; as well to thoſe who are now under the Croſs, as to others that are in exile.* In this book he deſcribes the corruptions of the *Romiſh* Church, and demonſtrates the truth of that proverb: **The nearer to** Rome **the farther from** Chriſt. He repreſents 'the greatneſs of

The Admonition of the Heer van Aldegonde.

[1] *Hiſtory of* Anabaptiſt *Martyrs*, p. 819, &c.

[2] Bor. Lib. XXVI. *p.* 32.

An° Dom. 1589. ‘ the divine power in reſtoring the light of the Goſpel, by means of the *Reformation*, ‘ which all endeavours, ſtruggles and oppoſitions of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, ‘ how great and violent ſoever they were, could not prevent. That as mighty So- ‘ vereigns as the world had ſeen for theſe thouſand years laſt paſt, had made uſe of ‘ the utmoſt force and greateſt craft, reconciling themſelves with all their enemies, in ‘ order joyntly to ſuppreſs a poor, little, contemptible handful of people, whom they ‘ in diſdain called **Gueuzes, Beggars,** and **Hugonots**; and yet without any more ‘ ſucceſs than knocking their heads againſt the wall, kicking againſt the pricks, and ‘ ſcattering the aſhes of their cruel flames, as fertile ſeeds of *Martyrs*, throughout the ‘ world. All this he thought, plainly ſhowed the finger of the Lord, and the hand ‘ of the Almighty God.’ He alſo endeavoured to allure the *Reformed*, who ſtill continued to inhabit *Brabant* and other Provinces under the yoke of *Spain* and *Popery*, into the *United Netherlands*; repreſenting to them, ‘ how much they were ‘ expoſed to be ſeduced, and how hard it was to live under a *Popiſh* government with- ‘ out infecting their conſciences. That it was not lawful for them to abandon, nor ‘ even to conceal the truth of God’s word, nor to uſe any kind of hypocriſy or diſ- ‘ ſimulation in that reſpect, though it were to ſave their eſtates or their lives. That no ‘ temporal views, nor fear of worldly loſſes ought to hinder their departure for ſuch ‘ places, where they could enjoy the freedom of their religion; but that they were ‘ bound to do their duty, and to leave the reſt to God.’ He next applied himſelf to thoſe of the *Reformed*, who had already withdrawn themſelves from the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, in order to live more peaceably and with a quiet conſcience among their neighbours, or elſewhere in foreign countries; telling them, that ‘ they muſt not ‘ perſwade themſelves that God called them to an earthly paradiſe, in order to enjoy ‘ all the pleaſures of this life; nor be too much grieved on account of their diſperſion. ‘ That they ſhewed too great anxiety and concern for the courſe of affairs, and in en- ‘ quiring after news, as if they wiſhed to be of God’s Privy-Council, and wanted to ‘ know when he would bring them back into the land of their nativity; and when they ‘ found that things did not go according to their deſires, then they took upon them ‘ to find fault with their ſuperiours, one while blaming this, another while that, ‘ man; but without knowing whom they could juſtly reproach for their misfortunes. ‘ They ſhould therefore, all of them confine themſelves to their own province, mind ‘ their own buſineſs, praying for their Governours, and leaving the reſt to them to ‘ whom their concerns were recommended and intruſted.’ He likewiſe exhorted every one ‘ to ſubmit his neck, to receive the ſtripes of the Lord with humility, ‘ and to wait for a deliverance with hope and patience. *He added*, that their ill ‘ morals were the occaſion of God’s wrath againſt them; that they had not con- ‘ formed their lives to the knowledge of the Goſpel; that they had run into all ex- ‘ ceſs of riot, drunkenneſs, gluttony, and all other kinds of irregularity and diſorder; ‘ inſomuch that there ſeemed to be very little difference in thoſe matters between ‘ them and the greateſt worldlings. That now they began to eſteem ſuch a life not ‘ only not criminal, but even innocent and virtuous. That Whoredoms, Adulteries, ‘ and all ſorts of impiety, were in a manner as common among them as among the ‘ Unbelievers. As for Covetouſneſs, and ſcraping together of money, no people in ‘ the world exceeded them; they exerciſed Uſury without ſuſpecting it to be a ‘ crime. That Scandal and Defamation paſſed for wit and good breeding among ‘ them. That all of them abounded in Pride, Hatred, and Envy. That Charity ‘ was cold, and Piety lukewarm. That many of them contented themſelves with ‘ the appearance and outward ſhew of religion. It was alſo to be feared, that the ‘ name of the Lord, and pretence of the Goſpel, were abuſed and proſtituted to the ‘ liberty of the fleſh; as had been found in ſome who had turned their coats, and ‘ veered about with every wind. That theſe things afforded matter of puniſhment ‘ to the Divine Juſtice. That God therefore brought afflictions upon them, to the ‘ end they might be purified. That to eſcape thoſe puniſhments which they had ‘ deſerved, they ought to acknowledge their ſins, and repent with their whole hearts; ‘ for which purpoſe the Confeſſion and Prayer of *Daniel* might be very fitly uſed, as ‘ he had turned them out of *Hebrew*, and into Metre, and added them to this admo- ‘ nition; together with the LI, and CXXX Pſalm, in the ſinging of which they ‘ might learn to humble themſelves before God.’

An° Dom. 1589.

[1] Upon the changes that fell out at *Utrecht* in the Civil Government, the remainder of St. *James*'s people flattered themſelves with the hopes of being re-eſtabliſhed; and the rather, becauſe at the election of the new Magiſtrates on the firſt of *October*, there were not admitted into the Senate above two or three of the *Leiceſtrian Conſiſtorians*. They therefore made their complaint in writing to the Magiſtrates in the month of *November*, repreſenting the injuſtice which they conceived was done them, by their being deprived of the exerciſe of the *Reformed* religion, as they had enjoyed it in the church of St. *James*, before the very beginning of the *Reformation*; and praying they might be reſtored *in integrum*. Their petition was indeed rejected on the 20th of *November*; [2] but in order to give them ſome ſatisfaction, and alſo for the better ſecuring the Government, it was reſolved to diſcharge all the Miniſters of the *Conſiſtory* from their ſervice at once; and on the 17th of *December* this reſolution was put in execution, without alledging any other cauſe than that it was for reaſons which had induced their Lordſhips thereto: And other Miniſters were firſt borrowed, and afterwards called to *Utrecht* by the Magiſtrates. Thoſe alſo of the country, who had been depoſed by the advice of the *Conſiſtory*, under the Government of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, were reſtored to their Livings again. The Miniſters that were diſplaced, bore their diſgrace with patience, and went from houſe to houſe to exhort their auditors to go to church as they did themſelves. Then the Magiſtrates proceeded to forbid all *Conſiſtorial* Meetings without their leave. Before the departure of the diſcharged Miniſters, it was propoſed by ſome of the ſaid Magiſtrates, to keep *Uitenbogart* in the town, ſeeing he had behaved civilly and moderately; but it was not conſented to at that time for particular reaſons. *Uitenbogart* was afterwards called to the *Hague*, *Helmichius* to *Delft*, and others to other places; and ſome time after the Magiſtrates gave all of them handſome teſtimonials of their behaviour. Their departure was not followed with that peace which was expected; but on the contrary, with greater uneaſineſs and diſturbances on account of church matters, which laſted ſeveral years; for moſt of the Communicants that were of the *Conſiſtorial* party, refuſed to hear the new Miniſters; maintaining, that their Call, as being derived from the Magiſtracy only, was not lawful; for which cauſe they held ſeparate and private Meetings both within and without the city, or elſe went armed to the Sermon at *Yſelſtein*. But theſe proceedings were ſoon condemned by the States and the Magiſtracy, who in a Placard which they iſſued againſt them on the 29th of *May*, 1590, ſtiled thoſe Meetings, Conventicles tending to excite tumults; and forbad the people to frequent them on the penalty of twenty-five Gilders. Some time after, to wit, on the laſt of *July*, another Placard was publiſhed againſt going to the ſermons at *Yſelſtein*, on pain of forfeiting twelve Gilders the firſt time, double the ſecond time, and baniſhment the third time.

Thoſe of St. James's Church at Utrecht petition for the re-eſtabliſhment of that Church.

The Miniſters of the Conſiſtoriants diſcharged.

The Conſiſtoriants held ſeparate Meetings at Utrecht;

Which are prohibited by Placards.

[3] *Werner Helmichius*, one of the diſcharged Miniſters, writ very warmly againſt the firſt Placard, but did not ſet his name to the book: In it he ſaid, 'That ſuch 'Placards tended to the lording it over men's conſciences, either by forcing the faith-'ful to approve of this unlawful Church-government, or elſe by depriving them of the 'exerciſe of their religion, contrary to their conſciences. That the new Miniſters 'perceiving how the ſpiritual weapons failed them, did now betake themſelves, 'after the *Popiſh* manner, to the Secular arm, and to the ſword of the Magiſtrate; 'but ſince the experience of many years had ſhown that ſpiritual things were not to 'be maintained and defended by carnal weapons, but by the ſword of the Spirit, 'which is the word of God, they ought not to juſtify their actions by Placards, but 'by that holy word only.' From what *Helmichius* here ſays, if what he lays to the charge of the new Miniſters be true, it may be obſerved, That thoſe Gentlemen departed from what the firſt *Reformers* of St. *James*'s had ſtrenuouſly defended and practiſed, *viz.* Liberty of Conſcience, and an abhorrence of all Force in matters of Religion; and that the Government, if they affected to act upon the foot of St. *James*'s *Reformation*, ought not to have prohibited the ſimple frequenting Meetings or Conventicles, but only the going thither armed, which tended to ſedition. But the Magiſtrates were of opinion, that what they did, could by no means be counted a violation of conſcience, ſince here was no queſtion about the free exerciſe of a

Helmichius writes againſt the Placards.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXX. *p.* 54.
[2] Uitenb. *Life, p.* 13. Hiſt. *p.* 274. Bor. Lib. XXI. *p.* 117, &c.
[3] Bor. Lib. XXI. *p.* 115, &c.

An° Dom. 1590.

man's religion, but only about the lawful and unlawful Call of Miniſters, and about matters of Church-government.

After this appeared the Articles which were eſtabliſhed by the Magiſtrates on the 12th of *November*, and were to be obſerved by the Miniſters from that time forwards. They were much the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe of the former *Reformation* of St. *James*'s, to wit; 'That Baptiſm ſhould be adminiſtered according to our 'Lord's inſtitution, without laying any burden upon the Witneſſes; but only by exhorting the Parents to do their duty; and that the Baptiſm of ſick Children, if deſired, might be adminiſtered at unuſual ſeaſons. That the Holy Supper ſhould 'be purely taught, adminiſtered and diſtributed according to the form of God's word, 'and the Ordinances of reading and ſinging practiſed in the churches. That as for 'the tryal or examination, it ſhould be done according to *Paul*'s directions; **Let a 'man examine himſelf**; without any other inquiry into the conſciences of men; but 'if any one deſired any further examination or regiſtering, it might be complied 'with. That Church-diſcipline, or Brotherly Admonition, ſhould be likewiſe exer'ciſed according to our Saviour's doctrine; to wit, The *Conſiſtory* might admoniſh 'ſuch as led diſorderly lives by one of their own body; and if they would not hear 'him, they ſhould then join two or three more; and if they were not heard, then 'one of the Miniſters ſhould be added; and if the perſon or perſons that had given 'offence continued obſtinate after the third and laſt admonition and reproof, and 'would not yet hearken to the admonition, they ſhould leave him to God, and 'he ſhould be excluded from the Lord's Table; but without any other excommuni'cation or anathematizing. That the publiſhing and confirming of Marriages ſhould 'be performed according to the Ordinances of the States. That the Miniſters ſhould 'preach every *Sunday* on the Epiſtle and Goſpel of the day, for the benefit of weak 'brethren; but upon other days, according to the occaſion, or their own diſcretion; 'but all their ſermons ſhould be out of the word of God, and no otherwiſe.'

Articles of Church-government eſtabliſhed by the Magiſtrates of Utrecht.

1 Thus the lawful Government being re-eſtabliſhed in *Utrecht*, that kind of *Reformation* which was begun upon the model of St. *James*'s, was, in the moſt eſſential parts of it, reſtored likewiſe in due time; but the diſtinction of St. *James*'s dropped.

2 This ſame year, upon the death of the Count of *Nieuwenaer*, the States of *Utrecht* choſe Prince *Maurice* their Stadtholder, upon certain terms and conditions drawn up with the knowledge and approbation both of the States General and thoſe of *Holland*, importing, 'That his Excellency ſhould maintain and defend the *true* 'Chriſtian and *Evangelical religion*, in the city, towns and province of *Utrecht*, ac'cording to the regulations already made about it by the States of the ſaid province, 'or that ſhould be made by them; the ſaid States conceiving, that purſuant to the 'XIIIth Article of the *Nearer Union*, the diſpoſition of church affairs did belong 'to them; yet without ſcrutiny, or examining into the conſciences of any perſons, 'or ſearching their houſes, unleſs by the order or leave of the Magiſtrates of the city 'or towns, and in the villages or open country of the States or their Deputies; and 'laſtly, without injuring or moleſting any man on account of his Faith, which is 'the gift of God only.'

Conditions agreed upon between Prince Maurice *as Stadtholder, and the States of* Utrecht, *with reference to Religion.*

* See p. 356.

3 Not long after, the Prince was alſo made Stadtholder of *Gelderland* and *Zutphen*, but upon the ſtipulation following, to which he conſented: 'That he ſhould ſup'port the *Reformed* religion which, by the ſingular providence of God, had been in'troduced into the Principality of *Gelderland* and Country of *Zutphen*; and upon 'all occaſions ſhould countenance it in the Lordſhips of the open country, in ſuch 'manner, that no other religions beſides ſhould be exerciſed in the ſaid Provinces. 'However, that no body ſhould be called to account, or examined with reference to 'his belief, excepting Miniſters.'

Conditions accepted by him as Stadtholder of Gelderland *and* Zutphen.

4 In the mean while, *Taco Sybrants*, who had been formerly one of the Miniſters of St. *James*'s at *Utrecht*, and had afterwards ſettled at *Alkmaer*, was, by the leave and recommendation of the Claſſis of that town, called to the Miniſtry of *Medenblik* by the Magiſtrates. The *Conſiſtory* oppoſed the Call, becauſe it did not proceed from them. Complaint was made to the Claſſis of *Enkhuiſen*, who juſtified the *Conſiſtory*, and condemning the Magiſtrates, declared the Call to be unlawful, and interfering with the uſual method. Prince *Maurice*, and ſome of the Commiſſioners of the States

[1] Grot. Apol. Lib. III. *p.* 33.
[2] Bor. Lib. XXVII. *p.* 16.
[3] Bor. *in the Append. to the third Vol. p.* 33.
[4] Bor. Lib. XXVI. *p.* 57. Lib. XXXII. *p.* 71. Uitenb. *p.* 301. Grot. Apol. Lib. III. *p.* 33.

States arriving ſoon after at *Enkhuiſen* in *October*, about ſome affairs of the Province, heard the complaints of the Clergy. But the Burgomaſters, on the other hand, having juſtified their proceedings, the Prince and the other Lords, after ſeveral negotiations at ſeveral times, declared, that the ſaid call was lawful and good; and required, that there ſhould be no farther diſputes about that matter. Anno Dom. 1590.

1 In the preceding year, *Juſtus Lipſius*, Profeſſor of Hiſtory at *Leyden*, who by his conciſe eloquence, and his Commentary on the *Roman Antiquities*, had got a great name, publiſhed a certain book, treating of Polity or Civil Government, after a new method; in which he very happily, and with great energy for the moſt part, diſpoſed and connected the Apothegms or Sentences of the Antients (eſpecially the Hiſtorians) with his own thoughts and phraſe. Diſcourſing in this book concerning Religion, he maintained, That but one kind of religion ought to be tolerated in the ſame country, and that too according to the ancient practice, by protecting and defending the Inſtitutions of our Anceſtors, and their religious rites: 'Againſt this Religion, 'ſays he, there is a two-fold manner of offending, the one publick, the other pri-'vate; the former is, when any perſon entertains heterodox opinions of God, and of 'the eſtabliſhed church, and endeavours to bring over others to his party; the latter, 'when people eſpouſe the like opinions, but keep them to themſelves.' Such as did the firſt, he was for puniſhing, eſpecially if they created diſturbances in the State. *Mercy*, ſays he, *has no place here*; **Cauſticks** *and* **Amputations** *muſt be made uſe of, it being better that one limb ſhould periſh than the whole body.* 2 *Koornhert* the ſworn enemy of the putting Hereticks to death, and of all force upon Conſcience, oppoſed this book of *Lipſius*, and after having exchanged ſeveral Letters with him and others, followed his blow, by publiſhing his treatiſe, entituled, *The Proceſs* (or Tryal) *of Heretick-killing and force upon Conſcience*; dedicating it to the Magiſtrates of *Leyden*. He likewiſe ſent his book to the Magiſtrates of other towns in *Holland*, warning them againſt theſe notions of *Lipſius*. The latter took this very ill. The Magiſtrates of *Leyden*, to gratify *Lipſius*, publiſhed from the Town-houſe, That *they did not accept of the aforeſaid Dedication*; *and that* Koornhert *had thereby done them neither honour nor ſervice.* However, they did not forbid the book. They moreover expreſt the high eſteem they had of *Lipſius*. They allowed their Burghers to read *Koornhert*'s little tract, but exhorted them to read likewiſe at the ſame time the noble book of *Lipſius*, which he had written againſt it, meaning his *Latin* treatiſe of *The only Religion againſt the Dialogue-maker*. However, *Lipſius* was not ſatisfied with this declaration, and the rather, becauſe he heard that *Koornhert*, who had been long infirm, was ſtill writing againſt him: and it is related of him, that he endeavoured, by the help of ſome of the Towns-Deputies in the Aſſembly of the States, to procure an order, that no body ſhould write againſt his book of *Policy*, but that the motion was ſtopped by the Heer *Gerard de Lange*, Burgomaſter of *Gouda*, with the following anſwer; *If what* Lipſius *has writ be true, it will be the more confirmed by weak oppoſitions; but if there ſhould appear in his book any doctrines pernicious to the State, what harm is there in correcting them?*

Lipſius *writes in defence of* Heretick-killing.

3 Shortly after, *Lipſius*, under pretence of taking a journey to the Baths of the *Spaw* for the ſake of his health, went through *Germany* to *Brabant*, and at the ſame time over to the *Romiſh* church, though he had openly oppoſed it at *Leyden*, as his Poems in honour of *William Feugueræus* and others do teſtifie. 4 And yet he writ from *Mentz* to the Jeſuit *Francis Bencius*, after the following manner: *I can truly declare, and in the preſence of God, that I never joined with thoſe ill men in the buſineſs of Religion. I have always thought the old Religion the beſt: yet where another was practiſed, we did the ſame.* 5 This was thought by ſome to be diſſembling, and turning about with the times; and that the vexation he received from *Koornhert*'s writings, and the fear that the *Dutch* would come by the worſt in the war with *Spain*, had induced him to change ſides. 6 Since that time, being made Profeſſor at *Louvain*, he ſhewed himſelf as zealous for *Popery* as for the *Spaniſh* intereſt. When he was gone, *Koornhert* finiſhed upon his ſick-bed, the defence of his *Trial of Heretick-killing*; which book his Heirs cauſed to be turned into *Latin* after his death, and printed. He died at *Gouda* the 29th of *October*, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age.

Lipſius *retires to* Brabant, *and embraces the* Popiſh Religion.

The death of Koornhert.

[1] Lipſ. de Polit. Lib. IV. Cap. 2, 3, & 4.
[2] Koornhert's *Works*, Lib. II. *p.* 50. Lib. III. *p.* 146.
[3] Bor. Lib. XXVIII. *p.* 9. Aub. Miræus in vita Lipſ. *p.* 25. Jo. Meur. Athen. Bat. *p.* 251.
[4] Lipſ. Ep. Dec. VI. Ep. 4.
[5] Grot. Hiſt. Lib. V. *p.* 266.
[6] Ib. Lib. VII. *p.* 329. Bor. Lib. XXXII. *p.* 2.

An° Dom. 1590. His friend *Henry Laurentſon Spiegel*, that great improver of our Language, and Author of *the Mirror of the Heart*, writ his Epitaph, which is upon his Monument near the Choir of the Great Church. He bore his ſickneſs with great patience and conſtancy, ſaying among other things: *I received a ſoul from God, and it belongs to him. If I poſſeſs it as my own, I do ill; but if as God's, I do right. I have no property in it; he may either reject it or ſave it, according to his good pleaſure. I have no reaſon to complain, for God is good, and does nothing but what is good, and will not therefore deſtroy his good creatures.* Various judgments were paſſed upon him and his Works after his death. [1] Some ranked him among the Half-Libertines, and ſaid, that he ſpake againſt all ſorts of Chriſtians; others were of opinion, that he only oppoſed the abuſes in every Sect, and their indiſcreet zeal and perſecuting tempers, and that he would have joined himſelf even with the *Reformed*, if theſe things had not hindered him. [2] For he ſpeaks thus to the Miniſters of *Delft* in one of his books: 'Would to God you could make appear by your tenderneſs and charity to-'wards ſuch as err, that nothing of the murdering Mother lies concealed in you, but 'that your Child is the living Child, and your Church the True Church and Mo-'ther! How dumb then ſhould you ſee me as to the reſolutions you have taken of 'putting men to death for religion? For then you would no longer entertain thoſe 'opinions, and then I ſhould immediately join with you. But how is it to be ex-'pected? Are you not for putting Hereticks to death here as well as at *Geneva*? 'Do you not publickly adviſe the ſame things as the falſe Mother, to wit, that 'thoſe who diſturb the external peace of your church, ſhould ſuffer capital puniſh-'ments.

[3] *Lipſius*, who had deſcribed him as an unquiet and turbulent man, and one that delighted in nothing but quarrels; ſpeaks thus of him in a Letter to *Spiegel* after his death: *I am ſorry I ever had any diſpute with* Koornhert. *Were I to begin again, I would write with much more temper; for ſometimes the wind of paſſion fills our ſails too full, and I find how unfixt I ſtand in the way to that conſtancy I have been treating of.* *Grotius* in a certain Letter, ſays, *that he highly eſteemed the labours of* Koornhert, *as knowing that he fully underſtood the foundation of our war, and was likewiſe an enemy to diſputes and controverſies in matters of religion.* And again, *I hope that the Works of that judicious perſon will not be unprofitable in bringing over to peaceful councils, ſome of thoſe who are not too much prejudiced; and for promoting thoſe things in which the religion of Chriſtians does properly conſiſt.* [4] *Pontanus* reckons him among the Learned men of the city of *Amſterdam*, and praiſes his love of piety and truth. [5] *Hadrianus Junius*, in his Deſcription of *Holland*, calls him, *A man of divine underſtanding*; but adds, *that fortune was his enemy.* He thinks that he ſuffered himſelf to be made uſe of by God, as a *voluntary demoliſher of the murthering priſon of conſciences.* Some affirm of him, that he was the *Cato* of the *Reformation*, who endeavoured with indefatigable zeal, to cenſure and amend whatever he found amiſs, without reſpect of perſons. The Heer *Peter Hooft* wrote ſome fine verſes upon his picture.

A Synod of South-Holland *holden at* Dort.

[6] This ſame year the Clergy ſummoned the *South-Holland* Synod to *Dort*, contrary to the expreſs orders of the States. However, the States ſuffered them to ſit, but ſent thither two Commiſſioners to ſuperintend their tranſactions, as they had done the year before at *Gouda*. The ſynodical Claſſis, in order to promote the holding the Synod, had deſired that the States would be pleaſed to depute ſome of their body to *Dort*. In the inſtructions which the States gave their Deputies, they declared; That *they were not ſatisfied that the Synod ſhould be again aſſembled without their previous conſent, and againſt the reſolution they had taken upon that head; but that they did now however conſent that they might proceed to do buſineſs, provided they did not meddle with Civil matters, nor with the Diſcipline or Government of the Church in general; and that from thence forwards no Synod ſhould be holden without the previous conſent of his Excellency and their Lordſhips.* This we find recorded in the Journals of the Synod, as well as what now follows; to wit, *The Synod having conſidered the above Declaration of the States, have unanimouſly reſolved, for certain weighty reaſons, and for preventing the inconveniences that might otherwiſe happen*

A Declaration and Reſolution of the States with reference to the holding of the Synod.

The Anſwer and Petition of the Synod.

3

[1] G.Voet. Bibliot. *p.* 533. Grot. Apol. Lib.III. *p.* 35.
[2] Koornhert's *Works*, Lib. II. *p.* 252, *and* 581.
[3] Epiſt. ad Ordines Lib. de una Rel. præf.
[4] Hiſt. Amſt. Lib. II. *p.* 244.
[5] Ibid. *cap.* XVI. *p.* 240.
[6] Trigland. Hiſt. *p.* 707.

happen (which in caſe of need ſhall be explained) and the rather, becauſe their Lord-ſhips are ſending Commiſſioners to the Synod, that their Lordſhips be deſired to leave to the Church, the direction of ſuch Eccleſiaſtial affairs, without inquiring into their proceedings; ſince the ſaid Synod is not conſcious that any other things but Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and thoſe alſo More Eccleſiaſtico, *were ever treated of at their meetings; neither do they aim at any thing more, but to follow the general rules of the Church; as it has alſo been their cuſtom to refer to the national Synod, whatever concerned the Church in general.* An° Dom. 1590.

In the ſame Synod it was agreed again to remonſtrate to the States what had been before repreſented to them by the Deputies of the Synod of *Gouda*; to wit, 'That 'it had been an ancient Right and Cuſtom of the Church, and founded upon the word 'of God, to convene and hold ſynodical meetings, and to pray their Lordſhips to 'ſuffer the Church to enjoy this her right, and to interpret it in the moſt favourable 'ſenſe, that this Synod was called without the explicite conſent of his Excellency 'or their Lordſhips, for reaſons which the Deputies of the Synod would explain to 'the States themſelves, at the ſame time deſiring that they, the ſaid States, would 'once for all give leave, that the Church might enjoy her aforeſaid right and uſage 'of holding ſuch meetings.——And whereas it was ſuſpected that this prohibition 'of convening the Synod without the conſent of the Lords the States muſt proceed 'from ſome jealouſies which the ſaid States had entertained againſt the Miniſters 'and their tranſactions, the thought of it was very grievous to the ſaid Synod.' Therefore the Miniſters deſired ſome explication of the grounds of thoſe jealouſies, 'and 'that the States would depute ſome Lords of their body to enter into a Conference 'and Treaty with the Deputies of the Churches, and, having duly weighed every 'thing, to give ſuch orders as might prevent all future jealouſies.'

A Synod at Horn.

[1] In the *North-Holland* Synod, holden this ſame year in *June*, at the town of *Horn*, there happened a diſpute with a certain Miniſter, named *Andrew Folkartſon van Valkooge*, about *Predeſtination*; where by way of propoſal it was aſked; *Whether the Synod ſhould take upon them to inſtruct the ſaid* Folkartſon *in what he differed from the* Reformed *Church*, to wit, *the buſineſs of* Predeſtination, *and the points relating to it; or whether they ſhould indulge him therein; or laſtly proceed againſt him with Eccleſiaſtical cenſures?* It is recorded in the Acts of the ſaid Synod, that *he had ſatisfied the Synod upon ſome points by his anſwer in writing, he having declared that he adhered to the* Netherland Confeſſion *in the XXXVII Articles; and that he was to be exhorted to carry himſelf diſcreetly, both in the Pulpit and in his common converſation, to the end that ignorant people might not take the opportunity of ſlandering him behind his back.* [2] Thus the matter is related by the Synod, but *Clement Martenſon*, and *Cornelius Meynertſon Spruit*, Miniſters at that very time at *Horn* and *Berkhout*, who were both of them preſent at the ſaid Synod, tell this ſtory ſomewhat differently, or rather more plainly, ſaying, that it was reſolved in the Synod, that *Andrew van Volkooge* ſhould receive no further trouble, but might perſevere in the moderate ſentiments of *Henry Bullinger*. Thus it ſeems they then allowed of ſome difference in thoſe points, by way of temperament. Accordingly the States General of the *United Provinces* did likewiſe in thoſe times exert great moderation in religious matters, even with regard to the *Papiſts* themſelves. For after having ſurprized the Caſtle of *Breda*, in the month of *March* of this year, by the means of a a Boat laden with Turf, the town being yeilded by capitulation, with a Salvo to their Rights and Privileges; though it was firſt agreed, that as to the requeſt of the exerciſe of the *Popiſh* Religion, the inhabitants were to conform themſelves to what Prince *Maurice* ſhould grant them with the knowledge and approbation of the States; yet afterwards the publick exerciſe of the ſaid religion was allowed to the people of that town in one of the churches, for ſeveral reaſons; and in the reſt the *Reformed* Religion was uſed.

Their moderation with reſpect to the point of Predeſtination.

The Papiſts obtain a Church at Breda.

Not long after, on the 16th of *June*, died the Heer *Adrian vander Mijle*, Preſident of the Court of *Holland*, after having rendered many ſervices to his Country both in Church and State with inviolable fidelity, unſpotted integrity, great judgment, ſagacity, and ſweetneſs of temper——He was a Gentleman of excellent learning,

[1] *From the Acts of that Synod.* [2] Uitenb. Hiſt. *p.* 299.

An° Dom. 1590. learning, as well as a great patron of the learned men of his age, to whom he was very dear. ——

[1] The States of *Holland* obſerving that the churches within their juriſdiction were engaged in perpetual brangles for want of diſcipline, and that thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Canons which the Clergy had made in their Synods (particularly thoſe of the year 1586, in the time of *Leiceſter*) without the knowledge or conſent of the ſaid States, were very diſagreeable to many, did by the advice of the Heer *Oldenbarnevelt*, Advocate of *Holland*, refer the draught of an Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, that had been prepared in the year 83, to eight Gentlemen, choſen out of the Aſſembly of the States, and from the Courts of Juſtice, by whom they were reviſed and digeſted in the months of *February* and *March*. From this draught there was a Conſtitution formed, which the States ſent to the Courts for their opinion. The Courts declared that it was a godly and edifying Scheme; and not only uſeful, but abſolutely neceſſary to the welfare both of the Church and Nation. And the ſaid Conſtitution would have been accordingly approved by the Nobles and Cities of *Holland* and *Weſt-Freeſland*, had not five of the towns, viz. *Delft*, *Gouda*, *Rotterdam*, *Horn*, and *Medenblik*, oppoſed it, as taking away too much of the rights and prerogatives of the Government and Civil Magiſtrates, and giving too much to the Clergy, which they could not conſent to, without prejudicing the country and towns. But this ſtiffneſs in maintaining the Civil authority againſt the Eccleſiaſtical, was afterwards the cauſe that the towns in the enſuing diſorders and confuſions, ſuffered the moſt damage in what they were ſo eager for ſaving.

A Scheme of Church-Government *drawn up by order of the States of* Holland.

Certain Cities refuſe to comply with it.

On the other hand, the Clergy in the Synods both of *South* and *North-Holland* were no leſs ſcrupulous of receiving this Conſtitution. They prayed, that *although every Member of the States ſhould be for receiving the Conſtitution, it might not be put in practice before it was conſidered of, and approved in the provincial Synod; nor before the Churches had been heard againſt it.* [2] Nay, ſome of the Clergy propoſed, that *thoſe Miniſters who had been employed in this affair, and had proceeded ſo far as to ſign it, ſhould be cenſured, for having conceded too much to the Civil powers, and even betrayed the rights of the Church.*

It is oppoſed by the Clergy.

In this Conſtitution, or Form of Church-Government, which is to be found in the Hiſtory of *Peter Bor*, there was more authority aſcribed to the Magiſtrate than in ſome of the Canons made by the Clergy before, even ſome ſort of cognizance about Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and the pronouncing of excommunication, and other points that gave offence to ſome. That which related to the choice and appointment of Miniſters, Elders, and Deacons, in the aforeſaid Conſtitution, was in ſubſtance as follows: ‘ When there was any want of a Miniſter in any town, the Burgomaſters ‘ and Magiſtrates were to depute four perſons, and to require the Miniſters and El- ‘ ders likewiſe to depute four, who, after prayers and proper inquiry, ſhould ‘ jointly proceed to chuſe ſuch a man as ſeemed to them well qualified for the ſaid ‘ ſervice. Having made a choice, they were to report it to the Burgomaſters or Ma- ‘ giſtrates, and if theſe approved it, then the ſaid perſon ſhould be examined, and if ‘ he appeared fit, be propoſed to the Congregation, and then, according to the cu- ‘ ſtom of every church, confirmed in his office. But in caſe the Magiſtrates ſhould ‘ declare themſelves not ſatisfied with ſuch a choice, then the aforeſaid Deputies ‘ ſhould proceed to a new election in the manner already mentioned. So likewiſe ‘ when there was a demand for a Miniſter of God's word in any village, the chief ‘ Officer, together with the *Scout* and the Court of Juſtice, ſhould appoint four of ‘ the moſt proper perſons they could find in the place, who, with three Miniſters ‘ out of the Claſſis, and one Elder of the Church, or if there was no Elder, then ‘ with a fourth Miniſter of the ſaid Claſſis, ſhould jointly proceed to the election ‘ of a Miniſter. As for ſuch churches, where the right of nomination was in the ‘ Lord of the place, who was in actual poſſeſſion of the ſame, he ſhould chuſe a Mi- ‘ niſter, and preſent the Miniſter ſo choſen to the Lord of the village; and if he ‘ liked him, the ſaid Miniſter ſhould be examined and ſettled as above: but in caſe ‘ the Lord did not approve of him, then they ſhould proceed to elect another after ‘ the former manner.——Elders and Deacons ſhould be yearly choſen in the manner ‘ following; to wit, in towns and cities four perſons appointed by the Magiſtrates,

Some Account of that Scheme, as far as it referred to the choice of Miniſters, Elders, *and* Deacons.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXVIII. *p.* 21. Uitenb. *p.* 277. Grot. Apol. Lib. II. *p.* 17.—Lib. VII. *p.* 79. [2] Bor. ib *p.* 22, &c.

'and four by the Conſiſtory, ſhould chuſe three times as many perſons (from among the beſt qualified of the *Chriſtian Reformed* Religion) as the condition of the Church required, and out of them the Burgomaſters or Magiſtrates ſhould chuſe the requiſite numbers. —— In the villages and open country, the election ſhould be yearly made by four perſons appointed by the chief Officer, *Scout*, and Court of Juſtice, with the Miniſter and one Elder of the place, and two other Miniſters of the Claſſis. But in thoſe places where there was a particular Lord, who had the right or gift of the Benefice, the nomination of four perſons ſhould be in him, and three times as many as were neceſſary ſhould be preſented to him, among whom he ſhould chuſe thoſe that were wanting. —— The Elders and Deacons thus elected ſhould, according to the cuſtom of the Church, be preſented to the Congregation.

An° Dom. 1591.

The States of Holland *ſend two Commiſſioners to the* North-Holland *Synod.*

1 At the Synod of *North-Holland*, holden about this time at *Enkhuiſen*, there appeared for the firſt time, on the 3d of *July*, two Commiſſioners on the part of the States of *Holland*. The deſign of their coming is thus expreſſed in the Regiſters of the ſaid Synod: 'This day appeared in the Synod two Commiſſioners of the Court 'of the honourable Lords, the States of *Holland*, namely, the Heer *William van* '*Nievelt*, and the honourable Counſellor *Borle*, who declared they were ſent with 'certain inſtructions from the Lords the States to this Synod, and that they were 'appointed to be preſent among us, and to hear all our debates, and to take care that 'there ſhould be nothing tranſacted here but matters concerning the Church, and 'nothing mentioned of Political or Civil affairs: Moreover, that they were directed 'to acquaint us, on behalf of the ſaid Lords the States, as likewiſe on the part of 'his Excellency, that this our Synodical meeting was agreeable to, and approved 'by them; and further, that they were ordered to ſignifie to us, that we ſhould not 'hold any particular Synods from this time forwards, without the previous know-'ledge and conſent of the States and his Excellency. And after our receiving theſe 'Orders, and the ſaid Commiſſioners with reſpect and thanks, the Synodical Acts 'of the foregoing day were read to the ſaid Commiſſioners, againſt which they 'made no objection, but ſeemed to be ſatisfied therewith.'

A Declartion of the ſaid States with reference to Church-Affairs.

2 On the 5th of *September*, the States of *Holland* declared and ordained, upon occaſion of a certain Petition preſented to them by the Clergy; That 'no man ſhould 'preſume to take upon him the office of a Preacher within their dominions, before 'he was duly examined and admitted to the ſame. That likewiſe thoſe Miniſters 'who were under Eccleſiaſtical cenſure for the irregularity of their lives or doctrines, 'might for the future be kept in order without any hindrance on their part. And that 'there might be holden here in the *Hague*, for the preſent, a particular Synod, over 'which the Heers *van Benthuſen* and *Leonhard Kaſenbrood*, Counſellor of the Court 'of *Holland*, ſhould preſide, with the ſame inſtructions and commiſſions as thoſe of 'the laſt year. And that beſides, there might be ſummoned and holden every year 'a particular Synod, over which Commiſſioners of the States were to preſide with 'the like inſtructions, and in order to ſee that no Civil matters ſhould be treated of 'there, nor any Eccleſiaſtical that were only cognizable by the General Synod. All 'which was to be obſerved proviſionally, and till further order.

A certain Church-Government *introduced by the States of* Zeland.

3 In this ſame year the States of *Zeland* made and promulgated an Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, without conſulting the reſt of the Provinces, though it varied from, and contradicted in ſeveral points that which was agreed upon in the *Hague* in 86. This Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution was accepted upon an expreſs declaration that it ſhould be only proviſional, and that the States of *Zeland* reſerved to themſelves the power of altering, adding to, or diminiſhing the ſame. And accordingly, moſt of the towns of that Province made ſeveral variations in divers articles ſuitable to their particular caſes.

The Youth are forbidden to ſtudy in Spaniſh *Univerſities.*

4 Some time before, *viz.* on the 12th of *March*, the States of *Holland* forbad the Youth of their Province to ſtudy at *Louvain*, *Douay*, *Dole*, or any other Univerſity on this ſide the Mountains under the dominion of *Spain*, on pain of forfeiting 300 Gilders for every year. 5 In the enſuing year, 1592, two *Anabaptiſts*, *Bartholomew Panten* and *Michel de Weduwaer*, were put to death for their religion, at the caſtle of *Gant*. There was a woman of the ſame perſwaſion taken up with them, but diſcharged.

[1] *From the Acts of the Synod, and Hiſtory of* Enkhuiſen, *p.* 190.
[2] Trigl. Hiſt. *p.* 709.
[3] Grot. Apol. Lib. II. *p.* 17.
[4] Bor. Lib. XXVII. *p.* 19.
[5] *Hiſt. of* Anabaptiſt *Martyrs*, p. 834.

At

An° Dom. 1592. At *Emerick*, in the Land of *Cleves*, they turned out the Proteſtant Miniſter, and received the *Jeſuits*. [1] But Prince *Maurice*, who lay then with the States Army at *Sevenaer*, and who by ſeveral late victories over the *Spaniards* had acquired credit and authority, ſhewed his diſſatisfaction at it, ſince the exerciſe of the *Reformed* religion had been allowed there for forty years. The Magiſtrates laid the blame on the Council, and the Council on their Prince, ſaying, That *the introduction of the* Jeſuits *had been projected by the old Prince, and was now compleated by his Son; who hoped that Prince* Maurice *and the States would allow him the ſame power as other Princes of the Empire, to eſtabliſh what religion he liked beſt in his own Dominions, and not preſcribe him any laws in that matter, but live with him as a good neighbour. That as for the* Jeſuits, *they ſhould meddle with nothing but the School.* Prince *Maurice* replied, That *he had no intention to preſcribe any rules to the Duke of* Cleves, *either as to his Civil or Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration; but neither could he bear the* Jeſuits *for neighbours. That he knew them to be the Spies of* Spain; *and that therefore they ſought to fix their Chair as near as poſſible to theſe Confines. Beſides that, they had murdered his Father, for which reaſon he would always be their enemy.*

After the breaking up of the Army, *Gerrit de Yonge*, who commanded in *'sGraevenward*, or *Schenkenſchans*, drove away the cattle of the town of *Emerick*, promiſing to reſtore them when they ſhould drive away the *Jeſuits*; upon which they were diſmiſſed: But that the Council of *Cleves* ſhould impute to their Princes, Father and Son, the introduction of the *Jeſuits* into their country, was ridiculous; for God had been pleaſed to viſit them both with diſtempers of the Brain; beſides, the Son had not yet been poſſeſſed of the Government; and as for the Father, Duke *William*, who deceaſed the 5th day of *January* this year, as long as he enjoyed his underſtanding, he always favoured the religion contained in the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, cauſing it to be preached at his Court, and educating his Daughter in the ſame. [2] He received the Lord's Supper under one kind, the day before *Eaſter*, in the year 1558, and promoted a General *Reformation* over all his country with ſo much zeal, that he took pen in hand, carefully peruſed the books of *Calvin*, and gave *Caſſander*, who had made ſeveral political objections againſt it, the following anſwer; *There is no Council againſt God.* But the Imperial Diet intervening at *Auſburg*, in the year 1566, prevented his deſign; for, through human frailty, he durſt not oppoſe the Emperor, but againſt his conſcience attended him to Maſs, and was deprived of his ſenſes the ſame day. This is obſerved by [3] *Reid*, as an example of the righteous judgment of God, and may ſerve for a leſſon to all Princes. He lived twenty-ſix years in this diſorder of his mind, and attained to the ſeventy-ſixth of his age. During his incapacity, his Country was governed by his Privy Council, who being moſt of them friends to *Spain* and *Rome*, endeavoured to ſettle the *Jeſuits* in the towns: and theſe embraced the opportunity, through the convenience of neighbourhood, to ſow their ſeed in the *United Netherlands*.

William, D. of Cleves, *acts contrary to his conſcience, and is deprived of his ſenſes.*

An account of the Order of the Jeſuits.

[4] Upon the occaſion of making freſh mention of the *Jeſuits*, we cannot omit giving the Reader a ſhort account of that Order; ſince the *Reformation*, which was introduced into theſe Provinces, had never more violent Antagoniſts, nor *Popery* greater Champions.

[5] *Ignatius* (at firſt named *Inicus*, or *Enecus*) *Loyola*, a *Spaniſh* Gentleman and a Native of *Biſcay*, being weary of the Wars, where he got nothing but diſabled limbs, turned his brave and warlike inclinations to more peaceable employments. Whilſt he lived in this tranquility, he had a ſtrong fancy to found a Religious Order, to which, in hopes of its future greatneſs, he would not give the name of any excellent Man or Saint, as is uſual in ſuch inſtitutions, but that of *Jeſus* himſelf, from which the word *Jeſuit* is derived. Such as were pleaſed with this novelty, and joined themſelves to him, had chiefly two things in view, *viz.* the Authority of the *Pope*, and the Grandure of *Spain*: The authority of the *Pope*, which was in it's declenſion, they ſupported by effectual remedies, which till then had been neglected; *viz.* by re-eſtabliſhing good Morals, and all kind of Literature: They ſoon gained experience,

2

[1] Reyd. *p.* 305.

[2] G. Caſſand. in Epiſt. 3. Non. Jul. 1558. Scripta, quæ integra legitur in Actis de Communione ſub utraq; ſpecie, à G. Calixto edit. Helmſtad 1642.

[3] Pag. 306.

[4] Grot. Hiſt. Lib. III. *p.* 194. Thuan. Hiſt. Lib. XXXVII. *p.* 367.

[5] Alphonſ. de Vargas Tolet. Relat. de Stratag. Jeſuit. Cap. VII.

rience, by exerciſe, in the many diſputes, with all the Sects that in thoſe times roſe up againſt the Papal Chair. They likewiſe added to their fame and credit, by their voyages to *America* and *India*; where they at once propagated the *Chriſtian* religion among the Savages after their manner, and extended the dominion of *Spain*: Great miracles were ſaid to have been wrought by them on this occaſion; which, by reaſon of the diſtance of places, the boldneſs of the reporters, and the credulity of the hearers, were yet much more magnified and divulged. They abounded with all other good qualities, either really, or in appearance; but thoſe of ſincerity and modeſty were much to be deſired in ſome of them. They acquired great authority over the minds of the people, by the ſhow of extraordinary Holineſs; and by inſtructing the Youth in Languages and Sciences, without any profit or reward. They had their Generals, in all places and countries; and a *Generaliſſimo*, or one that commanded the Order throughout the whole world; and he was uſually a *Spaniard*: They governed wiſely, and obeyed faithfully. All that joined themſelves to their Order were not bound to live together: They conceived, that the increaſe of their Fraternity would be too great to be confined within any walls; for which reaſon they likewiſe admitted heads of families, and married men, into their Order. There was nothing they took more pains to teach and inculcate into men's minds, then the contempt of death, and the conqueſt of their paſſions and inclinations; but above all, they endeavoured to draw to them ſuch as excelled others, in Knowledge, Nobility, or Riches: They ſerved themſelves of each, for they were as ſkilful in diſtinguiſhing men of parts, as in chuſing them: They ſoon diſcovered who among their diſciples would become eminent for ſpeaking, and who for writing: As ſome of them were of illuſtrious birth, they inſinuated themſelves into the moſt important Councils, by their dexterity of penetrating into, and diſcovering, ſecrets; which nothing could better enable them to do than the pretence of religion. They procured to themſelves great wealth by the Bequeſts and Legacies of dying people, as well as by the Gifts of the living. An° Dom. 1590.

By theſe artifices we have ſeen, that the *Jeſuits*, the youngeſt and lateſt of all the Religious Orders in the Church of *Rome*, have, in a ſhort time, gotten the ſtart of all the former Orders of Monks in authority and riches: This made them odious to the reſt, as if they condemned the manners of others by a life diametrically oppoſite: But being raiſed above their Enviers, they found acceſs to the Courts of Princes, by a middle way that was commendable; for they kept themſelves between a baſe and groveling abjectneſs on the one hand, and ſtately pride on the other, by neither flattering nor imitating the vices of men. This Order was the principal inſtrument made uſe of by the *Spaniards* in extending their dominion: By theſe they maintained peace at home; by theſe they robbed others of peace, and carried on their wars abroad: for the *Jeſuits*, inſinuating themſelves into the minds of the *Romaniſts* in *France*, *England*, and even in *Holland*, extolled Kingly Government among the *Dutch*; and declaimed as much againſt it among the *French* and *Engliſh*: and, though in ſome Countries they were baniſhed upon pain of death; yet was not that ſufficient to reſtrain them from creeping in again: [1] Their Schools or Seminaries produced divers Aſſaſſins of Kings and Princes.

[2] The States of *Holland*, being ſenſible of the want of learned men to oppoſe theſe *Spies* of *Rome* and *Spain*, to warn the people, and keep them within the bounds of their duty; did, on the 6th of *October* this year, inſtitute a Seminary, or Nurſery, of Students at *Leyden*, who were to be inſtructed and educated in the ſcience of Divinity for the ſervice of the Church, at the charge of the Government. *A Seminary, or School, erected at Leyden, in oppoſition to thoſe of the Jeſuits.*

This ſame year alſo, *Gellius Snecanus*, an ancient, learned and godly Miniſter in *Freeſland*, publiſhed a book, in which he treated of *Predeſtination*, agreeably to the opinion of *Melanchon*; maintaining, That the doctrine of a conditional Predeſtination was not only conſiſtent with the word of God, but alſo could not be charged with novelty. He affirmed, that thoſe who taught the contrary in *Freeſland* at the beginning of the *Reformation*, were looked upon as Innovators. Accordingly he complains, in his ſecond Preface, to the Magiſtrates of the Diſtrict of *Dokkum*, 'That 'being about to publiſh his labours, ſomething very ſtrange, and (as he thought) inconſiſtent Gellius Snecanus *publiſhes ſome Treatiſes concerning* Predeſtination.

[1] *See the Annotations on the 18th and 19th Books.*

[2] Bor. Lib. XXIX. *p.* 33.

An° Dom. 1590.

'inconsistent with the word of God, had intervened; it was something that savoured of a *New Popery* and *Spanish Inquisition*, nay, of a new yoke of Foreigners; 'which alas! was an old and fatal mischief to the people of his country.' This induced him to print his Writings privately, notwithstanding he publickly prefixed his name, and inscribed his Book to the States, Nobility, Great Men and Towns of *Freesland*, as also to the Stadtholder, the Count of *Nassaw*; [1] without receiving any censure either from the Government or the Clergy, or any other trouble on that account. In one of his Prefaces he warns the Stadtholder and Magistracy against a new Papacy: 'Let not that old Cuckoo's song, *says he*, that nauseous cry of the 'Papists (as if all that is necessary to the determining religious differences, were 'not contained in the Holy Scriptures, but as if many things were left to *Synods* 'and *Ecclesiastical Decrees*) let it not, like a new mystery of iniquity, grow by degrees, and get strength and power over you, as *Jacobus Acontius* has plainly shown it is 'apt to do, in his book of, *The Wiles of Satan*. *When* Christ *tells us, where two or 'three are gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them*; this, *says he*, is 'quite different from the assembling and uniting of any particular Sect, not to try 'their counsels and actions by the laws of God, but only to maintain what they 'themselves, or some other Churchmen, have advanced.——It is one thing to call 'upon the name of God in spirit and in truth, and another to cloak all our own 'resolutions and proceedings under the pretence of invoking that holy name; as if 'the external form of praying could, by its own virtue, sanctifie the institutions of 'men.——If *Melancthon*, *Bullinger*, and several others, have taken the liberty to 'differ from some in the interpretation or explanation of this matter, (*meaning the 'doctrine of* Predestination) and that without prejudice to the Faith, or disturbing 'the Church of *Christ*; I hope I shall not be blamed for using the same freedom.' 'Then, *observing*, that the very Apostles and Apostolical churches did not always agree in every point, but had several disputes and differences; *he concludes*, 'That it was no wonder then, if in these latter times there happened various con-'troversies about the explanation of this or that passage: Therefore, *says he*, let 'all orthodox Professors of Divinity, publickly, and without scrupling to name '*Calvin* himself, or other great men; exhort their Disciples and Scholars not to 'ascribe more authority to any man's writings than the rule of Faith allows.

Beza's opinion of his Writings.

2 *Beza* having afterwards seen this book of *Gellius*, writ Letters to some of the Ministers in *Holland*, signifying his dislike of it: In one to *Uitenbogart*, which I have perused, he says; *You will be informed by our very worthy brother* Taffin, *what I have more largely writ to him concerning the Treatise of one of our* Freesland *Brethren, named* Gellius Snecanus; *a person who seems to me to be learned, but who, in my opinion, would have done better if he had discoursed over the matter with some of his Brethren, before he made his notions publick.* And again; *I think it absolutely necessary, that some care be taken there about these matters as soon as possible, and once for all, if that were practicable; for if we must come to defences and justifications, we shall never have done: Add to this, that if we should proceed to answer* Gellius, *there would be a house full of books written.* Lastly he intreated, that *this his Letter might be taken in good part, and not as if he assumed any authority in the case.*

This advice of opposing *Gellius* otherwise than by writing, had no effect at all; but severity made its way better in other parts.

A Persecution at Valenciennes.

3 At *Valenciennes* one *William de Rijke* was put to death for his religion. *Margaret Pirone*, the wife of *Ambrose Marchant*, had been long absent from Mass, and exercised herself daily at home in reading the Bible. Her Maid informed against her to the Jesuits, and they accused her to the Magistrates. Being imprisoned, she was told she should be discharged, on condition she would come upon a scaffold, ask God and the Court forgiveness, and throw her Bible into the fire. She asked, *Whether the Bible was not a good book?* They answered, *Yes.* She returned, *Why then would you have me throw it into the fire?* They told her, *Only to satisfie the Fathers the Jesuits; besides, you may save your life by burning nothing but paper; after which you may get another Bible.* But she ended the dialogue, by assuring them, That *she would rather be burnt herself, than burn that Book.* Upon this she was confined to a closer

3

[1] Uitenb. *p.* 748. Grot. Apol. Lib. III. *p.* 32.
[2] Ex Epistolis nondum editis.
[3] Hist. des Mart. *p.* 765. *Hist. of Reformed Mart. p.* 503.

cloſer priſon, and fed with bread and water. But having gotten the better of theſe uneaſineſſes, and all other tryals, ſhe was at laſt brought out on the ſcaffold, the 22d of *January* 1593. There, her Bible being burnt before her face, ſhe was ſtrangled, crying out as long as ſhe could; *You burn the word of the Lord, which you before owned to be good and holy.* An° Dom. 1593.

At *Midelburg* in *Zeland*, the *Anabaptiſts* met with new troubles about this time from the Magiſtrates, but they applied again to Prince *Maurice*, as Stadtholder, who protected them in their Religious liberty by the following Letter:

Maurice, *Born Prince of* Orange, *Count of* Naſſaw, *Marquis* Vander Veere, *&c.*

To Our Worſhipful, Learned, Wiſe, Truſty, Dear and Special Friends,

A Letter from Prince Maurice *to the Magiſtrates of* Midelburg, *in favour of the* Anabaptiſts.

THE complaints that have been made to us by Mailiard de Poorter *and* Jooſt Leoniſſe, *Sawyers and Woodmongers, Inhabitants of the town of* Midelburg, *you will fully learn from their incloſed Petition. And although we do in no wiſe doubt but that you, as well as the Petitioners, will entirely conform your ſelves, with regard to the matter of their Petition and Grievances, to the reſolutions formerly taken by the States of* Holland *and* Zeland *on the like occaſion, and the Acts and Letters granted to them and to their Brethren of the ſame Perſwaſion, by our late Lord and Father the Prince of* Orange, *of happy memory: We have nevertheleſs thought fit earneſtly to intreat you (ſince this matter does not only concern the town of* Midelburg *in particular, but all the* United Provinces *in general) that you would comport your ſelves according to the tenor of the aforeſaid reſolutions, peaceably and friendly; allowing the ſaid Petitioners, and their Brethren, to enjoy all ſuch liberties as have been already granted them by the ſaid Acts and Reſolutions, till it ſhall be otherwiſe ordered and provided by the Lords the States General of the* United Provinces. *And as we think it but juſt and equitable, it will be likewiſe very acceptable to us. Thus recommending you,* Worſhipful, Learned, &c. *to God, we remain,*

Done at the Hague,
March 4. 1593.

Your very good Friend,

Maurice de Naſſaw.

The death of Petrus Villerius.

This year, but the day is not mentioned, died at *Weſthoven*, in the Iſland of *Walcheren*, *Peter de L'Oſeleur*, Knight, Lord of *Villiers* and *Weſthoven* (formerly Chaplain and Counſellor of the late Prince of *Orange*, and afterwards of the Council to his Son Prince *Maurice*) whom we had occaſion to mention with reſpect, in the foregoing Book, under the name of *Villers*: He was born at *Liſle*, and was firſt Advocate of the Parliament of *Paris*; but having retired to *Geneva* on account of the cruel perſecutions againſt the *Reformed*, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, by the advice of *Beza*. There he entered into the married ſtate with *Johanna de Brichanteau*, daughter of *Charles de Brichanteau*, Knight, Lord of *St. Martin* and *Nigerets*, who was likewiſe fled thither for religion. Being called to the Miniſtry at *Roan*, he ſerved the Congregation there for a while, till the great Maſſacre, which begun at *Paris* on St. *Bartholomew*'s day, had extended it ſelf to *Roan*. Then he retired with his Wife and ſeven Children, to a certain Caſtle two leagues from the town, but was ſuddenly ſurprized, yet wonderfully eſcaped; for his Perſecutor, a Hatter of *Roan*, was himſelf ſo amazed and confounded, that he ſuffered the Miniſter to eſcape, though he talked with him. Then all was plundered, and his ſeven Children forced away, with nothing but one loaf among them, which was likewiſe taken from them at laſt. He had before ſerved the Queen of *Navarre* and the Admiral of *France*, as Miniſter, by way of loan. [1] In the year 1575, the Prince of *Condé* confiding in his integrity, ſkill and experience, ſent him as his Agent to Queen *Elizabeth*, to promote the affairs of the *Reformed*, and to implore her aſſiſtance.

[1] Cambd. Ann. *p.* 254.

An° Dom. 1593. assistance. While he was in *England* he read Lectures of Divinity, whereby he procured considerable benefit to his family. Afterwards the Prince of *Orange* took him into his service, making him Chaplain of his Council, and employing him usefully in the weightiest affairs. [1] He preached a long time at *Antwerp*, and it is thought he there discovered something of the pernicious designs of the Duke of *Anjou*, of which he informed the Magistrates. After the murder of the Prince of *Orange*, the King of *Navarre*, then known by the name of *Henry the Great*, writ a kind Letter, inviting him into his service. But Prince *Maurice* retained him in his former posts and dignities. By his good conduct he helped him to stem the tide of the *Leicestrian* faction; which rendered him so obnoxious to the *English*, that *Russel*, who commanded for them in *Flushing*, caused him to be seized as he was going from *Westhoven* to *Midelburg*, with the design of carrying him prisoner to *Flushing*; but he put so good a face upon the matter, and pretended such a willingness to go with the *English* soldiers, that they gave him leave to do his business first at *Midelburg*, where as soon as he was come within the gates, he was no longer in their power; and the Magistracy, though desired by *Russel*, refused to deliver him, it not being the custom to deliver up innocent persons in a complement to great men. This *Villers* was of opinion that our *Low-Countries* would find their account more in an Alliance with *France* than with *England*, and accordingly the *French* endeavoured to dispose him to serve the interest of the King of *Navarre*, whom they would gladly have seen Prince of this country after the departure of *Leicester*. [2] Of this mention is made in the Memoirs of *Plessis Marly*.

How highly he was esteemed by the said Gentleman, may appear from one of his Letters to the *French* Envoy *Buzanval*, in which he tells him; *You do well in keeping a strict correspondence with Monsieur* Villers; *you know how highly I have always esteemed those talents God has given him*; *and it is easy for one to love a man whom one honours so much.* [3] His great and flowing eloquence, extolled in the Epistles of *Baudius*, is still to be seen in his Apology for the Prince of *Orange*, against the King of *Spain*'s condemnation of him, and the Letter from the churches of the *Low-Countries*, to the writer of the *Concordia*, which we have spoken of before, and a certain Treatise about *the Right of Princes*, which I never saw; he likewise published a certain book, intitled, *Ratio ineundæ Concordiæ inter Ecclesias Reformatas*. That is, *The Method of concluding an Agreement among the Reformed Churches*. This Discourse, published in the year 1579, under the name of *C. Q. D. A.* contains several remarkable things that plainly show his moderation and love of peace. Speaking of the *Lords'-Supper*, he says, ‘ That there was really no difference between those they cal-
‘ led *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* concerning the true and saving eating of the *Lord's*
‘ *Body*; but only about the manner of the sacramental Presence, and eating of it:
‘ and that the dispute, as many thought, might be thus accommodated: *First*, by
‘ calling a General Council with the common consent of all the *Protestant* Princes of
‘ *Germany*; at which the Princes themselves should either preside, or depute thither
‘ some wise Statesmen, who understanding the importance of the matter, might by
‘ their authority support and protect the pious and discreet Divines, and restrain the
‘ proud, ambitious, and contentious ones within the bounds of their duty. For if
‘ these disputes were left to the management of the Clergy only, and they appointed
‘ to debate and settle them, there was such a spirit of animosity and hatred among
‘ them, that they were much more likely to overturn and bring all into confusion,
‘ than to proceed to a pious and christian decision. ——— The Princes of the *Evan-*
‘ *gelical* or *Protestant* persuasion *(says he)* would do well to consider and inquire
‘ whether it was not the custom in the Primitive Church for the Emperor, King, or
‘ Prince, to have the supreme direction and authority over the Synod which he ap-
‘ pointed, or the General Council which he assembled; or for some other wise, ju-
‘ dicious and skilful persons to be chosen by the Prince, and to preside in his stead.
‘ *Secondly*, He was of opinion, that the political or civil Presidents should make it their
‘ business to see that all those who spoke in the Council, abstained from seditious,
‘ factious, and odious, (or rather to use the word of St. *Paul*) *carnal* appellations of
‘ of *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*. ——— As for the errors and mistakes that some ascribe
‘ to *Luther* or *Calvin* themselves, the Synod should be the judges. Such things as
‘ appeared

Some account of his book, written in order to promote Peace among the Protestants.

[1] Reyd. *p.* 213. [2] Supplem. aux Mem. de Plef. Morn. *p.* 132. [3] Dom. Baud. Epistolar. Cent. I. Epist. 8.

'appeared dubious or obſcure in their writings, or in thoſe of other Divines, ſhould be propoſed with proper explanations.——That it was highly juſt that human opinions, and all the controverſies in the Chriſtian Religion, ſhould be examined by the writings of the Apoſtles and the Fathers, and ſo determined. For if *Luther* and *Calvin* lived at this time, and ſhould pretend, in a free and general Council, (which is what we ſo earneſtly call for) to juſtifie the opinions that are now ſo eagerly controverted, out of their own writings; would they not be ridiculed and rejected by all, as men that had loſt their reaſon, for daring to judge and decide matters relating to the ſalvation of Chriſtians from their own private notions? Now if this liberty or authority would not be allowed to *Luther* and *Calvin*, if living, what reaſon was there for admitting it after their deaths? eſpecially ſince neither of them ever aſſumed it to himſelf. Yet it was well known, that moſt of the controverſies among *Proteſtants* were founded upon the writings of thoſe two Leaders, which were defended with ſo much obſtinacy on both ſides, that ſome people were ſo indiſcreet as to prefer them before the books of the Prophets and Apoſtles, to the great diſparagement of Chriſtianity. *Thirdly*, That known Errors and Hereſies ſhould be condemned.—— *Fourthly*, That the things neceſſary to ſalvation ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the unneceſſary.——Then the pious and learned Divines would ſoon bring the quarrel to an end. *Fifthly*, There ſhould be ſome Form of Confeſſion drawn up, ſuch as could be approved by all good men, and which might be ſufficient for the ſalvation of all that believed it.——

An° Dom. 1593.

What he propoſed concerning *Predeſtination* and the *Fore-knowledge* of God, was to the following purpoſe: 'That the Preſidents ſhould publickly declare, that they 'would not allow any one to ſpeak in the Synod, unleſs he ſubſcribed theſe Articles:

I. That God is not the cauſe of Sin or Evil.

II. That he would not aſſert or maintain the fate of the Stoicks, or a fatal Neceſſity.

III. That he would not confine God to any ſecond cauſes; but own that he works freely in all things.

IV. That the points wherein men differed in this matter, ſhould be debated.

The chief difference he thought was grounded on this text, **God hardened Pharaoh's heart.** It was about the Expoſition of this, and ſuch like places in the Scripture, that theſe controverſies firſt aroſe. For ſome maintained, that this was done by the Will of God; others, by his Permiſſion: From whence it appeared, that it was not a diſpute about things but words, as would ſoon be ſeen, when they came to debate it.

'As for my ſelf, (*continued he*) I am of the opinion, that God concluded all 'men under ſin, becauſe he would extend his mercy to all. I likewiſe think that 'the words of *Chriſt*, the Almighty God, are the Truth it ſelf, which affirm, that, '**He that believes and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved; but he that believes not, ſhall be damned.** Reflecting upon theſe promiſes, and believing them, I hold it for certain, 'that I am of the number of the Elect, according to the ſaying of *Paul*, **Try your ſelves, whether ye be in the Faith. Try your ſelves; know you not that** Chriſt **is in you, except you be reprobates.** According to this rule, I judge of my own and others **Predeſtination**; with this I ſatisfy my ſelf. For it is raſhneſs to ſearch into the ſecrets of God, but to believe them is life eternal——*He concluded thus*: 'I conjure you, O Kings and Princes of the *Proteſtant* Religion, by God's holy name, 'ſeriouſly to conſider the greatneſs of the impending dangers, and to have at heart 'the union of the Chriſtian churches. Which Union might eaſily be effected, if 'rightly and fully underſtanding the cauſes of the differences, you would be pleaſed 'to make a juſt diſtinction between what is neceſſary to ſalvation, and what is not; 'and contain the Divines within the bounds of their duty. For in theſe things con-'ſiſts the welfare of the Church and State.'

Several Tranſactions relating to the Eccleſiaſtical differences at Utrecht.

[1] It is now time for us briefly to relate what was done, in order to compoſe the diſcontents of the Conſiſtory-people of *Utrecht*: A work that drew after it many conſequences. The States of *Holland* fulfilling the obligations of good Allies, cauſed it

[1] Bor. Lib. XXX. *p.* 42, &c.

An° Dom. 1593.

it to be propoſed to the Synod of *South-Holland* at the *Hague*, about a year before the changes among the Clergy of *Utrecht*, That *they, the Clergy of that Synod, ſhould without ſcruple look upon the Miniſters at* Utrecht *as their Brethren; and uſe their intereſt with the Community* (that is to ſay, *thoſe of them that ſided with the Conſiſtory*) *to the end they might acquieſce in the preſent eſtabliſhment, in hopes that by thoſe means, unity might be the better brought about in that city.*

A Requeſt of the States of Holland *to the* South-Holland *Synod, on occaſion of thoſe differences.*

At the ſame time the Malecontents of *Utrecht* ſent their complaints in a Letter to the ſaid Synod, relating to the depriving the old, and introducing the new Teachers.——Upon this the Synod returned for Anſwer to the States; That *they could not comply with their good intentions, nor own the new Preachers for their brethren.* Adding further, That *they knew no arguments, nor could deviſe any, by which, with a ſafe conſcience, they could, or ought to ſatisfy the Church,* (ſo they ſtiled the diſſatisfied party) *and therefore humbly beſought them to employ the moſt effectual methods for comforting the diſtreſſed church of* Utrecht. They requeſted the ſame alſo of Prince *Maurice*. But whatever the ſaid Prince and the States of *Holland* could ſay or do, they would not liſten to any accommodation with each other.

The Anſwer of the Synod.

Their Repreſentation to the Council of State.

After this the Synod applied themſelves to the Council of State of the *United Netherlands*, complaining, That *there were above a thouſand perſons at* Utrecht *deprived of the word of God, and in danger of damnation.——Intreating their Mightineſſes to interpoſe, and uſe their good offices with his Excellency and the States of* Holland, *in order to the bringing this matter to a good iſſue.* Upon this new Letters were written to the ſame purpoſe, but without ſucceſs.

J. Uitenbogart *endeavours to reconcile the differences.*

[1] *John Uitenbogart* and others offered their ſervice, and were uſed as Mediators, but returned from *Utrecht, re infectâ*. At laſt the Magiſtrates of that city thought fit to invite *Franciſcus Junius* (who about this time publiſhed his *Peaceful Chriſtian*) to come thither from *Leyden*. And *Uitenbogart* was likewiſe perſwaded to go once again to *Utrecht*, and to try whether he and *Junius* could find out ſome proper means of agreement. The main difficulty lay in the Scheme of Church-Government, which the Magiſtrates would obtrude on the Clergy, and which the diſcontented Brethren refuſed to ſubmit to. But they, the Magiſtrates, declared, they had drawn up the ſaid Scheme by way of proviſion only, and ſolemnly aſſured *Junius*, that they never intended to eſtabliſh it for a conſtant rule, but would alter it by degrees, and as the times would permit, as ſoon as matters were compoſed, and the people returned to church. *Junius* and *Uitenbogart* proceeded upon the foot of this promiſe, as knowing that the Magiſtrates would not, at that time, alter their Scheme of Church-Government in prejudice of their authority, and being of opinion that the Malecontents ought to wait with patience, in hopes of ſeeing it aboliſhed afterwards; and accordingly, on the 21ſt of *May* of the current year, they concluded a certain Accommodation of the ſame import, for the moſt part, with the Scheme; but with the addition of one Article relating to the calling of Miniſters, and appointing Elders and Deacons; to wit, 'That when a Miniſter was wanted, the Senate, or Council of the town, ſhould appoint four perſons out of the Magiſtracy, 'and require the Miniſters and Elders to appoint as many from among themſelves, 'and they eight were to elect, *&c.*' This was ſufficiently conformable to the Scheme of the States of *Holland* in the year 1591, in which they ſay, *Thoſe of the Conſiſtory ſhall every year lay before the Magiſtrates a liſt of double the number of perſons qualified for the office of Elders and Deacons, to whom the ſaid Magiſtrates may join ſome of their own body, being Members of the Church, (if they think fit) and out of thoſe the Magiſtracy ſhall nominate and appoint Elders and Deacons, who are afterwards to be propoſed to the Congregation, according to the cuſtom of the Church.*

He and Junius *conclude an Accommodation.*

This and other Articles were to be made uſe of proviſionally, and without prejudice to the neighbouring churches. Now to bring the people again to the Communion, *Uitenbogart*, who was once more invited over to *Utrecht* in the Summer, aſſembled all the Communicants, by leave of the Magiſtrates, from one end of the town to the other, cauſing them to rendezvous in ſeveral houſes, by fifteen, twenty, and thirty in a company, in the preſence of *John Ambroſius* a Miniſter of *Amſterdam*, (who at that time officiated at *Utrecht* by way of loan) and enquired of them the

[1] Uitenb. Hiſt. *p.* 217. *His Life*, p. 25.

reaſon of their abſenting themſelves from church, and endeavouring to convince them that the diſputes on foot related more to perſons than things. Many were perſwaded to return to Church and to the Sacrament, but the reſt, who were no ſmall number, continued long diſſatisfied. To pleaſe theſe latter, who did not like the Miniſters of the city, there were two Miniſters called from the *Palatinate*, namely, *John Urſinus*, and *Henry Conchardus*, on a yearly allowance of 500 Gilders. [1] The above-mentioned *Junius* writ a Letter to *Urſinus*, with conſent of the Magiſtrates, in which there were theſe expreſſions: *As for the preſent regulations, I would inform you, that ſome former tranſactions extorted them from the venerable Magiſtrates. I have already repreſented to the Burgomaſters by word of mouth, that I ſhould have been very glad to ſee theſe Articles made conformable to thoſe of other churches as much as poſſible; and that I therefore received them, as tending to obviate greater evils in a diſturbed ſtate, but not to exclude better things; and that they alſo had owned the ſame when theſe Articles were introduced, by inſerting in the Scheme, that they ſhould only be uſed proviſionally; and they aſſured me, that having appointed a fitting number of Miniſters, they would not only maintain the truth of ſound doctrine, as they had hitherto done, but likewiſe every thing elſe that might promote the good of the Church, without prejudice to that of the State.*

Anº Dom. 1593.

J. Urſinus *and* H. Conchardus *called to* Utrecht.

The Letter of Junius *to* Urſinus.

Before the arrival of *Urſinus* and *Conchardus*, there happened at *Utrecht* a particular diſpute with *Gerard Blokhoven*, one of the City Miniſters, who was accuſed of heterodox opinions, firſt by the Sexton of St. *Gertrude*'s church, and afterwards by his Brethren the Clergy. They charged him with ſeveral points, and alſo with immorality; but after many conferences, by the interpoſition of *Junius*, the quarrel was compoſed, upon *Blokhoven*'s making a certain confeſſion of his Faith in writing; in which he owned, that we find in Scripture, with reſpect to the doctrine of *Predeſtination*, That *as many as were ordained to eternal life, believed*; *as alſo, that God, willing to ſhow his wrath, and make his power known, endured with much long ſuffering the veſſels of wrath fitted to deſtruction.* But he added, That *he did not deſire to ſearch too curiouſly into the ſenſe of theſe paſſages of Scripture*; *nor to oppoſe any other man in the explanation of them.*

About this time, upon the arrival of the Miniſters from the *Palatinate*, *Franciſcus Junius* endeavoured to perſwade the Magiſtrates of *Utrecht* to alter or repeal their ſcheme of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which was ſo diſagreeable to almoſt all the Clergy of this country. [2] To this purpoſe he writ a very ſerious Letter to the *Scout* and Burgomaſters, in which he repreſented to them, That *being now provided with pious Miniſters, lovers of divine Truth and civil Peace, they could not any longer inſiſt with honour upon ſome points in their Church Ordinances.*——*That this matter likewiſe affected his own honour, ſince he, relying upon their promiſes, had aſſured every body, by word of mouth and writing, that the ſafety of the Church would in due time be provided for by other means.*——*That he could not ſee how the peace of the Church would long ſubſiſt on this foundation.*——*That the ſaid Articles having been inſtituted by their authority, for obviating evils which were formerly ſuſpected, it was not juſt to entertain the ſame ſuſpicion of thoſe good men that were ſo lately invited to their city.*——*That it was both unjuſt and intolerable to ſuſpect them without cauſe.*——He then ſubjoins in the ſaid Letter; *I do not deſire you publickly to abrogate the preſent Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution by a contrary one, leſt it ſhould any way reflect upon your Honours, or cauſe the people to inſult, as if they were your maſters. I intreat, exhort, adviſe and inſiſt, that every thing may be done decently. It is but decent in my opinion, that thoſe bridles and checks you have put upon the office of the Miniſtry, ſhould be forthwith taken off; and though I ſhould own that they were not put on without a juſt cauſe, yet is it not proper that they ſhould remain without end or meaſure. Let the Clergy do what they think the duty of their places requires, but let them go on gradually, ſo as not to diſhonour you, nor diſturb the common peace. If there be any of them that will meddle with political matters, let them be puniſhed in particular, but let not the* Order *ſuffer for them; for I could wiſh that ſuch Impertinents might be ſo ſeverely handled for their boldneſs, as to diſcourage them for ever from beginning again.*——

Junius *endeavours to perſwade the Magiſtrates of* Utrecht *to alter or repeal their* Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

But ſince the Magiſtrates could not be prevailed on to alter their Articles, and ſince on

[1] Ex Epiſt. Jun. nondum editis. Trigland. Hiſt. p. 808.

[2] In Epiſt. nondum editis. *See alſo* Bor. Lib. XXX. p. 52.

An° Dom. 1595.

on the other hand, many of the Burghers, for reaſons, abſtained from all church communion with the City Miniſters, *Junius* found it adviſeable to ſet their duty before their eyes in an emphatical *Eirenicum*, or exhortation to peace, of which, though it be a little before the proper time, we ſhall give the ſenſe of the principal matters.

His Exhortation to peace, written to the people of Utrecht.

The ſaid Treatiſe, written originally in *Latin*, and tranſlated into *Dutch* in the year 1595, was printed at *Utrecht* under the following title; *An Exhortation of* Franciſcus Junius *to the Church of God at* Utrecht, *to maintain the communion of Saints, in godlineſs, holineſs, love and peace, through the unity of the ſpirit.* The Introduction was; 'A Thankſgiving to God for the grace he had beſtowed upon them, with a Prayer for their advancing in piety.'——Then he went on to exhort them himſelf, 'to walk as became their vocation, in peace and concord, according 'to the Apoſtles admonition, and not to break the bands of unity in thoſe matters 'in which they agreed, for the ſake of others in which they happened to differ. 'He referred them to the example of Chriſt, who, when he was here on earth, 'was not for breaking the bruiſed Reed, nor for quenching the ſmoaking Flax—— 'who now, that he is aſcended to heaven, and ſeated on the right hand of God, 'does, with the utmoſt forbearance, raiſe up thoſe that fall, ſtrengthen thoſe that 'are weak, render good to the evil, and bear a conſtant love to all men, as he loved 'his own from the beginning.——He alſo put them in mind of thoſe experienced 'Builders of the Church, the Prophets and Apoſtles; particularly of the Apoſtle '*Paul*, that great ſervant of God, who being free, made himſelf the ſervant of all, 'that he might gain the more; who was a *Jew* to the *Jews*, that he might gain the '*Jews*; yea, who became all things to all men, that he might ſave ſome.——— 'We ſhould, *ſaid he*, depart from none but thoſe who are guilty of diviſions and 'ſcandal with reſpect to the *Chriſtian* faith. We ought not to ſeparate from each 'other, but receive thoſe whom the Lord receives, and, by his Apoſtles, orders to 'be received. They, the Brethren of *Utrecht*, inſiſted upon Piety; but this, *he* '*ſaid*, was never ſingle, but attended with other virtues, eſpecially with Charity; 'and as Charity was the legitimate daughter of Piety, they were bound to maintain 'it with one another as well in truth and in deed, as in the participation of the Holy 'Sacrament.——Why then would ſome among them abſtain from the Communion 'of the Church, and of the Lord's Supper? It could not be, *he thought*, on ac- 'count of the Doctrine; for the Miniſters of *Utrecht* were agreed in all the Funda- 'mentals of divine Truth. In the Sermons, there were many things advanced truly 'enough, but expreſſed ſo improperly by ſome, or ſo miſunderſtood by others, that 'they might appear to be falſe. But ſuppoſing there were ſome things aſſerted that 'were wrong, and which dropped from any perſon through inadvertence and human 'frailty, (for to be infallible is the property of God alone) and who thereby receded 'either wholly or in part from the truth, in a point of doctrine, which yet was not 'of ſuch conſequence as would juſtifie a ſeparation; what ſhould they do in ſuch a 'caſe, ſince they certainly agreed in the truth?——Nothing elſe but to continue in 'the ſame mind; and when they happened to think differently, wait till God 'ſhould reveal it to them——or in caſe any were offended at the ſentiments or opi- 'nions of any particular Members, to whom neither the care of the Church, nor 'the preaching of the Word was committed, them he adviſed to reflect upon two 'things; *Firſt*, That if thoſe who in ſome matters were of a different mind, did 'ſtill acknowledge *one Body, one Spirit, one Hope of Vocation, one Lord, one* '*Faith, one Baptiſm, one God and Father of all*, and would tolerate ſuch as rightly 'uſed the Sacraments, they ought not to depart from the Communion of ſuch; for 'as the Apoſtle ſaid; *each of us has received grace according to the meaſure of* '*the gift of Chriſt.*——*Secondly*, That their conſciences ſhould not be more ſcru- 'pulous than that of the Apoſtle, who adviſed the *Chriſtians* of *Rome* not to ſepa- 'rate from all kinds of men, ſuch as private perſons, and thoſe that erred in the 'ſimplicity of their hearts, but from thoſe only who occaſioned ſtrife and offence 'againſt the doctrines taught by God; for the errors of the former could not pre- 'judice the truth, neither in themſelves nor in others; but the errors of the latter 'ought not in the leaſt to be connived at, and conſequently we ought to depart 'from theſe, but not from thoſe: Or was there any objection againſt the lives of 'ſome of the Congregation? Would to God, *ſaid he*, that nothing unedifying were to

'be found neither in the Teacher nor the Hearer, neither within nor without the 'Church: But why has *Chriſt* taught us to ſay, **Forgive us our treſpaſſes, as we 'forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us**; unleſs it be, that we ſhould bewail our 'own infirmities, and cover thoſe of our Brethren, as we wiſh and pray that God 'would hide ours? And with reſpect to theſe common Diſtempers of the Church, 'and of the particular Members of it, we may learn, as the Apoſtle alſo exhorts 'us, to ſtir up one another to charity and good works, and not to forſake our uſual 'aſſemblings, but admoniſh each other; and the rather, becauſe the day of our 'Lord draws near. This is neceſſary, and in this we ought to labour, to the end that 'ſeeing the infirmities of others, and being mindful of our own, we may concur in 'admoniſhing and exciting them, and kindle with a holy breath, the good that is in 'them, which is in danger of being ſuffocated with evil. As for the lives of the Pa- 'ſtors in particular, he ſaid he had a good opinion of them, and doubted not but they 'were conformable to their doctrines; but that we ought not to judge of the doctrines 'of Miniſters by their lives, but of their lives by their doctrines.——As for their flocks, 'we ought as little to judge of the whole Church, and of her Communion, by the de- 'fects of ſome of her Members: For as it would be contrary to nature, to judge of the 'whole body and conſtitution of a man from the blemiſh or deformity of any one 'limb, ſo likewiſe would the paſſing ſuch a judgment upon the Church be quite fo- 'reign to the Grace of Chriſt, and to Truth and Charity.——Therefore examining 'our ſelves, whether we be in the Faith, let us (*continued he*) eſteem others as 'ſervants of that Lord who is merciful, and can eaſily raiſe up thoſe that fall.—— 'There was likewiſe a *third excuſe for ſeparation, viz.* the fault which ſome peo- 'ple found with the Laws which the Government had made for the Clergy: 'theſe they ſaid ought to be amended, ſince they could not obey them with a 'good conſcience. As to the Laws themſelves (*continued* Junius) I will ſay 'nothing of them at preſent, becauſe that buſineſs ought to be adjuſted with the 'venerable Magiſtrates who have formed them. To them, *he ſaid*, he had fre- 'quently and ſincerely imparted his thoughts about thoſe Laws, and would do it 'yet more fully, if God ſhould pleaſe to give him an opportunity. But they, his 'dear Brethren in *Chriſt*, muſt know, that even the greateſt corruptions and errors 'in Doctrine, that formerly prevailed in the *Jewiſh church*, **were not thought ſuffi- 'cient cauſe by Chriſt and his Apoſtles for ſeparating from Eccleſiaſtical commu- 'nion; for they joined themſelves nevertheleſs with the Congregation in the uſe of 'the Sacraments, but ſtrictly abſtained from all human abuſes of them.** If then 'the Doctrine it ſelf, as long as the foundation of Truth remained, was no juſt cauſe 'for ſeparation, much leſs ought good men to break off for a few Church Rules; 'eſpecially ſince thoſe very Rules were made proviſionally, and becauſe there was 'then hope given that they ſhould be altered, which hope ſtill remained; in the 'effecting of which he would be ready to aſſiſt both them and the Magiſtrates to 'the utmoſt of his power. Laſtly, he beſought them to conſider of the con- *The ill Conſe- quences of Se- paration.* 'ſequences and events of their ſeparation. This was not the way to promote truth, 'to maintain charity, to cure the evil, nor to procure unity in the Church; but alas! 'on the contrary, by theſe diviſions, many were led out of the way of truth, inſo- 'much that they neither knew it, nor embraced it. Charity being weakened by the 'ſame diviſions, not only waxed cold, but the evil which occaſioned them increaſed, 'and the Church, which was one body, was rent in pieces. They, his dear Bre- 'thren, were called to the truth in love by *Chriſt Jeſus*, and were bound to promote 'them both, each in its order and manner. It could not be pleaſing to good men 'when the Magiſtracy did any thing contrary to the lawful Rules of the Church; nei- 'ther ought it to be agreeable to the ſame good and prudent men, that the Church 'or its Members ſhould deſire any thing of the Magiſtracy contrary to their Laws 'and Orders.—— There were three things that ought to be equally conſidered, '*Truth*, *Charity*, and *Expediency*. Truth was taught among them: They even 'believed that the Truth which was preached among them was the Truth of God; 'he therefore intreated them, that they would hold the ſame Truth uniformly in '*Chriſt Jeſus*. In the ſecond place, they muſt endeavour after Charity; and thirdly, 'after Expediency. They would exerciſe Charity, if they held communion with the 'Church in the unity of the ſpirit through the band of peace. This he knew was 'their deſire. Let it not then (*ſaid he*) for the future be your fault, that Charity

AN° DOM. 1595.

An° Dom. 1595.

'the band of perfectneſs, do not grow ſtronger through the ſpirit of God.——
'Expediency would eaſily be obſerved, if ſubmitting to the truth, and holding
'the unity of the ſpirit in love, they bore as well with their Brethren and
'Paſtors, as with the Government; for which they ought to pray as God had
'required.——Laſtly, he exhorted them to honour and eſteem the truth that was
'preached in the Church, and to follow after peace and holineſs, without which no
'man ſhall ſee the Lord; to join in communion with the Saints in the Church, to deal
'out to them ſome of thoſe good things that God had given, and to endeavour a mu-
'tual edification of the Brethren, without contentions or quarrels: And in caſe any
'thing might be yet wanting (as it always happened in human affairs) to deſire it
'decently and reſpectfully, by proper perſons, and in ſuch time and manner as was
'convenient: And the God of Peace, the Lord of Glory, would *tread Satan under*
'their feet ſhortly. Herewith he wiſhed all the Brethren the Grace and Peace of God.

A Diſpute with Cornelius Wiggertſon, *Miniſter at* Horn.

1 Whilſt they were thus labouring for peace at *Utrecht*, ſtrife and contention began to prevail in *North-Holland*. The Synod of *Alkmaer* had ſuſpended *Cornelius Wiggertſon*, Miniſter of *Horn*, till further order, for certain heterodox opinions which he had entertained, relating to the points of *Original Sin*, of the *Fall* and *Riſing* of *Saints*, of *Election*, of *Vocation*, of *Saving Faith*, of *Free-Will*, of *Good Works* and *Perſeverance*, of the *Providence* of *God*, and of the *Divine Image*. This his ſuſpenſion was confirmed by the Synod holden at *Harlem* the next year, who likewiſe petitioned the States, that they would diſcharge him entirely from the Miniſtry. After many negotiations concerning this matter, both by word of mouth and in writing, the Synod which met at *Amſterdam* in the year 1590, was required to proceed no further againſt him, becauſe the States themſelves intended to take cognizance of that affair, and to do what they ſhould judge to be moſt beneficial to the Church. Afterwards things went ſo far, that he forbore the the publick Miniſtry of the Church, though he did not ceaſe to teach in a private houſe to thoſe who adhered to his opinions. 2 Upon this, the Synod of *North-Holland* complained again to the States, alledging, *That this would be laying the foundation of a new Sect; intreating therefore the States to interpoſe their authority, and to take ſuch meaſures as might effectually prevent thoſe new and dangerous Conventicles.*

The Apology and Confeſſion of Clement Martenſon *and* Cornelius Meijndertſon Spruit, *relating to the Point of* Predeſtination.

In the mean while, *Clement Martenſon* and *Cornelius Meynertſon Spruit*, both of them Miniſters of *Horn* too, and both ſuſpected of the ſame errors, publiſhed a ſhort Apology and full Confeſſion, in which they declared, that, 'As for the doctrine of 'Predeſtination, they ſtuck to the ſoft Expoſition of *Bullinger*, not caring to climb 'higher; but being of the ſame mind with that very learned man *Albert Hardenberg*, 'formerly Miniſter at *Embden*, who in a certain Sermon on the 9th chapter to the '*Romans*, where mention is made of *Eſau*, ſaid, *I will rather ſit down at the root* '*of the tree, than hazard a dangerous fall from one of its branches, by climbing to* '*the top of it.* And it is ſtrange (*continued they*) that we ſhould be ſo hard preſſed 'and urged about theſe matters, ſince the greateſt Doctors themſelves do not con-'demn one another on this account, but maintain brotherly love and friendſhip, 'whilſt they keep to that one Foundation, *Chriſt Jeſus.*' 3 Notwithſtanding this free confeſſion, and the vehement proſecution of ſome of the Clergy, theſe Miniſters were continued and ſupported in their offices. As for *Cornelius Wiggertſon*, who differed in more points from the Clergy, the breach on his account grew wider. Some thought that *John Uitenbogart*, who together with *Jeremy Baſtingius*, and afterwards with other Profeſſors of *Leyden*, had been employed by the States in ſeveral conferences holden with him, had not been ſo favourable to the accuſed perſon as he might have been, when he received directions from the Government, that he and his aſſociates ſhould give their advice and opinion concerning him. 4 And he himſelf alſo owned ſince, that he had yielded too much to human paſſions, and ſhown too great complacency to the Profeſſors (his Adjuncts) in approving and ſubſcribing the report they made to the States touching the affair of the ſaid *Wiggertſon*; becauſe, without clearly underſtanding his opinions, they had charged him with things that could not be deduced from thence; and having weighed ſome of them in unequal balances, had drawn too heavy conſequences from them, contrary to his meaning. *Baſtingius* was likewiſe of that mind. But others thought that *Wiggertſon* himſelf, by his ſtiff-

neſs

[1] Bor. Lib. XXXII. *p.* 47.—70. Uitenb. *p.* 292, &c. Twisk. Chron. Lib. II. *p.* 1483.
[2] *From the Acts of the* North-Holland *Synod.* Bor. Lib. XXXII. *p.* 55.
[3] Grot. Apol. Lib. III. *p.* 33, &c.
[4] Uitenbogart's *Life*, p. 31, &c.

neſs and indiſcretion, had made the moſt rigid of the Clergy yet more ſevere againſt him; and that therefore his ſchiſmatical Conventicle ought to be prohibited, at leaſt till a ſtricter inquiry could be made into his doctrines. By which means, they ſaid, it was to be hoped, that he being better informed, might change his mind, and freely retract his ſeparation; or elſe, that the churches better underſtanding thoſe notions of his, might not cenſure him ſo ſeverely, nor judge him altogether unworthy of the Miniſtry and Eccleſiaſtical Communion. With this view, *Uitenbogart* adviſed him to petition the States for a Synod of all *Holland* and *Freeſland*; but his anſwer was, that *he had found by his experience of two Synods, how partial men were, and how little they aimed at Truth. He had learned*, he ſaid, *to expect no good from the* Reformed, *and therefore reſolved even to renounce all communion with them.* Upon the complaint of the Synod, there was a Deputation from the States to the Magiſtrates of *Horn*, in *November* 1597, to induce him to forbear his private meetings. And in *December* of the ſame year he anſwered the ſaid Magiſtrates; That *according to the reſolution and commands of the States, he had not attempted to exerciſe the leaſt part of his Office, and had forſaken the Communion of thoſe, who in his opinion did not teach ſound doctrine according to the tenor of Holy Writ. And in the next place, that the manner of his performing divine ſervice was agreeable to that liberty of conſcience which was ſolemnly promiſed him in the preſence of the States by the Advocate of the Province, and which had been granted to the people of the* United Provinces *in the common Confederacy; as it had likewiſe been allowed to the Sect of the* Mennoniſts *under the peaceful Adminiſtration of Prince* William, *and which was not yet farther refuſed than ſo far as it oppoſed the practice of the churches in general. Adding, that the word of God was not limited to the Church, and that he exerciſed his office out of it with as little offence as other Sects, and only till ſuch time as his accuſers ſhould prove his doctrine to be repugnant to the divine Truth, and their own to be agreeable to it. He therefore offered to maintain ſuch a diſpute with the* Reformed *as they propoſed to the* Papiſts, *on condition that each ſide ſhould yield to Truth.*

Anno Dom. 1595.

Wiggertſon *after quitting his publick Miniſtry perſiſts in his Reſolution of holding a private Meeting.*

However, the Clergy preſſed hard for ſome time that he ſhould be obliged to ceaſe preaching in private, threatening him at laſt with Excommunication. Some Commiſſioners of the States endeavoured to delay the uſe ofthoſe violent means; nay, ſome are of opinion, that they deſigned to have protected him in his Miniſtry, or reſtored him, if he had not been a little too peeviſh, and even renounced communion with his Brethren. For when the Clergy had conſented to a delay of ſome weeks, on condition he would ſuſpend his meetings, and not ſpread his notions further; he rejected it all: *They might*, he ſaid, *go on if they would with their Excommunication, and do what they pleaſed, ſince he was no longer of their church. He hoped every thing that was good from the States, but if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, he was prepared to ſuffer for the name of the Lord, who he doubted not, would enable him.* Continuing therefore to preach, the Excommunication followed in *Auguſt* 1598. Nevertheleſs the Magiſtrates of *Horn* did nothing towards diſcouraging his ſeparate congregation, which was continued for many years.

He is excommunicated.

[1] About the ſame time, the Clergy had their hands full of buſineſs from *Tako Sybrandts*, who being at *Medenblik*, conformed himſelf chiefly to the diſcipline and doctrine formerly exerciſed at *Utrecht* by Maſter *Hubert Dovehouſe.* The diſpute about the unlawfulneſs of his Call was again revived, and freſh accuſations made to the States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Freeſland* againſt his Heteredoxy. The States endeavoured to accommodate the matter by the help of *Baſtingius* and *Uitenbogart.* Upon which *Sybrandts* preſented a very earneſt Memorial, which may be ſeen in [2] *Bor*'s Hiſtory, in anſwer to the Articles brought againſt him by his accuſers, in which he declared, That *he maintained all the fundamental points of the Chriſtian religion, as taught in the* Reformed *churches of this land; and had offered to ſubſcribe the* Catechiſm *and the* Confeſſion *of the* Reformed Netherland *churches, on the following condition; to wit,* **So far as they were conformable to the word of God.**

A Diſpute with Tako Sybrants *at* Medenblik, *about the the Church-Diſcipline and Doctrine of* Hubert Dovehouſe.

With this Memorial the Magiſtrates of *Medenblik* ſent a certain Letter to the States, repreſenting the injuſtice done by the accuſers, not only to their Miniſter but themſelves,

The Magiſtrates of Medenblik *write to the States.*

[1] Uitenb. *p.* 301, &c. Grot. Apol. Lib. III. *p.* 33. [2] Ibid. Lib. XXXII. *p.* 73.

An° Dom. 1595. ſelves, in which they complained, *That the States, inſtead of preſſing the Informers to make good their charge, ſeemed inclinable, by favouring them too much, to invert the whole buſineſs; and, as if they ſought matter of accuſation for thoſe people, to burden their Miniſter with a kind of inquiſition no leſs unuſual than unneceſſary, rather than ſuffer thoſe dear anointed ones to be confounded. But God be thanked,* ſaid they, *things are not yet come to ſuch a paſs, that we ſhould already be obliged to reverence thoſe people like the ſo called Spiritual men of former times, when none durſt hardly tread upon their toes. Therefore, ſeeing the malice and perverſneſs of thoſe factious people, they reſolved not to ſtir this matter any farther, nor to ſuffer any more declarations, promiſes, or engagements, to be made or concluded by their Miniſter* Tako Sybrants, *without their approbation. They proteſted that they thought themſelves obliged by God and Nature to defend their ſaid Miniſter, not only becauſe they knew him to be as ſound in his doctrine, as lawfully call'ed and eſtabliſhed in his Miniſtry; but alſo becauſe they had had a long experience of his ſingular piety, peaceableneſs, and good behaviour, which had rendered him ſo dear and acceptable to the people, that they would rather endure all inconveniences and dangers, than ſuffer him to be expelled their town. As for themſelves,* they ſaid, *they could not imagine that their Lordſhips would gratify ſuch Incendiaries in theſe matters, who ſeemed only to take pleaſure in ſtirring up the Subjects againſt their Governours, and the Governours againſt the Subjects, and ſo to turn the world topſy turvy.*

Upon this Letter the States thought fit to let the buſineſs of *Tako* ſleep, till that of *Wiggertſon* was finiſhed; and then they ſent *John Uitenbogart*, and *John Matthiſius*, a Miniſter of *Harlem*, in *September*, 1598, to *Medenblik*, to accommodate matters between *Tako* and the Clergy. [1] And they prevailed ſo far by amicable conferences with *Tako*, that he drew up a Confeſſion of his Faith, which was laid before the Synod at *Alkmaer* in 99, and approved by moſt of the Members there; though *Peter Plancius*, a Miniſter of *Amſterdam*, very much oppoſed it, and had high words with *Uitenbogart* and *Matthiſius* (who were ſent thither by the States) about it. *Tako* was afterwards ſuffered to enjoy his own, or *Melanchon*'s, notions about *Predeſtination*, together with his Miniſtry in peace.

The Matter is accommodated

[2] The account of theſe Eccleſiaſtical Tranſactions in *North-Holland* having brought me a little too far, I return to thoſe of earlier times: After the extinguiſhing the *Leiceſtrian* troubles, God was pleaſed to bleſs the arms of the *United Provinces* with ſo many victories in ſeveral engagements, that the *Spaniards* were obliged, or at leaſt thought it adviſeable in the year 1594, during the ſiege of *Groningen*, to offer them a Treaty of Peace; but the States immediately rejected it, alledging, that they had been ſufficiently warned by the former tricks put upon them during ſuch treaties, and by ſeveral treacheries and conſpiracies on thoſe occaſions, of what they had to expect from the King of *Spain* and the *Spaniards*. And to render the *Spaniſh* propoſals of Peace more ſuſpicious and odious, that principle of many *Romaniſts*, **That Faith needs not be kept with Hereticks**, afforded handle enough. But they who had advanced ſuch Maxims, rightly ſuffered the conſequences and puniſhment of their own rule; ſince, by furniſhing people with ſo juſt cauſe of ſuſpecting them, they deprived themſelves of truſt, and defeated all human dealings with them. For ſuch as meaſure juſtice and equity by their own advantage only, can cover their infamy with no pretext at all; and that they may not long enjoy the benefit of their treachery, ſome will make uſe of their own rule againſt them, and *keep no faith with them.*

A Treaty of Peace propoſed by the Spaniards, *but rejected by the States.*

[3] About this time one *Michael Renichon*, a Prieſt and Paſtor in the province of *Namur*, but diſguiſed in the habit of a ſoldier, happened to be taken priſoner, and by ſome conjectures, from the change of his countenance, (for a human countenance can hardly conceal inhuman enterprizes,) and then by threatning him with the Rack, they diſcovered that he had been hired by the *Spaniards* to aſſaſſinate Prince *Maurice*: And a certain ſoldier, named *Peter du Four*, was afterwards taken up on the ſame account: This fellow owned, that the Archduke *Erneſt* of *Auſtria*, who at that time governed the *Spaniſh Netherlands* under the King, had ſaid to him, *My ſon, in caſe you do what you have promiſed me, and kill the Tyrant* (meaning the Prince) *you will go ſtreight to Paradiſe*: And the Privy-Counſellor *Aſſonleville* had alſo aſſured him, that by virtue of ſome Maſſes which were to be ſaid in his preſence, he ſhould become

Aſſaſſins hired to murther Prince Maurice, *&c.*

[1] Bor. Lib. XXXI. *p.* 27. Reid. *p.* 366. [2] Grot. Hiſt. Lib. III. *p.* 192, &c. [3] Bor. Reid. Grot. ibid.

become inviſible at, and after the accompliſhment of his deſign: upon this he was carried to Maſs in the chapel at *Bruſſels*, and then furniſhed with money. Theſe priſoners, who were both of them puniſhed with death, confeſſed further, that it was projected to murder ſeveral other perſons of credit and authority beſides Prince *Maurice* and his brother Count *Frederick Henry*, a child of about ten years old; all of them for particular reaſons; the Chancellor *Leoninus*, becauſe he had quitted the *Spaniſh* intereſt; the Heer *van Aldegonde*, becauſe he had put the Prince of *Parma* upon things that were not conſiſtent with his fidelity to the King; the Advocate *Oldenbarnevelt*, becauſe he was looked upon to be againſt the Peace. The breaking out of theſe matters, obliged the Government to keep a more watchful eye upon the *Romaniſts*: Therefore, on the firſt of *July*, the States of *Holland* put out a new Placard againſt them, with ſtrict orders againſt their Conventicles, and re-baptizing or re-marrying by a Prieſt or Monk.

An° Dom. 1595.

A Placard againſt the Romaniſts.

[1] But for promoting the *Reformation* by gentler and better methods, the States of the *United Netherlands* found it abſolutely neceſſary to think of a Tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures, the moſt profitable inſtrument of the *Reformation*; for the *Dutch* Bible (which was then in uſe) had not been tranſlated from the original tongues, but was done from another Tranſlation, and that alſo from a very imperfect one, *viz.* *Luther*'s; inſomuch that the Heer *van Aldegonde* made no ſcruple to ſay of it, that [2] *among all the Tranſlations of the* Proteſtant *Churches, there was none that departed ſo far from the* Hebraical *truth, as that of* Luther; *and that out of a bad* German, *there had been made a worſe* Dutch *Tranſlation.* He that could find ſuch fault with it, was thought the fitteſt perſon to mend it, his ſkill in languages being alſo very great. Upon which he was appointed, about the middle of *September*, to tranſlate the Bible out of *Hebrew* into *Dutch*, with a yearly ſalary of 1400 Gilders, and 300 more for the rent of his houſe. For this purpoſe he went and ſettled at *Leyden*. Not long after the ſaid Gentleman publiſhed a book, which he called, *An Examination and full Confutation of the doctrine of the Enthuſiaſts.* This book he dedicated to the States of the *United Provinces*, whom he exhorted to puniſh with death thoſe to whom he gave the name of *Enthuſiaſts* and *Libertines*. But this rigour was ſeverely and publickly blamed by ſome people.

The Heer van Aldegonde *is appointed to make a new Tranſlation of the* Bible. *He writes againſt the* Enthuſiaſts.

In the year 1595, in *April*, there was another vain attempt for Peace, on the behalf of thoſe Provinces of the *Netherlands* that were ſtill under *Spain*: Some of their Deputies came for that purpoſe to Prince *Maurice* in *Zeland*, who acquainted them from the States by word of mouth, that they could hear of no Peace but with excluſion of the *Spaniards*; but that as for the other *Netherlands*, they were well enough diſpoſed to renew with them the old Alliance. And *for what concerned Religion, the diverſity of opinions ſhould be no more an obſtacle to the common peace here than it was in* France. *The judgment of Religion ſhould be left to God, and every man's ſelf; and the publick eſtabliſhment of it to the States of each of the Provinces, none of which ſhould meddle or interfere with any other in that reſpect.*

Another Attempt towards a Treaty of Peace, but without effect.

Whatever concerned Religion *offered to be left to the diſpoſal of each of the Provinces.*

[3] Upon the ſame Principle or Maxim, that each of the provinces had the ſole right of ordering the buſineſs of religion within it ſelf, (this being one of the chief branches of the ſupreme power;) the States of *Groningen* and the *Ommelands* made this year an Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution by virtue of their own authority, without ever conſulting the other Provinces their Confederates.

An Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution made by the States of Groningen *and the* Ommelands.

[4] About this time, compulſion of conſcience prevailed ſo much at *Ypres* in *Flanders*, that *John Cateau* was hanged there for his averſion to Popery. But ſuch cruelty was not indeed equally approved by all *Romaniſts*, even among the Clergy themſelves: for *Levinus Torrentius* of *Gant*, the ſecond Biſhop of *Antwerp*, who died on the 28th of *April* this year, had, beſides the honour of great learning, this praiſe given him; that he practiſed more than ordinary moderation and equity towards the *Reformed* in his

[1] *Read* Sixtus Amama's *Bible-Conferences*, p. 3. *and* Epiſcop. Inſtit. Theol. *p.* 277.

[2] *The other Tranſlations of the Bible were not without their faults neither. The* Latin *vulgar Tranſlation which was canonized in the Council of* Trent, *and extolled even beyond the Original it ſelf, was attempted to be amended in the year* 1592. *See* Sixtus Amama *in the Preface to the Bible-Conferences*, p. 45. *There was alſo at* London *in* England *a publick cenſure paſſed upon the* Latin *Tranſlation of the Bible, by* F. Junius *and* E. Tremellius, *and upon* Beza's *Tranſlation of the New Teſtament then printed, with the following warning:* That their Tranſlations muſt be read as Paraphraſes, and their Annotations or Expoſitions as humane opinions; foraſmuch as many things occurred therein, which were by no means to be approved.

[3] Grot. Hiſt. Lib. IV. *p.* 211. Apol. Lib. II. *p.* 17. Bor. XXXII. *p.* 28. Metеren. Lib. XVIII. *p.* 359.

[4] Hiſt. des Mart. f. 765.

Anno Dom. 1595.

his Biſhoprick; for they being very numerous at *Antwerp*, and, during the troubles obliged through the ſeverity of the Placards to quit the town, this Gentleman was a very merciful Advocate in their behalf; for he was of opinion, [1] That *the evil of a falſe religion was much more eaſily cured by freedom and fair means, than by violence and bloodſhed.*

The moderation of Lev nus Torrentius, *Biſhop of* Antwerp.

I ſhould not here digreſs ſo far from the affairs of the *Low-Countries*, as to take notice of the troubles of *Scotland*, in which the Clergy had their part, were it not to obſerve upon what foot ſome of the *Scottiſh* Miniſters ſometimes proceeded; and becauſe ſome people in this country had formerly the *Scottiſh* Diſcipline, Church-Government, and direction of affairs, very much in their eye; praiſing or blaming, being for or againſt them, according as their judgments led them.

Eccleſiaſtical Occurrences in Scotland.

Some of the Clergy of that Kingdom had formerly intermeddled very much with State affairs, and aſſumed great authority to themſelves; which was conſtrued as a deſign to raiſe the Eccleſiaſtical power too high, and found an *Imperium in Imperio*. King *James* the VIth of *Scotland*, and afterwards the Iſt of *Great Britain*, who was looked upon to be the moſt learned Prince of his time; diſcovers the cauſe of this Church and State ſickneſs, in his advice to his ſon Prince *Henry*, in the following words, which briefly recite the matter from the beginning of the *Scottiſh* Reformation. [1] 'The *Reformation* of Religion in *Scotland*, *ſays he*, being extraordinarilie 'wrought by God, wherein many things were inordinately done by a popular Tu-'mult and Rebellion, or ſuch as blindly were doing the work of God, but clogged 'with their own paſſions and particular reſpects, as well appeared by the deſtruction 'of our Policie; and not proceeding from the Prince's Order, as it did in our neigh-'bour country of *England*, as likewiſe in *Denmarke*, and ſundrie parts of *Germanie*; 'ſome firie ſpirited men in the Miniſterie, got ſuch a guiding of the people at that 'time of confuſion, as finding the guſte of Government ſweete, they begouth to 'fantaſie to themſelves a Democratick forme of Government: and having, (by the 'iniquity of time) been over-well baited upon the wracke, firſt of my Grand-'father, and next of my owne Mother, and after uſurping the libertie of time in my 'long minoritie, ſettled themſelves ſo faſt upon that imagined Democracie, as they fed 'themſelves with the hope to become *Tribuni plebis*; and ſo in a populare Govern-'ment, by leading the people by the noſe, to bear the ſway of all the Rule: And 'for this cauſe, there never roſe faction in the time of my minoritie, nor trouble 'ſen-ſeyne, but they that were upon that factious part, were ever careful to per-'ſwade and allure theſe unrulie ſpirits among the Miniſterie, to ſpouſe that quarrel 'as their own: Where-through I was oft-times calumniated in their populare Ser-'mons, not for any evil of vice in me, but becauſe I was a King; which they thought 'the higheſt evil: And becauſe they were aſhamed to profeſs this quarrel, they 'were buſie to looke narrowly in all my actions; and I warrant you a moate in my 'eye, yea, a falſe report was matter enough for them to worke upon; and yet for 'all their cunning, whereby they pretended to diſtinguiſh the lawfullnes of the 'Office from the vice of the Perſon, ſome of them would ſometimes ſnapper out 'well groſſelie with the truth of their intentions; informing the people, that all 'Kings and Princes were naturally enemies to the libertie of the Church, and could 'never patiently beare the yoke of Chriſt; with ſuch ſound Doctrine fed they their 'flockes.'——*Afterwards he ſubjoins:* 'Take heed therefore (my Sonne) to 'ſuch Puritanes, verie Peſtes in the Church and Commonweale, whom no deſerts 'can obliſhe, neither oathes nor promiſes binde.——

Remarkable words of King James VI. *of* Scotland.

Thus far that King: After which Preface, we muſt obſerve the enſuing Projects and Tranſactions. [1] In the year 1582, ſome of the Grandees of *Scotland* had cunningly gotten the ſaid King into their hands, and forced him to write a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, approving of their actions, and of the aſſembly of the States of the Kingdom which they had called. But they could never prevail on the famous *Buchanan* to juſtify that buſineſs, either by word or writing; but he who had before defended the ſeditions of the People againſt the King, ſhowed then his repentance by his ſorrow, and died ſoon after. The King being reſtored to his authority, cauſed that Act of the Rebels to be declared High Treaſon in a Parliament; but the Clergy, as if they had been the ſupreme Judges in the Kingdom, declared, on the other

[x] Thuan. Lib. CXIII. & Thuan. Reſtit. *p.* 1007.
[2] Baſilicon Doron. Lib. II. *p.* 29, &c. *See likewiſe the Anſwer of the States of* Holland *to certain Propoſals of* Carlton, *Ambaſſador from the King of* Great Britain, *in* Uitenbogart's *Hiſt. p.* 841.
[3] Cambd. Annal. Part. III. *p.* 352, ed. Lugd. 1639.

other hand, in a Synod convened by their own authority, that the Great men had done right, and thoſe who did not approve of their actions, ought to be excommunicated. In the year 1584, when it was under conſideration, whether the King's Mother, *Mary Stuart*, then priſoner in *England*, ſhould be releaſed, to which Queen *Elizabeth* did not at that time ſeem averſe, the *Scots* were again in commotions. Many of the Preachers had the aſſurance to rail at the Queen openly from their Pulpits and in their Aſſemblies, not ſparing even the King himſelf nor his Council. Being called to account for it, they refuſed, with a kind of ſcorn and contempt, to appear; as if the Pulpit was not ſubject to the Civil Powers, and as if the Clergy were not under the command of the Prince, but only of the Preſbytery, or Conſiſtory; which was entirely in contradiction to the Laws enacted this very year in Parliament, whereby the King's authority over all his Subjects, as well of the Clergy as Laity, was recognized, and thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the juſtice of the King and his Council, were declared guilty of High Treaſon; and whereby all Aſſemblies, both Eccleſiaſtical and others, which preſumed to meet without the King's knowledge or conſent, and pretended to give Laws to the King or Kingdom, or take any authority to themſelves, were prohibited. Equality of Miniſters was aboliſhed, and the Biſhops reſtored to their Rights and Dignity: All Libels againſt the King, his Mother, and the Council, were forbidden, and particularly *Buchanan*'s Hiſtory, and the Dialogue *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*. Theſe Proceedings were ſo grievous to ſome of the Clergy, that they voluntarily left the Country, and retired to *England*, which they filled with their complaints, as if the true *Chriſtian* religion were driven out of *Scotland*. But Queen *Elizabeth* turned a deaf ear to them, and would not ſuffer them ſo much as to preach in her dominions. [1] Afterwards, in the year 1592, the *Scottiſh* Clergy, obſerving how the *Jeſuits* endeavoured to corrupt the Nobility, preſſed the Government to make a Law, by which all perſons ſhould be obliged *to profeſs the Religion eſtabliſhed in* Scotland, *on pain of Excommunication; and in caſe they did not profeſs it in the ſpace of a year, then ſhould forfeit their Eſtates.*

An° Dom. 1595.

The Preachers oppoſe the Royal Authority in Scotland.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws enacted by the Parliament of Scotland.

The next year the Clergy, being much diſſatisfied that the King did not perſecute the *Papiſts* with fire and ſword, met together on that account; and without ſtaying for the King's authority, ſummoned the Barons and the Commons to join with them in their Councils, in order to obviate the evils with which Religion and the State were threatened.

In the year 1594, there happened ſomething which we ſhall relate in the very words of *Adrian Damman van Bijſterfelt* (who took care of the concerns of the States in that country) out of a Letter he writ to the Advocate of *Holland*: The King being reduced to great ſtreights by the Rebellion of the Earl of *Bothwel* (who under the pretext of defending Religion, honouring the King, and delivering him from evil Counſellors, had raiſed an Army, and was already come as far as *Leith*, about three miles from *Edinburgh*) prepared to march out againſt him immediately. The Citizens were drawn up in arms; yet firſt a Sermon was preached according to the cuſtom of the day. The King himſelf was preſent at it, and was forced to hear the Miniſter inveigh with great zeal and haughtineſs againſt the murder of the Earl of *Murray*, which he would have revenged, and the *Papiſts* driven out of *Scotland*; for if a man had a mind to know the affairs of the Kingdom, even the moſt ſecret, he needed only to go to church. He proceeded to exhort the King in the moſt ſolemn expreſſions, openly to declare what he aimed at (though ſome were of opinion that this was a thing concerted between them in order to ſtir up the people): Upon which, the King called God, his own conſcience, and all that had converſed with him, to witneſs, that he had always perſevered with great zeal in that Religion in which he was educated from a child, and promiſed to do his utmoſt to maintain it, by God's help, inviolate: He would likewiſe take up Arms againſt the *Papiſts*, and puniſh the murderers of the Earl of *Murray*; earneſtly conjuring his people to entertain no other thoughts of him, as God ſhould help him. All he then deſired of them was, that they would ſtand by him in curbing the boldneſs of *Bothwel*, and as ſoon as theſe troubles were compoſed, the will of all good men ſhould be his. *To ſuch a* meanneſs (ſays *Damman*) *was he reduced*

A tumult raiſed by the Earl of Bothwel.

The King's reply to a Miniſter in the publick church.

[1] Baker's *Chron.* Lib. II. *p.* 366. Camb. Ann. Lib. IV. *p.* 592, &c. Bor. Lib. XXXI. *p.* 37.

An° Dom. 1596.

duced by the **Cherubim**, *and his own Cowardice.* This Sermon and Dialogue being ended, the King, attended by great numbers of the Citizens, marched out againſt *Bothwel*, who finding, contrary to his expectation, that the *Edinburghers* were for the King, fled to *England*.

In the year 1596, the Clergy aſſembled in Synod, or Convocation, and the King was preſent among them. They made him two Propoſals; the firſt related to *the preparation of Arms againſt the enemies of the* Reformed *religion, and how to raiſe the Money for that purpoſe*; which they would have done by ſeizing on the eſtates of the *Papiſts*, and declaring them to be forfeited: And the ſecond was, *That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to increaſe the Stipends of the Miniſters of the Goſpel.* To which the King anſwered, That *he was willing to do the firſt, provided it might be with as little oppreſſion of his Subjects as poſſible; but as for ſeizing the effects of* Papiſts, *he would do therein as reaſon and juſtice required.* To the ſecond point he anſwered, That *he was always inclined to the augmenting of their wages; that it was not his fault that it had not been done before, he having ſhown his inclination to it more than once; but that ſome, even among themſelves, had hindered it, for want of a right underſtanding with each other. That as for yielding up to the Clergy the direction of all the Church-lands, his Council judged it abſurd and unreaſonable; ſince whatever was forfeited by the Proprietors, belonged to none but himſelf.*

The King's Anſwer to certain Propoſals of the Clergy.

The boldneſs of a certain Miniſter.

[1] Then one of the Miniſters cried out aloud; *His Majeſty has choſen ſome* Octavians (meaning *eight* Lords whom the King had taken into his Council after the death of the Chancellor *Metellain*) *who do nothing but project Novelties, and things prejudicial to the Church.* The King replied, That *he had been very faithfully ſerved by the ſaid Counſellors.* But the Miniſter rejoined, That *if the Courtiers were not reformed, he ſhould not forbear to preach againſt the King and his Houſhold.* Upon this the King anſwered the bold Speaker with his uſual ſoftneſs, and ſaid; *He owned he was a mortal and fallible man, and yet he hoped ſo to govern his Family, that no offence ſhould be given by them. That both his houſe and ears ſhould always be open to any Miniſter whatever who ſhould come and ſpeak to him about any matter of importance, whether it related to his Principles or Morals; and he moreover promiſed, to follow the Admoniſher in all that was good: But that if he* (meaning the Miniſter who then ſpoke to him) *ſhould preſume to preach openly againſt him or his Family, and make them the ſubject of his Sermon, according to cuſtom, he ſhould meet with ſuch a return as his unſeaſonable boldneſs deſerved.*

A mild but pertinent anſwer of the King.

[2] This incident *Adrian Damman* writ over to the Advocate of *Holland*, with the following remark: *See, Sir, how theſe people take upon them; and they would have done the ſame with you, if your ſagacity and authority had not timely interpoſed, of which the King here is not ignorant.*

[3] A while after, King *James* had great trouble with the Clergy, who gave yet clearer proofs of their deſigns. [4] The Earl of *Huntley*, who had killed the Earl of *Murray*, having made great inſtances with the King to be pardoned and reconciled to the Church; the Conſiſtories, eſpecially that at *Edinburgh*, vehemently and furiouſly oppoſed it, raving againſt the King and his Council. Maſter *David Black*, Miniſter of St. *Andrews* church in that city, inveighed publickly againſt ſuch a Pardon in the pulpit, crying, with great warmth, That *now the King plainly diſcovered his ill deſigns, his wicked and faithleſs mind, which he had hitherto hypocritically concealed; ſince he had allowed the* Popiſh *Lords to return into the country, and to continue there: That the King was inconſtant and an Apoſtate: That all Kings, how many ſoever, were the Children of the Devil: That the Devil had fixed his chair in the Court, and among the chiefeſt Courtiers: That he expected no good from the* Scottiſh *Kings, and therefore could not pray for them: That Queen* Elizabeth *was a God-forſaker; and that the Lords of the Court were Infidels, who through covetouſneſs ſuffered themſelves to be bribed.* [4] All this was told the King again, even by the *Engliſh* Envoy, ſo far as it concerned his own Queen. Upon which the Miniſter was cited before the Council. He came, but ſaid *he would neither anſwer the King nor his Council. If there were any ſcandal either given or taken, it was the buſineſs of the Church to inquire into and judge of it.* He was cited a ſecond time, and

3 the

[1] Bor. Lib. XXXII. *p.* 110.
[2] Bor. Lib. XXXIII. *p.* 23.
[3] Camb. An. Lib. IV. *p.* 592.
[4] *From the Letters of the Agent* A. Damman, *writ to the States the* 22*d of* March, *and the* 17*th of* July, *in* Epiſt. Eccleſ. *p.* 49—54. Lod. Molin. Corrol. Paren. ad Ædificatores Imperii in Imperio. Lond. edit. 1657. *p.* 115—125. *See alſo Dr.* Bramble's *Warning againſt* Scottiſh *Diſcipline*, Chap. IV.

the crime laid to his charge expreſſed in the Summons. The Clergy appeared in the ſtead of *Black*, affirming, That *it was imcompatible with the liberty of the Church to give any credit to ſuch ill-grounded accuſations. That* Black *ought to be ſent to the* Conſiſtory. *That the cognizance of this matter belonged to none of the King's Courts. Nay, they threatened and proteſted publickly, that unleſs they ceaſed giving their Brother any trouble, they would defend his and their own rights, by publiſhing a Paper, which they ſtiled a* **Declinatorium**, *to prove that they were not ſubject to the Civil Tribunals; by ſuch an Inſtrument it would openly appear, that* **violence was offered to Chriſt, and that the Temporal power robbed him of his Church and Kingdom.** No ſooner ſaid than done. Such an Inſtrument was drawn up, and a great many copies every where diſperſed among the Conſiſtories, with an earneſt exhortation to all Miniſters to ſign it, and recommend the matter to God, both in their private and publick prayers, not as the cauſe of *Black*, but of God. The King commanded the Miniſters who met about this affair, to break up. They continued together however, and ſent the King word by ſome of their body, that he muſt thank himſelf if any greater evil reſulted from his obliging them to diſmiſs the Aſſembly. The King however made them repeated offers of Peace, but the Clergy adhered to their Manifeſto, and renewed it. The Council found it expedient that the King ſhould iſſue out a Proclamation with pardon of *Black*'s former offences, provided he owned his fault againſt the Queen. The King agreed to it, but *Black* refuſed the condition, and could be brought to no confeſſion of his crime. He would not allow any earthly power to judge of his Sermons. Upon this the Council declared him guilty of High Treaſon, and puniſhable at the King's pleaſure, who commanded *Black* to retire to a certain place. The Miniſters proclaimed a Faſt, and by their writing and preaching filled all *Edinburgh* with tumults and terrors. Then the King left the city, and the people repented of what they had done; but the Clergy endeavoured to engage them into an Aſſociation for mutual defence. One of them, whoſe name was Maſter *Welch*, told the people, that the King, who was then come back to town, *was poſſeſſed with a Devil, yea with ſeven Devils.* He called him an *Apoſtate*, and his Servants, Devils incarnate. After ſuch a Sermon, he invited the Auditory to another church, where the Conſiſtory uſually met, and there they read certain chapters out of the Book of *Eſther* about *Haman* and *Mordecai*. By thus exaſperating the people, they engaged them to take up arms, and two Lords, *Lindſey* and *Forbes*, headed them. During this riot, three of the Miniſters ran along the Streets on the 10th of *January*, 1597, crying and bawling as far as the King's Palace and the Council Chamber. A fourth, whoſe name was Maſter *Robert Bruce*, of a rich and honourable family, and therefore regarded as the Head or Chief of the Clergy; had not ſcrupled to ſay to the King: *Sir, I perceive you intend to reſtore* Huntley *to your favour; if you do, I will oppoſe it. See whom you had rather loſe,* Huntley *or me, for you cannot keep us both.* But he was now become yet bolder, for he writ a Letter to the Lord *Hamilton*, of the following tenor: [1] *There is a great difference between the King and the Church.* **The people of** Edinburgh **have taken up Arms by the inſpiration and impulſe of the Holy Ghoſt.** *They want nothing but ſuch a man to head them as your Lordſhip. Be pleaſed therefore, according to the good opinion we have always had of you, to come to town, as well attended as you can be on ſo ſhort a warning. Bruce* charged the Meſſenger to bring him the Letter back, if *Hamilton* did not approve it. However, that Lord, who rejected the invitation, took a copy of it, and ſent it to the King, who, notwithſtanding the tumult, went through the ſtreets from the Council to the Court, whilſt the Mob, and eſpecially the Women, cried after his Servants and Counſellors; *Haman, Haman.* Thus that day was ſpent, and with the night the terrors increaſed; for it was given out, that the city, by the advice of the Courtiers, was to be plundered and burnt; and indeed ſome raſh Paraſites had the boldneſs to give the King that advice; but he replied; *Let us rather make ſuch another city.* The next morning there came a body of a thouſand Horſe to his aſſiſtance, which doubled the fears of the people. Then the King commanded the Magiſtrates to deliver him the keys of the city, and the four Miniſters; but they were fled. Upon this he departed for *Lithol*, where the Nobility joined him from all parts. A few days after he returned to *Edinburgh*, and

An° Dom. 1596.

A tumult at Edinburg.

[1] Epiſt. Eccleſ. p. 50.

An° Dom. 1596. cauſed the gates to be ſecured. Here he went to church, and heard a Sermon from Maſter *David Lindſey*, a learned, diſcreet, and politick Miniſter, and in the middle of it he, the King, aſſured the people, that *he never deſigned to puniſh the good with the bad; for which cauſe the former had nothing to fear from him; nor would they believe, he hoped, what was reported of him, as if he had an underſtanding with the* Spaniards *and* Papiſts; *calling God to witneſs of his ſincerity.* Upon this the people cried out with joy, *Long live the King!* Some time after, *viz.* on the 4th of *March*, the King aſſembled the States, or Parliament, at *Perth*. The Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* were diſmiſſed their offices for a time, and condemned to pecuniary Mulcts. It was alſo declared, that the Earl of *Huntley* ſhould appear at the church of *Aberdeen*, and publickly teſtify his ſorrow for having killed *Murray*, confeſs his fault, and be reconciled to the Church; for which purpoſe certain Miniſters were to be commiſſioned to receive his penance.

In the ſaid Parliament it was again reſolved, That **there ſhould be no Aſſemblies of the Clergy, nor of other perſons, without the knowledge and conſent of the King.** At ſeveral of their Seſſions divers other matters were debated, but none more warmly, nor longer, than the following, to wit, **Whether the King ſhould have the Supremacy over the Church:** and **Whether the Church might excommunicate heretical and ſcandalous perſons without regard to, or waiting for, the orders or conſent of the King.**

At laſt the King came to an accommodation with the Clergy at *Edinburgh*, by confirming them in all the Authority they had before: notwithſtanding which, the Miniſters declared, *Accepimus nunc quod potuimus, quando quod voluimus non licuit.* That is, **We have accepted of what we could get, ſince we could not obtain all that we would have had.** The wives of the four Miniſters that fled, petitioned the King for their huſbands; but he told them: *Your huſbands are not ignorant of the laws and cuſtoms of the land; if they truſt to their own innocency, and their cauſe, let them appear and ſurrender themſelves according to the uſual manner, till it can be tryed and decided. And yet I would not be ſo much their enemy as to adviſe them to it; for I am afraid, nay I know, that by the laws of the land they muſt be puniſhed as they have deſerved; however, I ſhall permit them to ſend to me ſome moderate and diſcreet perſons, to treat with me privately about the means of reſtoring them to their former condition, in which they ſhall find me gracious and favourable.*

Indeed, theſe Miniſters had at this time loſt ground very much with the people, upon whom they had chiefly depended; and they likewiſe found that the reſt of the Clergy had deſerted them, excepting thoſe who with them had ſubſcribed the *Declinatorium*. Not long after, the King gave the ſaid four Miniſters leave to return to their duty, on condition that they behaved diſcreetly for the future, and left off that bold and licentious manner of raving and ſcolding againſt the King and his Council. The Reader will pardon this long and tedious digreſſion about the affairs of another country, were it only for the advantage it yields him of viewing things more impartially in the glaſs of others than in our own; for the knowledge of theſe things may prove a caution both in Civil and Eccleſiaſtical matters, to avoid or obviate ſeaſonably ſuch dangerous evils, and ſecure the publick repoſe.

The Clergy of the United Netherlands *ſue for permiſſion to hold a* National Synod.

[1] In the *United Provinces*, whither the deſign of this Hiſtory calls me back, the Clergy had formerly reſolved to hold a national Synod every three years. For which purpoſe they now aſked the permiſſion of the States-General, by whom it was abſolutely refuſed; for they had not yet forgotten what had happened in former Synods. But at laſt, after long ſollicitation, they anſwered the Clergy, That the Deputies of the *Generality* had received no inſtructions upon that head; and that the churches muſt lay their petition, and the reaſons of it, before the particular States of each Province. Upon this the Clergy of *Holland* applied to the States of their Province, who at laſt, upon the 23d of *December*, granted their requeſt, but with this proviſo; That *the* Netherland Confeſſion *ſhould be reviſed by the national Synod in the fear of God; and that it ſhould be conſidered how Peace and Unity might be ſettled, maintained, and augmented after the beſt manner in the churches of the* Low-Countries; *and at the ſame time, the late troubles therein compoſed.* For in ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical diſputes, they had reproached one another with oppoſing the ſaid Confeſſion; ſome having af-

Their requeſt is granted by the States of Holland, *on certain conditions.*

 firmed

[1] Meteren. Lib. XIV. *p.* 268. Uitenb. *p.* 323, &c.

firmed that they were not farther obliged by that Confeſſion, than as it was agreeable to the word of God, and that there were in it equivocal or contradictory matters, and that therefore it could not be a fixt rule of doctrine. The States endeavoured to ſtifle theſe ſeeds of diſcord, by a good reviſion; neither was that reſolution oppoſed by any of the Miniſters at this time. But ſince other Provinces continued to refuſe their conſent to ſuch a Synod, though much preſſed by the Clergy to it, and ſince the permiſſion of *Holland* could not extend any farther in this matter, than as one ſingle vote, the Synod was hindered for many years, particularly by the Province of *Utrecht*. An° Dom. 1596.

On the ſide of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* there happened a moſt terrible offence to all people, on account of *Heretick-killing*, as they called it, which was likewiſe made uſe of as a reaſon for their proceedings by the States, to thoſe foreign powers, that endeavoured to reconcile them to *Spain*; for it plainly ſhowed what they were to expect in matters of religion. [1] There dwelt at *Bruſſels* two Siſters, whoſe name was *Rampaerts*, and one *Anna vanden Hove*, a Servant-maid about forty years old, that waited on them: theſe three were all taken up, and thrown into priſon on ſuſpicion of not believing as the church of *Rome* believed: Now thoſe ſiſters being overpowered partly by threats, and partly by the prayers and intreaties of their friends, as well as by the allurements of life, which the courage of men has ſometimes yielded to, obtained their pardon, by acknowledging their ignorance; but their maid continued immoveable, though ſhe modeſtly declared, That *ſhe being a woman of mean ſtate and condition, could not be ſuſpected of ſtirring up ſedition, and, as ſhe thought, had true ſentiments of religion; but in caſe ſhe had not, her error was her misfortune, and it ought not to be imputed to her; but if any one overcome with fear, ſhould lye againſt his conſcience, though it were by ſpeaking the truth, ſuch great wickedneſs was not to be puniſhed by men, but by God.* Her caſe being conſidered in the Council, and Archduke *Albert* of *Auſtria* (a ſon of the late *Maximilian* II. that mild Emperor, and brother of Archduke *Erneſt*, whom he ſucceeded in the government of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*) being aſked his opinion, he is reported to have ſaid: *Follow the Placards.* But it is yet more ſtrange that the Judges ſhould condemn her to a death ſo odious to the Spectators, for ſhe was buried alive at the Canal of *Heijfelt*, not far from *Bruſſels*. Yet it is to be believed that the authors of this cruel ſentence were in hopes ſhe would have repented or relapſed: for, when they had laid her in the pit or hole which they had digged, they ſcattered earth, firſt upon her feet, then upon her body, aſcending gradually to her neck, and the *Jeſuits* aſked her every time, whether ſhe had not yet conſidered of the matter, and tempted her with the hope of mercy; but ſhe cried out with invincible courage, *They that ſeek to ſave their lives here, ſhall loſe them hereafter:* And ſhe continued calling upon God for help, till the Executioner covered her face with earth. Then he made ſeveral leaps upon her body, ſo that ſhe was heard to cry moſt lamentably under the earth, to the dreadful conſternation of the Spectators. The conſtancy of this poor woman was publiſhed every where with praiſe and compaſſion. The novelty of the thing was the occaſion that it was much more and longer ſpoken of; whereas formerly the maſſacring many thouſands was ſo eaſily paſt by with little or no notice. After this, the Archduke thought it beſt only to threaten the people, or in extraordinary caſes to puniſh them more privately: inſomuch, that ſince this time, as far as I can learn, none were put to death in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, on the account of religion.

The laſt Martyr for the Proteſtant Religion *in the* Netherlands.

There happened afterwards a great contention between the *Reformed* and the *Anabaptiſts*, (as if there were not other differences enough between them) about the Maid that ſuffered this cruel death; each party maintaining that ſhe died in their perſwaſion; and accordingly her Name and End were recorded in both their Martyrologies. [2] But the *Anabaptiſts* produced the teſtimonies of many *Romiſh* writers, who in this controverſy had nothing to loſe, and who gave the cauſe for them.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXXIV. *p.* 31. Grot. Hiſt. Lib. VI. *p.* 285. *Hiſt. of Mart.* p. 503. [2] Anab. Mart. *p.* 847.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN and ABOUT the *LOW-COUNTRIES.*

BOOK XVI.

An° Dom. 1596.

IN *Holland* it began now to be obſerved, that the Government was reſolved to protect and ſupport the other Sects as well as the *Reformed*, in the enjoyment of their common liberty. The Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* in particular ſhewed great favour to that of the *Anabaptiſts*, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Clergy to the contrary. For the Governours of that great *Emporium*, or Mercantile City, looked upon it as the moſt effectual means of promoting Trade, knowing thoſe people to be very induſtrious, and that by their propagating all ſorts of Manufactures and Handicrafts, they brought great advantage to the ſaid City.

It happened in the foregoing Summer, that a certain ſum of money, which belonged to ſome *Anabaptiſts* of *Amſterdam*, coming out of *Spain*, was taken by the *Engliſh* Ships, and was detained in *England*, under the pretence that the proofs of propriety, which the owners had tranſmitted to *London*, were not confirmed with the uſual oath. Upon this the *Anabaptiſts* petitioned the Magiſtrates, and obtained Letters of recommendation to the Heer *Noel de Caron*, Lord of *Schonewall*, and Ambaſſador from the *United Provinces* to the Court of *England*, of the following tenor:

Honourable, Worthy, &c.

A Letter of Recommendation from the Magiſtrates of Amſterdam, *in favour of certain* Anabaptiſts.

WE make no doubt but your Honour, as a Native of the Low-Countries, *has a perfect knowledge and inſight into the ſtate and condition of our Provinces, and that you ſtill remember very well, that under the Reigns of the Emperor* Charles, *and of King* Philip, *the perſecution and cruelty exerciſed againſt all thoſe who could not approve of the doctrines of* Popery, *particularly againſt thoſe of the* Reformed *religion, and the* Menonites, *or* Anabaptiſts, *was ſo exceſſive, that the very thoughts of it muſt needs excite in the hearts of all equitable perſons, a dread and horror: On which account, multitudes of people abandoned the country, though many were obliged to ſtay behind in the midſt of dangers, for want of means of eſcaping, or for other cauſes; but foraſmuch as ſome of the Provinces of the ſaid* Low-Countries *have ſince, through the ineffable goodneſs and mercy of God, and by means beyond all human wiſdom and power, ſo ſhaken off the* Spaniſh *yoke and tyranny, that not only thoſe who ſtaid in the country are now enabled to dwell there with freedom, but alſo numberleſs Refugees to return to their former habitation: the States of the ſaid* Low-Countries *have therefore always exerciſed ſuch moderation in the adminiſtration of the Government, as they likewiſe ſtill continue to do, that every man may enjoy*

the liberty of his conſcience, and that none may have reaſon to complain of any force or compulſion in that reſpect; inſomuch, that they have uſed ſuch kindneſs and diſpenſation, with reference to the above-mentioned Anabaptiſts, *and ſtill uſe it, that upon the ſolemn Affirmation of thoſe people lawfully made before the Burgomaſters or Schepens, in the place of an oath, Juſtice is daily adminiſtered here, and as well, to all appearance, as if the ſaid Affirmation were confirmed with an oath; for if they acted otherwiſe, and did not uſe ſuch moderation and diſpenſation, many of the ſaid Sect, by ſcrupling to take an oath, would not be qualified to purſue and obtain their Right, like other good Subjects, which muſt needs be very prejudicial to them. Now, though we do not queſtion that your Honour knows, and is mindful of the ſame, yet we could not forbear repreſenting it to you by this Miſſive, for refreſhing your memory, by reaſon that ſeveral of our Burghers and Inhabitants, of the Sect of the* Menonites, *have complained to us, that a certain ſum of money coming upon their account from* Cadix *in* Andaluſia, *on three Ships which were taken by the* Engliſh *Fleet the laſt Summer, was ſeized and confiſcated by them; and that notwithſtanding all proper means uſed by the ſaid* Menonites, *they have not been able to recover the ſame, by reaſon, as is pretended, that the Documents and Proofs which they have tranſmitted to* England, *have not been confirmed by the uſual oath. Theſe good people have therefore beſought us, that we, as their lawful Governours, would aſſiſt them with our Letters of Recommendation, to the end that they might have juſtice done them. This, ſince we think it a reaſonable requeſt, and ſuch as we are bound to comply with by virtue of our office, we neither could nor ought to deny them; and therefore we earneſtly intreat your Honour, that you would afford the ſaid good People, or their Deputies, all poſſible aſſiſtance, to the end they may recover what belongs to them; and that your Honour would be pleaſed to ſupply the defect of the uſual oath (which, as they declare, is there inſiſted on) and inform the* Engliſh *Government of the allowance and cuſtoms practiſed among us here, in theſe and other judicial caſes, for the reaſons that are well known to you, and which have been partly related by us; and the rather, becauſe when the ſaid people appeared before us, we did gravely and earneſtly exhort them (as it is our manner in ſuch caſes) to conſider what they were about, ſeeing the y were in the preſence of God, whom they could not deceive, and whoſe judgments, in caſe of falſhood, they could not eſcape; and as far as related to us their Rulers, not to perſwade themſelves that we underſtood their ſolemn Affirmation any otherwiſe than as a real and effective Oath; adding, that we ſhould accordingly puniſh them as perjured perſons, if we found them at any time tranſgreſſing the bounds of truth by the ſaid Affirmation, though nothing of this has yet happened, as far as we know. Therefore once again we friendly intreat your Honour, to ſerve thoſe people in the beſt manner you can, and to make uſe of this Letter when and where-ever you think proper: And if on the other hand we can render you any ſervice, we ſhall always be ready and willing. And ſo recommending you, Honourable and Worthy, to the holy protection of God, we remain,*

An° Dom. 1596.

Dated Jan. 17. 1597.

Your Honour's moſt affectionate Friends,

The Scout, Burgomaſters, *and* Schepens *of* Amſterdam.

Not long after, there happened ſomething at *Amſterdam*, the importance of which requires that we ſhould relate it in all its circumſtances. The Conſiſtory had ſome time before excommunicated one *Gooſen Michelſon Fogelſang* of *Bunen*, a Velvet-Weaver, on account of his holding and propagating certain Errors and Hereſies, as they conceived, even after he had been admoniſhed about it; and ſince he did not forbear aſſerting and maintaining his opinions, they carried their complaints to the Burgomaſters of the city, preſenting a Petition, and praying, that they would take ſome order in the matter. But finding nothing done by the Magiſtracy, the Conſiſtory thought it neceſſary, not only to renew their former Petition, but likewiſe to repreſent and deſire other matters. [1] Their Memorial, which they delivered in *May*, runs as follows:

Gooſen Vogelſang *is excommunicated at* Amſterdam.

[1] *From the Memoirs of the Heer* P. C. Hooft.

Gentlemen,

An° Dom. 1596.

A Memorial presented by those of the Consistory *to the Magistrates, concerning him and one* Lubbert Gerritson, &c.

Gentlemen,

'WE the Ministers and Elders of this place, cannot forbear, by virtue of our 'office, once again to represent to your Honours in writing, how that 'the Church here has for a considerable time received much trouble and harm 'from one *Gooſen Fogelſang*, a Velvet-Weaver, dwelling without the *Reguleers-* '*Port*, who having travelled from hence to *England* with good Testimonials 'on our part, imbibed divers Heresies and gross Errors; but they being there detected, 'and he finding himself in danger of being treated according to God's word, sud- 'denly fled from thence to *Holland*, and sheltered here in *Amsterdam*. But we hav- 'ing received intelligence from several places of this Propagator of many and dread- 'ful errors, have endeavoured, by all kind of methods, to bring him back into the 'right way; but to our sorrow, we laboured in vain, and so at last were 'obliged publickly to cut him off from the Church as a rotten Member, according 'to the command of our Lord. Notwithstanding which, the aforesaid *Fogelsang* 'has the boldness daily to scatter his poison among the simple people, both by word of 'mouth and by writing; poison partly drawn from the gross errors of the *Anthro-* 'pomorphites, *Sabellians*, *Arians*, *Samosatenians*, and such like, as your Honours 'may more fully see from the [a] Extract annexed (which was taken from his 'mouth and writings at a certain conference;) for he gives out publickly, that *Jesus* 'Christ, our Saviour, is a meer Man, a Creature, and not one real and very God 'with the Father and Holy Ghost; exclaiming daily, in all companies, against our 'Translation of the Bible, as false, and offering to prove it. Now what may be 'expected from such errors as these, if they be not seasonably opposed, is obvious to 'every wise man. We therefore humbly offer it to your consideration, whether it 'would not be advisable, that this Patron of Error should be cited or called up be- 'fore your Honours, in the presence of our Committee, or else before our Consi- 'story, in the presence of your Honours; and in case he cannot support his notorious 'errors by the word of God, as we maintain he cannot, that then he be hindered 'from spreading them any longer, in such manner as your Honours shall think 'proper. *In the next place*; whereas there is here in *Amsterdam*, one *Lubbert* 'Gerritson, pretending to be a Teacher, and who as such, actually preaches in a 'great Conventicle, by which means some of our people are made uneasy; we 'therefore not being well satisfied concerning his principles, have, at three several 'times, offered to enter into a friendly conference with him, which he declines hi- 'therto, excusing himself on account of his great age, and pleading likewise that he 'has no order from the Magistracy to do it: but we are of opinion, that every 'Christian man (when required) is bound, according to the exhortation, 1 *Pet.* iii. '*to give an account of the hope that is in him*; and much more one that pretends to be 'a Teacher of Truth. This Church does therefore humbly beg that your Honours 'would be pleased to order the said *Lubbert Gerritson* to comply with what has been 'desired of him in a christian manner, for the promoting of Truth, and the repose 'of the Church, and for the healing of Divisions. —— *Thirdly*, We represent to 'your Honours, that there are daily published all sorts of blasphemous Books 'against the Publick and Evangelical Truth, which has been solemnly approved 'and established in these *United Provinces* of the *Low-Countries*; having been either 'first printed here in this city of *Amsterdam*, or lately reprinted with blasphemous 'Prefaces; such as, for instance, *The Extract out of* [a] *the little Book of Nicasius* a 'vander Scurren (which against the consent of the Community, and contrary to the 'prohibition of the Honourable Council of the city of *Gant*, as we are informed, 'was printed several years ago) with a new Preface, and false Glosses and Conclu- 'sions drawn from it, as if that were the uniform Doctrine of the *Reformed* 'churches; as also, *The Apology and Remonstrance of the Magistrates of* Leyden, 'published in the year 1582, and reprinted not long since, with new Prefaces stuffed 'with untruths, and publickly sold. By these methods, not only the doctrine of the 'Gospel is obstructed, and good men grievously disturbed in their minds, but also an 'occasion is given to the enemies of Truth to ridicule and blaspheme it. And foras- 'much as your Honours are appointed by Almighty God as Foster-fathers of the

[a] *I have not been able to meet with this Extract, but the substance of it is contained in this Memorial.*

'Church, and Protectors not only of the *ſecond*, but particularly of the *firſt* 'Table, for the defence of his Honour and Glory; we therefore moſt humbly be- 'ſeech you to take ſuch care in this matter, that falſe and blaſphemous accuſations 'may be prevented, and the inconveniences obviated. *Fourthly and laſtly*, We 'muſt not omit acquainting your Honours, that among many great and grievous 'ſins which daily prevail here and elſewhere (may God amend us!) there be ſome 'perſons that have the boldneſs to practiſe that abominable and deviliſh art of Divi- 'nation and Witchcraft, which God has expreſly forbidden; ſo that by the daily 'concourſe of people to them (as Mankind is naturally curious to ſearch into futu- 'rity) the holy name of God is violated and blaſphemed, the kingdom of *Satan* and '*Rome* corroborated, and theſe poor people are not only cheated of their money, but 'as much as in them lies, of the ſalvation of their precious ſouls too. And ſince 'God has declared (*Deuter.* xviii.) that he abhors all ſuch perſons as exerciſe theſe 'forbidden arts, or give any credit to them, and has therefore commanded the Ma- 'giſtrate to puniſh them with death (*Levit.* xx.) the Church does reſpectfully in- 'treat your Honours, carefully to attend to this thing, to the end that the land may 'be purified from ſuch an abomination, the wrath of God turned away from it, and 'the bleſſing of the Lord continued on us. In doing which, *&c.* An° Dom. 1596.

What was done upon this Eccleſiaſtical Remonſtrance, about *Conjuring* and *Witchcraft*, and the three little Tracts, does not appear: but the requeſt concerning *Lubbert Gerritſon* was rejected, ſome of the Magiſtrates being of opinion, that it would be of dangerous conſequence to agree to any ſuch thing; and that thoſe who ſo earneſtly preſſed for publick conferences, had uſually further perſecution and forcing of conſcience in their minds. Some of them were alſo the more favourable to the *Anabaptiſts*, becauſe this Sect had ſuffered ſo much in the common oppreſſion, and becauſe, as it was thought, there were about ten of them for one *Reformed* put to death on account of their belief. But the Velvet-Weaver did not eſcape ſo well, being taken into cuſtody. In the mean while, ſome of the City Miniſters had ſhewn ſo much bitterneſs, not only againſt the Government, but likewiſe againſt the other Sects, that the Heer *Cornelius Peterſon Hooft*, a man who by his wiſdom, knowledge, experience and inviolable integrity, had acquired a great reputation, and was now Burgomaſter for the fifth time; thought it proper to lay his thoughts, views and warning before the reſt of the Magiſtrates in writing: This was done on the 15th of *October*, at a meeting of all the Burgomaſters. I ſhall ſubjoin the contents of his Memorial as briefly as I can in his own words, without abridging the ſenſe of it, becauſe of the importance of the matter. It runs thus:

Vogelſang ſeized and impriſoned.

Gentlemen,

A Memorial of Cornelius Peterſon Hooft, Burgomaſter of Amſterdam, preſented to the other Magiſtrates of that city.

'WE ſhould have thought our ſelves very happy formerly, if we could have 'brought our affairs to the condition they are now in; the deſign of our 'taking up Arms extending it ſelf no further than to the ſhaking off force and ty- 'ranny, but not the lording it over the conſciences of others; as ſeeking (if I may uſe 'the words of a great Hiſtorian) [1] *a ſhelter for liberty, but not an unbounded power of 'invading others*. Neither had we ever been able, nor even Prince *William* himſelf, 'of glorious memory, to have ſet foot again in this country, from whence we were 'driven, had not the inhabitants, and among them, a great many *Romaniſts*, 'who abhorred the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, opened the Gates to us themſelves, in 'a firm perſwaſion, that every man's conſcience would be free: for which reaſon I 'cannot yet be convinced that we ought to do violence to the conſcience of any 'man, but adhere to my opinion, that every one ſhould be left to his liberty as far 'as may conſiſt with the preſervation of that liberty which, through the favour of God, 'we have obtained for our ſelves; otherwiſe we may be juſtly reproached with 'what *Valerius* and *Horatius* objected to the people of *Rome* upon the change of the '*Decemviri*; to wit, [2] *From an averſion to cruelty you ruſh into cruelty, and almoſt 'before you have reſcued your own liberty, you are for invading that of your adverſaries.*

The violation of Conſcience inconſiſtent with the deſign of the War.

'*Shall*

[1] Liv. Lib. III. cap. 53.—Libertati præſidia quærentes, non Licentiæ ad impugnandum alios.

[2] Ib. Crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis, & ante pene quam ipſi liberi ſitis, dominari jam in adverſarios vultis. Nunquamne quieſcet Civitas noſtra á ſuppliciis, aut Patrum in Plebem Romanum, aut Plebis in Patres? Scuto magis nobis quam gladio opus eſt. Satis ſuperquè humilis eſt, qui jure æquo in civitate vivit, nec inferendo injuriam, nec patiendo.

An° Dom. 1596.

'*Shall our city therefore never be free, either from the rage of the Magiſtrates againſt*
'*the People, or from that of the People againſt the Magiſtrates? We want a ſhield ra-*
'*ther than a ſword. That man is low enough who lives among us with equal right, with-*
'*out doing or ſuffering any injuſtice.* And if we could perſwade ourſelves that any Go-
'vernment has authority over conſciences, (which notwithſtanding his great power,
'we would not allow to the Kingof *Spain* himſelf) yet would it not become us, above
'all others, to exerciſe it; for upon ſuch terms were we not admitted into the land by
'thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of it. Beſides, ſince theſe Provinces, notwithſtanding the
'grievous perſecution exerciſed by the *Papiſts*, were filled with divers other Sects, con-
'ſiſting for the moſt part of honeſt people, who were ready, in caſe of need, to have laid
'down their lives for their Faith, it is not ſtrange that all of them could not be brought
'to uniformity of opinion in the ſhort ſpace of 20 or 25 years; eſpecially that great
'number which ſtill adhered to *Popery*. Now in order to bring them all into the
'*Reformed* Church, as far as it can be effected by humane means, the beſt way,
'with ſubmiſſion, I think is, that the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline ſhould be ſo ordered,
'that thoſe who repair to the Lord's Supper, be not ſo ſtrictly examined upon
'many points: Nor ought thoſe who are newly come over to the Church, to be obli-
'ged to repair to the Sermons that are uſually preached before the Sacrament, ſerving
'as Confeſſions of Faith by the mouth of the Miniſter. For though moſt of the
'people be ſimple and ignorant, and ill prepared to diſcourſe with underſtanding, of the
'grounds of theſe matters, yet ſuch Sermons may tend to the inſnaring or intangling
'the conſciences of others, who being a little more learned, cannot approve of the
'aforeſaid Confeſſion in the buſineſs of *Predeſtination*, or ſome other points, which
'yet they muſt appear to do, if they be preſent in the congregation; unleſs they
'contradict what they cannot conſent to, which in the congregation is not proper:
'whereas, on the other ſide, if they remain ſilent, their conſciences may be bur-
'dened with an appearing diſſimulation of their opinions, quite contrary to the ex-
'ample of the brave old man *Eleazar*. And ſince it is provided by the laws and
'privileges of this Province and City, for weighty reaſons, that none but natives may
'be admitted into the Civil Government, experience likewiſe teaching us, that the
'people of all countries can leaſt of all bear with foreigners in the government; and
'ſince we know how ſtrictly other Provinces, eſpecially that of *Brabant*, inſiſted
'upon this point, who would not ſuffer the *Hollanders* to enjoy any place of profit
'or truſt; therefore, in my opinion, we ought to take the ſame care as to the Eccle-
'ſiaſtical Adminiſtration, by not admitting into it any perſons that according to
'our privileges are not qualified to hold a Civil employment; ſince it is eſteemed
'laudable and neceſſary, that there ſhould be a good agreement and mutual under-
'ſtanding between the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Governmeut, which yet cannot well
'be maintained where ſtrangers are admitted into either. Certainly here in *Holland*,
'foreigners ought not to be preferred to the natives; for beſides, that it is a principal
'qualification in all Governours, to know the nature of the country and its inhabi-
'tants, ſo likewiſe it is no ſmall or indifferent matter, that the management of affairs
'ſhould be veſted in perſons of a prudent, ſteady, and peaceable temper; which
'qualities I think obtain more among our own people, than among ſuch as come hi-
'ther from other nations. For which reaſon it ſeems abſurd, that Elders of the
'Church, born in other countries, ſhould be made uſe of here in particular Conſi-
'ſtories, and other Claſſical and Synodical meetings, and not only take cognizance
'of the quarrels and diſputes that happen there, but likewiſe make Laws and Orders
'for a country and a people of a different temper from themſelves, with whom they
'were glad to ſeek ſhelter, and by whom they have been as tenderly cheriſhed and
'entertained, as if they were born among us. Add to this, and it deſerves to be
'well conſidered, that theſe Refugees, the greateſt part of them eſpecially, would
'eaſily forſake us again, or perhaps turn their coats, if preſſed by neceſſity, as has
'been but too much experienced in other parts of the land: It is already obſerved,
'that ſome of the chiefeſt among them give out, that they ſhall be obliged to leave
'the country, only becauſe the times are a little worſe than uſual; thus abandoning
'us in our difficulties, and leaving us to ſtand alone againſt the common enemy.
'Beſides, we have been taught not long ſince by experience, that in the time of the
'Earl of *Leiceſter*, the moſt conſiderable of them, ſuch as Elders and Deacons and
'ſome others, moſtly *Flemings*, *Brabanders*, and *Walloons*, were not only very tur-
'bulent

'bulent themſelves, but alſo ſtirred up others, inhabitants of the country, and na- An° Dom.
'turally peaceable, to be equally troubleſome; inſomuch that many of our Mini- 1596.
'ſters became infected with the ſame diſtemper, to the great danger of this Province.
'To this may be applied that noble ſentence out of *Cicero*: [1] *It is the duty of a*
'*ſtranger and inhabitant, to mind his own buſineſs only, not to concern himſelf with*
'*another's, much leſs to inquire too curiouſly into the affairs of a Commonwealth to*
'*which he does not belong.* As alſo that remarkable inſtance of *Moſes*, who being
'about to chooſe Rulers for every Tribe, appointed thoſe that were ſprung from
'the ſame, and not from another Tribe. You are not ignorant, Gentlemen, that
'moſt of the diſturbances which have ariſen, and do ſtill ariſe, in any part of the
'*Netherlands*, are owing to the admiſſion of foreigners into the Government. It is
'high time therefore to provide againſt this evil for the future, and the rather becauſe
'we are ſenſible how the ſtrangers who crept at firſt into the Conſiſtory, after the
'reduction of this town, have been contriving from time to time to keep the govern-
'ment of the Church, as much as poſſible, in their own hands, to the excluding of
'the natives. And now, though the Magiſtrates have favourably connived at all
'this, and kindly received, and generouſly maintained ſuch Miniſters as they choſe;
'and though the Church-poor being moſt of them foreigners, and having been but
'a little while among us, are, contrary to the ancient cuſtoms of the city, provided
'for by the Governours of the Hoſpital as well as the poor reduced citizens, and
'though all the alms of the Deacons, being yearly augmented with conſide-
'rable ſums of money on the part of the city, are only diſtributed among the Church-
'poor, and that throughout the whole year; whereas, on the contrary, others,
'though of the number of ancient Burghers, when they are fallen to decay, are,
'for want of means of ſubſiſting them, ſupported only a few weeks in Winter by
'the Overſeers of the Poor; yet notwithſtanding all this, we find that ſome of the
'City Miniſters do not ſcruple to inveigh againſt the Magiſtrates, before a churchful
'of people, if they do not frequent the churches, plainly diſtinguiſhing whom they
'mean, whether it be the *Scout* himſelf, the Burgomaſters, Schepens, or any of
'the ſix and thirty Senators; inſomuch, that they thunder againſt them with this
'Execration out of *Mark* ix. 42. *Whoſoever ſhall offend one of theſe little ones which*
'*believe in me, it is better for him that a mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck,*
'*and he were caſt into the ſea:* without minding what goes juſt before the ſaid
'Text: *He that is not againſt us, is on our part. For whoſoever ſhall give you a cup of*
'*water to drink in my name, becauſe ye belong to Chriſt, verily I ſay unto you, he*
'*ſhall not loſe his reward.* And though the perſons that are thus treated, are not
'only not againſt the Members of the Church, but even have done them ſo much
'good hitherto, that a cup of water is by no means to be compared to it; yet their
'furious zeal does not ſtop here, but they likewiſe add, in the words of *Matth.* xxv. 41.
'that they ſhall hear at the laſt day the dreadful voice of the Lord ſaying to them,
'*Depart from me, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil and his*
'*angels.* I hope however, that neither the Conſiſtory it ſelf, ſuch as it is, much
'leſs you, Gentlemen, as Magiſtrates of this City, or the Lords the States of this
'Province, will allow of, or conſent to ſuch wicked language. It would certainly
'be a very ſad thing, if we, through the management of ſuch Miniſters, ſtrangers,
'who are come from other countries, and whom we generouſly maintain, ſhould be
'plunged into ſuch quarrels and troubles among our ſelves, as their talk and preach-
'ing tend to create, and that they ſhould not much rather yield to us; which the
'nature of this country, which reaſon it ſelf, and which even chriſtianity likewiſe,
'in my opinion, ſeem to require. We complain that we cannot enjoy the freedom
'of religion under a *Popiſh* Government, and cry out that thoſe of *Cologn* were too
'ſevere againſt ſome people that kept a Conventicle there: but indeed, if the Magi-
'ſtrates of that city ſhould hear how unworthily the Miniſters and Conſiſtories of
'this country, who have not only liberty of conſcience, but are protected and main-
'tained, do treat their Rulers, it may eaſily be gueſſed what concluſions thoſe Magi-
'ſtrates would make, as to the treatment they might expect from thoſe Clergymen,
'who never received ſuch favours from them. It is alſo to be feared, that the pro-

[1] Peregrini atque incolæ officium eſt, nihil præter ſuum negotium gerere, nihil de alieno inquirere, minimèque de alienâ republicâ eſſe curioſum. *Cic. Offic. Lib.* I.

An° Dom. 1596.

The Heats and Animosities of the Clergy against those in the Civil-Government tended to retard the Progress of the Reformation.

'pagation of the Gospel is by these means rather retarded than forwarded. Neither 'do these Ecclesiasticks sufficiently attend to the humour of our *Hollanders*, for we are 'wont, with the *Bereans*, *to search the scripture our selves*, and not lightly to em-'brace any religion, like other nations, who when their Prince changes his religion, 'do commonly imitate and follow him. I cannot perswade may self that you, *Gen-'tlemen of the Magistracy*, are of opinion that all those who are not able to bring them-'selves to be of one mind with the Establish'd Church in all religious matters, must for 'that reason be exposed to contempt, or other ill treatment; for otherwise, if people 'should follow the sentiments of the Ministers, at least of some of them, then those 'who are the most zealous in defending us against the *Spaniards*, our common ene-'mies, would be the first who would be ill used by the very persons whom they 'imagine they have best served. Then the Tyrants would indeed be changed, but 'the Tyranny it self would continue the same. They that were formerly oppressed 'and persecuted themselves (appropriating to themselves all the advantages which 'through God's mercy, and at the charge and pains of the whole Community have 'been obtained against the *Spaniard*) would then persecute and oppress others. Since 'the blood of the *Romish* persecutions lies still fresh before our eyes, I cannot impute 'such a design to any countryman of our own who has the use of his reason, being 'perswaded, that if any such should suffer himself to be misled by wrong advice, 'he would change his mind when he looked closer into the matter, and weighed it 'more maturely. Some perhaps will oppose my arguments, or value them the less, 'because my own Wife goes to the meetings of the *Mennonites*; but what remedy? 'She went to our church at my request, but tells me she cannot be so much edi-'fied there as elsewhere. This misfortune is common to me with many, and those 'men of figure, neither does it merit reproach or punishment. I will not deny, but 'that those of the *Reformed Religion* should be preferred and made use of in the 'Government rather than others of equal capacity; but then, on the other hand, I 'am likewise of opinion, that this State might be exposed to the utmost danger, if 'we should establish it as an unalterable maxim, that distrusting all others, we must 'confide in and employ none but such as profess our religion; since experience has 'taught us, and it appears by numerous instances, that the worst men make the least 'scruple of embracing any religion, if it can but procure them credit, and enable 'them to obtain their ends. So that the *Spaniard* knowing this, would easily find 'means to draw some who personate the zealous *Reformed*, into his interest, and to 'make his advantage of them. This therefore would be the safest way, in my poor 'opinion; that, keeping our selves within the bounds of our ancient privileges, we 'should endeavour to place at the helm, people of a steddily good, honourable, and 'civil behaviour, and who are esteemed for such, and for lovers of their country, as 'well by those that are of a different perswasion, as by those that are of the same 'communion: Accordingly, the Ecclesiastical Ordinances were so calculated, that 'no *Protestants* should be excluded in the largest sense of that word, as far as it was 'capable of being extended; without confining them to the narrow explanation of 'those, who coming from other countries, are not sufficiently acquainted with the 'nature of this; or who imagine that the Church-government or Constitution of '*Geneva*, a single town, is so wisely calculated, as to suit all nations, and necessarily 'to be embraced by them. A great mistake! for we find that many things can be 'done in a lesser compass, which will not succeed so well in a greater. Even the '*Papists* themselves, how narrow-soul'd soever, have been fully convinced that they 'ought to give great allowance in the business of Ceremonies, upon account of the 'difference between one country and another; so that they not only have born with 'each other, in several weighty matters, but have even esteemed some that varied 'from them in opinion, as Pillars and eminent Lights of their Church. We likewise 'hear some of our Ministers quoting with much respect the Fathers and the *Popish* 'writers, in confirmation of their own doctrines, who yet differ from them in many 'other very weighty points. As for me, there are many of our citizens who know 'that I have been always more inclined to obey than to govern; that when I was 'not in the Government, I knew how to pay all just submission to it, and should 'have been pleased to continue in that state, but it was not allowed me. Being 'therefore called to the Government, a thing which I should have been glad to have 'been excused from, I am obliged to make a virtue of necessity, and to improve my

How far those of the Reformed Church *ought to be employed in the* Civil-Government

Mutual Forbearance in lesser matters recommended.

'little talent, neglecting my private affairs, and the ſervice of my own family, as also the opportunity of greatly advancing my fortune, only the better to ſatisfy my conſcience in the adminiſtration of the publick affairs; waſting my health, that I may employ it for the common good of this city; and hoping particularly that by ſo doing, I may contribute ſomething towards ſhaking off the *Spaniſh* yoke, and gaining the end of our taking up arms in *Holland*; to wit, that the ſecurity of thoſe who profeſs the *Reformed Religion* being obtained, all others who cannot come up to it, and yet have equally aſſiſted in bearing the burden of the War, may be maintained in equal peace and tranquility: that none may be moleſted on account of conſcience, but all may be tolerated with chriſtian forbearance, till the time ſhall come, that by the means of good inſtructions, they may be brought to a better mind, without thus railing at and quarreling with each other, and much leſs with their Rulers. Thoſe extravagant heats have been hitherto connived at, both by the Conſiſtory, and the Magiſtrates themſelves, from which impunity perhaps worſe conſequences may be apprehended. I find my ſelf embarraſſed with theſe omiſſions; I would not willingly have them think I am their enemy, and yet, being apprehenſive that in caſe we let matters proceed as they have done, without ſaying or doing any thing to the contrary, the Clergy might take occaſion to repeat the ſame, as if they had behaved themſelves well; I muſt not omit ſetting theſe things before you with all proper reſpect and duty. It certainly concerns us all, as *Hollanders*, not to ſay *Amſterdamers*, to remember that not long ſince, when the *Spaniards* were our Maſters, all that did not joyn with the *Romiſh Church*, of whatever religion they were, were equally forced to fly their country, or brought into danger of loſing their lives and eſtates, or of being expoſed with their wives and children, ſtripped and naked on the dyke or highway: Would it not be pity then, that thoſe who ſtood in the ſame rank, in oppoſition to Tyranny, that ſuffered the ſame contempt in exile, nay, whoſe miſeries, without diſtinguiſhing their religion, equally moved the compaſſion of the inhabitants of this land, and excited them to oppoſe the ſame tyranny, ſhould now injure one another! Would it not be, I ſay, moſt highly unreaſonable, that they who imagine themſelves to be the ſtrongeſt, after having been bleſſed with ſcarce twenty or twenty five years liberty, ſhould now, whilſt the rods and axes of our enemies are ſo near us, and hang almoſt over our heads, endeavour to treat their fellow-citizens, and not long ſince their fellow-ſufferers under the Croſs, with the like cruelty? And that only, becauſe they cannot agree with each other in every point of faith or doctrine, or becauſe people cannot ſubmit to the Church-Government in all things as it is now eſtabiſhed? Whereas we find nevertheleſs, that even among the *Jews* (from whoſe laws they quote all that they think will juſtify their perſecutions for conſcience ſake) there were ſeveral ſects, ſuch as thoſe of the *Phariſees*, *Sadducees*, *Eſſenes*, and others, who differed in many points, and yet did not treat each other ſo ill. And without all doubt there are many among our *Reformed*, who were once of other ſects, and who did not arrive all at once at the knowledge they have now attained. This is owned by ſome of the principal of them, nay *Beza* himſelf plainly confeſſes that he ſtuck a long time in the mire of *Popery*. Let not ſuch men therefore expect that all the inhabitants of theſe Provinces ſhould at once conform themſelves to their mind; but as they or their Parents had time, ſo let them allow it to others. It is true indeed, and we are very ready to own it, that the Magiſtracy conſiſts of men who are far from being perfect or infallible; but I believe the Gentlemen of the Church, as alſo the Miniſters, will acknowledge the ſame of themſelves too. It is not therefore very becoming methinks, that they ſhould calculate their Sermons for rendering the Government black and odious to the people. On the contrary, they ought to behave themſelves with prudence and moderation in their pulpits, without penetrating too deeply and raſhly into the office of the Civil Magiſtrate, as they have formerly done; particularly in the caſe of that imaginary Witchcraft, to the diſadvantage of the *Scale-maker* near the old Bridge on the water ſide, who was forced to leave the town, and retire to *Midelburg*. In this caſe ſome of the Miniſters had conceived ſuch a prejudice, upon the complaint of one of the parties only, and, as we may juſtly believe, without a proper cognizance of the matter, that they did not ſcruple very often to importune the Magiſtrates about it; inſomuch, that they found themſelves very much em-

An° Dom. 1596.

An° Dom. 1598.

barraſſed, and in great danger, in a matter which indeed of its own nature was full of difficulties. But I hope the Miniſters have been ſo well inſtructed by former events, that they will for the future act with temper and moderation in all caſes; and conſequently that you the Magiſtrates will be able to govern this good Community with leſs trouble in peace and concord; to which I pray God to give a bleſſing.'

This Memorial was read on the 20th of *December*, in the aſſembly of the Schepens, and in the preſence of the Burgomaſter *Peter Boom*, and the Penſionary Dr. *Ellert de Veer*.

A few days after, to wit, on the 7th of *January*, in the year 1598, the impriſoned *Velvet-Weaver* was twice examined by the *Scout* and ſome of the *Schepens*, upon ſeveral matters. His Confeſſion was to this effect: 'That about twenty years ago, whilſt he was learning the trade of Pluſh-making at *Weſel*, where he dwelt two years, he embraced the doctrine of *Calvin*; that he kept to the ſaid doctrine at *Antwerp*, where he learned to weave Velvet, and reſided about a year; that in *France*, as alſo at *Geneva* (where he did not ſtay above a fortnight, becauſe he met with no employment) he ſtill adhered to the ſame perſwaſion. But at *Frankfort*, where he learned to make Gold and Silver-lace, he married, and was obliged to join with the *Calviniſtical* aſſembly before he could be admitted to marry his wife, who was of that communion, and ſo he ſtill continued in the ſame belief till the year 1591, that he removed from *Frankfort* to *Weſel* again, and from thence hither, and about 6 or 7 years after, took a journey to *London* with a good Certificate of the *Reformed* Congregations of this city. There he endeavoured to join in communion with the *Walloon* church; but becauſe it was the cuſtom there, that every man who deſired to be admitted among them, ſhould again make confeſſion of his Faith, notwithſtanding he brought a certificate that he had done it already, and had been received by the Church of another place, he betook himſelf to the *Dutch* congregation, where it was not the cuſtom. Having twice or thrice partaken with them of the Lord's Supper, he kept away from them alſo, telling one of the Brethren that he had ſome ſcruples upon his conſcience. Some of the Miniſters came to him ſeveral times, endeavouring to inſtruct and ſatisfy him; but not convincing him, they aſked him whether he would return to his firſt Faith, or perſevere in his late Change, and deſired an anſwer: But he fearing to be brought into trouble, found it adviſeable, after a ſtay of about nine months, privately to retire, and come back to *Amſterdam*. That he ſtudied the *Latin* tongue two years at *Utrecht*, had attained to the ſixth Claſs, and by his diligent application, underſtood that tongue indifferent well. That about four years ago he learned to read *Greek*, of a certain perſon who explained it to him, and did ſomething alſo in *Hebrew* for about half a year. He declared that no body had adviſed or perſwaded him to alter his opinion, but that he did it of his own accord, not being able to comprehend that God Almighty could be every where eſſentially preſent. This he had maintained both at *London* and here. He acknowledged, that the little book, intituled *The Light of Truth*; was his own work, that he publiſhed it without aſking advice of any man, and that the contents of it were his Belief, by which he would abide. That he had ſuppreſſed ſome paſſages in the manuſcript copy, becauſe the Printer ſcrupled the printing them.'

G. Vogelſang's Confeſſion before the Judges.

This is the main of what we find regiſtered concerning him. Some of the Magiſtrates inclined to ſeverity, and laboured to get him ſent to the *Hague*. But the Heer Burgomaſter *Hooft*, who endeavoured to hinder it, intereſted himſelf ſo far in the matter, and its conſequences, that on the 26th of the ſame month, he addreſſed himſelf to the *Scout*, Burgomaſters, and Schepens, in the preſence of the two Penſionaries, after the following manner:

A Speech of the Burgomaſter Hooft, *to the other Magiſtrates, concerning* Vogelſang's *Caſe, and the buſineſs of Perecution for matters of Religion.*

Gentlemen,

I Laid before you very lately certain Arguments and Conſiderations relating to the heats of the Clergy; as alſo to what was offered by thoſe in the Magiſtracy, as a foundation for their Reſolution of ſecuring one Goſen Fogelſang, *a Weaver of Velvet. But ſince theſe things, and the reaſons alledged by you, Gentlemen, together with thoſe that are daily uſed by the Miniſters on the ſame account, are of ſuch a nature*

and extent, as to include all perſons that cannot joyn with the Reformed Church, *I judge this matter to be of as great conſequence as any, even the moſt important affair that can be treated of in this our country; for it concerns the principal cauſe of our engaging in the preſent long, burthenſom and bloody War. For which reaſon I ſhall take the liberty to lay before you, Gentlemen, my thoughts and views, not only with reſpect to the ſaid* Fogelſang, *but to all others who may be hereafter treated in the like manner, and upon the like occaſion. As for the Priſoner himſelf, I do not know that I ever ſaw him; but after he was in cuſtody, I was informed, by credible perſons, that notwithſtanding his mean condition, and charge of a great many children, he had always behaved himſelf honeſtly, without being troubleſome to any body; and that he was looked upon as a man zealouſly concerned for his ſalvation. But I underſtand he was excommunicated ſome time ſince on account of his opinions. The Church ought to be ſatisfied with this Excommunication, as having done her office, without proſecuting the poor man any further, ſince, according to* Paul's *doctrine, he is out of her Pale, and ſhe has nothing more to do with him. It is alſo certain that ſome body coming lately to his houſe to ſee how matters ſtood with him, found his wife and little children at prayers, upon their knees, before dinner; from whence it appears that he has brought them up in the fear of the Lord, to the beſt of his underſtanding. Now that this Priſoner ſhould ſuffer ſo much, as well as his innocent wife and children, becauſe he has gathered from Scripture ſome ſingular and litteral notions concerning the Being of God, ſeems to me, according to the nature and genius of this land, much too hard. As to his perſon, he being a ſtranger, and without ſupport, we have nothing to fear from him. Beſides, we are uſed, not only here but over all* Europe, *to ſee pictures of the* Holy Trinity, *and particularly of* God the Father, *in a human form: and we ſuffer them to remain in old church-windows, and upon the walls. None were ever troubled on that account. And I ſubmit it to the judgment of wiſe men, whether this man's notions, about the form and figure of the Divine Being, are more odd and ſtrange than thoſe of the* Papiſts *about their* Maſs-Bread, *or than the* Lutheran Conſubſtantiation.

An° Dom. 1598.

How odd ſoever theſe things are, no body propoſes nor talks of uſing thoſe people thus. I know very well that the Clergy ſometimes endeavour to animate the Government againſt them. But if all Magiſtrates ſhould proceed, as they would have us, what would be the conſequence? Would it not cauſe the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion throughout all Chriſtendom? *Would it not ſet us againſt each other here at home, againſt the* Papiſts *and* Lutherans *abroad, and tend to exaſperate the former againſt all other ſects? It is certain that* David, *who was a man after God's own heart, and who was ſo zealous to build a Temple of ſtone to the Lord, was forbidden to do it, becauſe he had been ſo deeply engaged in war and bloodſhed; though that blood was leſs innocent than the blood we ſpill. It is therefore in my opinion, a great miſtake for us now to pretend to build up Living Temples to the Lord, by force and by external arms. It is true,* Blaſphemy *was puniſhed with death, under the old Covenant, and ſo was* Idolatry *too, and the* Curſing *Father and Mother, and* Adultery, *and ſome other ſins, which are now a-days ſcarce puniſhed at all. And ſhould we now put men to death for crimes which the Clergy call* Blaſphemy, *but of which they will not ſuffer the Civil powers to take any cognizance? Beſides, that word* **Blaſphemy** *is extended ſo far, that it is made to include* Papiſts, Lutherans, Mennonites, Enthuſiaſts, *and, it ſeems,* **almoſt all that do not conform in every point to our own church.** *The Heer* van Aldegonde *endeavours to ſtir up the States to perſecute the* Enthuſiaſts, *but he knows that the number of thoſe whom* Alva *murdered for the ſake of Religion, and whom he himſelf mentioned in a Speech he made at the Dyet of* Worms *in the year* 1578, *in order to move the ſeveral States to compaſſionate our caſe, did not conſiſt of barely ſuch as called themſelves the* Reformed; *for that Tyrant was the common enemy of all ſects, and for that reaſon the charge of the war was born with wonderful and incredible alacrity by people of all perſwaſions. Therefore thoſe among us that are for perſecution now, were doubtleſs of another mind, when they themſelves were perſecuted, and fled for it. Perhaps it may be objected, that the* Spaniards *perſecuted without reaſon, but we with reaſon. But* Papiſts *and* Lutherans *ſay the ſame wherever they are maſters. Every one thinks reaſon to be on his ſide, and none will want a pretence to proceed to the like cruelty. If we go on in that way, the ruin of our country will be the neceſſary conſequence. We ought therefore to oppoſe the very beginnings*

Ill Conſequences of Perſecution.

Religion ought not to be propagated by external force.

Blaſphemy *underſtood in too extenſive a ſenſe.*

Some Conſiderations tending to caſt out the Evil Spirit of Perſecution.

An° Dom. 1598.

nings of that miſchief: Inſtead of external force, we ought to uſe ſpiritual and edifying means, the fruits of the ſpirit of Knowledge, Moderation, and Gentleneſs. Thus the true Church is built. If now we ſhould treat with ſeverity this Fogelſang, *for underſtanding the Scriptures in too* litteral *a ſenſe; and the* Enthuſiaſts *(according to* Aldegonde's *advice) for interpreting them in too* myſtical *a meaning, then ſhall we begin the* Perſecution *at the two extremes at once, and poſſibly continue it till in a ſhort time it comes to the middle, eſpecially if we hearken to the counſels of ſome Miniſters; but it would be better, and much more ſafe for the State, that ſuch their exaſperations ſhould be prevented by authority, and they be commanded to contain themſelves within the bounds of their Call. The Heer* John Huigen, *Counſellor of the city of* Hamburgh, *formerly adviſed our* Amſterdam-*Exiles, ſeriouſly to conſider that matter; and if it be not more regarded, we ſhall too late repent it. Experience teaches us, that thoſe people can hardly contain themſelves, if we yield to them too much; and that they not only endeavour to revive the times of perſecution againſt other ſects, but likewiſe to raiſe diſturbances among their own people, and tumults againſt the Government. Thus ſome of them, when* Leiceſter *was at the helm, pointed as it were with their fingers, in their Sermons, at the beſt of our Magiſtrates; and by exciting the people againſt them, brought their lives into the utmoſt danger, not becauſe thoſe Magiſtrates had changed their religion, but only becauſe they did not govern according to the fancy of the Clergy. What happened in* Scotland *not above a year ago, muſt needs be remembered by ſome of the Gentlemen here preſent, when they induced the people to take up arms againſt the King, and then aſcribed their doings to the inſpiration of the* Holy Ghoſt. *I leave you likewiſe to judge how undutifully ſome of the Miniſters behaved themſelves ſeveral times towards the Magiſtrates of this city, when they were ordered to marry ſome young perſons out of the uſual time, after Evening-ſervice; for though this was an indifferent matter in it ſelf, yet had they the aſſurance to anſwer very rudely; That* **the Magiſtrates had no authority to command them in ſuch matters.** *And at another time they replied, That if* **the Burgomaſters deſired to be ſerved or obeyed in matters of that nature, they would do well to provide more Miniſters.** *Now whether there be that impartiality and diſintereſtedneſs uſed here in the election of Miniſters, which is neceſſary, is beſt known to thoſe that are called to it. But I am well aſſured, that ſome of the Miniſters were ſo bold as to demand part of the money collected for alms, in order to diſpoſe of it without the knowledge of the Deacons. I could inſtance in more ſuch miſdemeanors, but I ſhall conceal them, that I may not give offence to any; neither do I mention this by way of reproach, but only to ſhow that it would not be difficult to find matter of complaint againſt thoſe of the Clergy themſelves, if it were a ſervice to our country to fill it with diviſions; and alſo to convince you how vain it is to depend entirely upon men. It comes into my mind, that about ſixteen years ago, the Judges of this city, for ſome reaſon or other, deſired the advice of the Miniſters about certain matters, which thoſe Miniſters accordingly gave under their hands; in which it was not obſcurely hinted, that the perſon concerned ought to die. But the Judges differed ſo much in their opinions from theſe Counſellors, that they let the man eſcape, and did it without ſcandal or offence. But to return to the matter in hand: If, for our ſatisfaction, we were to compare the opinions and doctrines of the Clergy with the holy Scriptures, what Text ſhould we find in the New Teſtament to juſtify perſecution for the ſake of religion? One muſt not infer it from remote conſequences, and forced concluſions; and it ſeems to me that it is too dangerous to hazard body, life, and ſalvation, upon the ſubtile niceties of the learned. Nor ought theſe Doctors to employ their learning in raiſing perſecutions againſt thoſe who miſtake through ignorance; but rather to conſider into what groſs errors even ſome of the moſt ancient and principal Doctors of the Church have fallen. Particularly it is very ſtrange that thoſe who ſo ſtrenuouſly maintain the doctrine of* Predeſtination, *ſhould thus inſiſt upon perſecution or forcing of conſcience; for if their doctrine be true, no man can avoid that to which he is ordained. As for what is quoted out of the Old Teſtament, ſome of the Learned have juſtified, and others diſproved perſecution, from the very ſame texts. It may ſuffice us here, that among the* Jews, *the* Phariſees, Sadducees, *and other Sects, did not perſecute each other for their belief; and that ill men always perſecuted the good. We all know with how much ſcruple and reluctancy our Courts of Judicature are wont to be concerned in matters of Life and Death; with what difficulty ſome of our*

Perſecution inconſiſtent with the doctrine of a particular Predeſtination.

Governours were at first induced to inflict capital punishments upon the most notorious Thieves and Robbers; though the said punishments were appointed by the laws of the land, and though the constant custom of executing them was sufficiently known both to the Offenders and the Judges. But the Judges found themselves embarrassed, because Theft was not punished with death in the time of the Old Testament; and the considerations which arose upon that head, have since given occasion to the building a Work-house in this City. And ought we then so readily to make capital crimes of Errors? Is it not also a general opinion among the people of this Province, that no man ought to be troubled here upon account of his perswasion? An opinion which is certainly founded upon the ends of that War, which was begun and carried on with so great charge to all the inhabitants, for the liberty of Religion, as well as upon the several publick Declarations and Protestations made by the Government and all the Reformed, *upon that point. For which reason, with respect be it spoken, I can by no means consent that the Magistrates of this City should be the most forward of the whole Province, in the business of persecution; lest it should be said of us, that we tread in the footsteps of our Predecessors, who far exceeded all the* Popish *Magistrates of other cities in* Holland, *in that particular. It would much better become us on the contrary to oppose it by all proper means, as those of* Antwerp *formerly did, though in vain, even when it was forbidden to speak a word in favour of* Heretick*s. But it is objected, that this man not only embraces erroneous opinions, but spreads them among others, and therefore is worthy of punishment. Yet this, if it were well considered, is not so great a crime in him, for it has always been the disposition and inclination of men, to communicate their thoughts about religious matters to others; and the Ministers themselves know with how much zeal they endeavour to propagate their own doctrines. The same thing is done by all other Sects with equal zeal. It is likewise pretended, that this matter has been concerted with the States of the Province, and that they have come to certain resolutions about it, with which we ought to comply, and accordingly send the man to the* Hague *to be imprisoned and tried there. I shall say nothing in opposition to the authority of the States, but express my self with due respect. Yet since prosperity is generally envy'd, it seems that some of our neighbours, who are Members of the said States, have not too favourable sentiments of us, as we have found upon certain occasions. As to the resolutions which the States, at the instigation of some Divines and Ministers, have taken with respect to the writing and publishing* Fogelsang*'s books, it is to be considered, whether they did not think that the whole Magistracy of this city were unanimous in proceeding rigorously against him; and whether they did not regulate themselves accordingly, and proceed with greater severity in relation to us, than any of them would have done with regard to their own towns. For if we examine more narrowly into the transactions of other places, we shall not find that any one of them ever acted after the like manner; and it is beyond doubt that in some towns, not only little Tracts or Pamphlets, like that of* Fogelsang, *(the whole impression of which did not amount to more than a few quires of paper) but large volumes, and perhaps whole waggons full have been printed, by persons whom the Ministers esteem no better than this man. It appears to be no new thing for people to joyn in making laws which they themselves do not intend to observe. This may be seen daily in other matters of moment, especially in the drawing up of Documents, Tables of Customs and Tolls, and Ordinances for the security of Navigation; since they who are most deficient in these points, suffer themselves to be made use of, nay, are some of the most forward to fetter with oaths the Colleges of the Admiralty in other places, and to oblige them to a strict observation of laws which they scandalously break themselves with knowledge and design. So that we have reason enough, in my opinion, to suspend the execution of the aforesaid resolution; and above all, I can never consent that this poor creature should be hurried to the* Hague, *and shut up in prison, to the utter ruin of his five small children, and of his wife, who is now pregnant. I remember how the late Burgomaster* [1] Dr. Martin Koster, *in a Speech which he made to the Senate about eleven years ago, very seriously and movingly acquainted them, that the King of* Denmark, *and other Potentates had (as he was well informed) taken a resolution to offer their mediation for putting an end to the war between* Spain *and these Provinces; but with this preliminary condition,*

An° Dom. 1598.

Whether Vogelsang *was punishable merely for endeavouring to propagate his Opinion.*

[1] Pontan. Hist. Amst. Lib. II. *p.* 244. Reid. *p.*169.

An° Dom. 1598.

dition, that as they and other Princes obliged their Subjects to embrace such a religion as they thought proper: we likewise, the inhabitants of this country, should receive such a religion as the King of Spain would impose upon us. *Against which, that Gentleman urged with many just reasons, That* no Princes, nor Magistrates, had any authority over the consciences of their Subjects in matters of religion; *and exhorted them never to depart from that opinion on any account whatsoever. That agreed with what we had professed and maintained from the very beginning of the War. But if that opinion was just and well grounded when we were less secure against the King of* Spain *than we now seem to be, I am perswaded that after the success which God has mercifully granted us under our present Form of Government, we ought not to change it for a worse. It may be easily gathered from the Memorial of the Consistory, which they presented last* May, *what it is they drive at:* viz. The making such Laws and Ordinances with regard to matters of Religion, that none who happens to be of a different perswasion, shall impart his notions to another: *which they there call* dispersing his errors, and making the Reformed uneasy, or troubling their consciences. *There might be some sense in this, if the people themselves who propagate their opinions were convinced that they were dispersing errors. But, since there have been many thousands, who though they remained in error, yet thought themselves so well assured of their salvation, that whilst they lived under the* Spanish *yoke, they were as ready as those of the* Reformed Religion *to sacrifice their bodies for their opinions, by the most painful kinds of death; with what shadow of reason can we imagine that such zealots should forbear communicating their opinions to others, as if they found themselves convicted of their mistakes? As the* Reformed, *so likewise the other Sects, think themselves obliged to promote their own Religion. But if it be nevertheless thought proper to hinder them from doing it, we must consider by what means: Without doubt by the power of the Magistrates, in case we cannot bring them off from their opinions by friendly conferences. Then it must be again considered, whether such power should be made use of upon the foot of the holy Scriptures, or upon the foot of* Popery, *by penal and sanguinary Laws and Placards. But when these Placards are made, the question will be, whether they can be executed with more rigour, with more security, and with more effect, than those which were made by the King of* Spain? *And what did he get by them? Notwithstanding his great power, with which ours is not to be compared, notwithstanding all that inhumane burning and butchering, it was found by experience, that the so named* Heresies *increased more and more; so that after a continued Massacre of* 20 *or* 25 *years, the people began to oppose him, and matters ran so high, that the inhabitants of this Province threw the intolerable yoke from off their necks; certainly not with an intent to submit to the like again from the hands of those who as well as others had taken such pains, and encountered so many dangers, to shake it off themselves. I must confess I was not a little disturbed on the first news of this man's imprisonment, partly because of the singularity of his notions, and partly because I observed some of the Magistrates so warm against him; but afterwards reflecting on the uncharitable accusations of the Clergy against several Sects in particular, and against all those in general that do not joyn with the Church, as also on the exasperations of* Aldegonde *before mentioned; besides, the late boldness of some persons, who being come hither from other countries, and become Members of the* Reformed *Church, took upon them, without the consent or knowledge of the Burgomasters, to enter the houses of the* Mennonites *against their will, in order to teaze them about their belief; notwithstanding these zealots knew well enough, that the* Mennonite Conventicles *were tolerated by the States and the Magistrates throughout the whole Province: Weighing all these things together, I say, what other inference can I make, than that* Persecution, *or Punishment for matters of Faith, being once allowed, they will soon find a handle to treat all those who do not unite themselves to the* Reformed *Church, after the same manner, either on pretence that they propagate error, offend the consciences of the simple, disturb the community, falsly accuse or contradict the doctrine of the Church, or perhaps for no other reason than because by abstaining from its communion, they give offence to good people? Where all this will end, I leave to every man to judge. I believe that I, and such as I, are as much concerned to oppose the* Spaniards, *as the best of those that pretend such zeal for the Church; and I am no less perswaded, that there are an incredible number of such as are like me in that respect among all Sects within this country. Now, if all these*

No Magistracy has authority in matters of Faith.

The Design of the Clergy at Amsterdam, *with Remarks upon it.*

Persecution, when once admitted, easily spreads and diffuses it self.

theſe honeſt people ſhould be hampered after ſuch manner as the Clergy ſeem to aim at, it would be far beyond my intentions; and I freely own that my Gueuzery *never went ſo far, nor ſhall it ever. If the Churchmen continue to enjoy the free exerciſe of their Religion in ſuch a manner and with the ſame ſecurity as they now do, it is certainly much more than they expected at the firſt. Then none of them had ſuch diſtant views, as to deſign the preſcribing Laws to any man in matters of Faith. If the judgment or opinion of* Gamaliel, *of* Gallio, *and* Claudius Lyſias, *was in thoſe times founded upon Reaſon and Equity, as we thought it was; for what reaſon ſhould we now vary from them, and promote any kind of Perſecution for the ſake of Religion? Eſpecially ſince the Magiſtrates are by the Clergy lookt upon to be ſo unexperienced in divine or ſcriptural matters, that they will not ſo much as ſuffer us to judge of them. But if the Magiſtrates may be allowed to make a judgment of the external difference in the lives and converſations of the* Reformed, *and other good people, I do not believe (if I may ſpeak my mind freely) that any who judges knowingly and impartially, will think the Morals of the* Reformed *ſo far to excel either thoſe of* France *or* England, *or even thoſe of the different Sects in theſe Provinces, as may juſtify the treating other honeſt people with any ſeverity on that account. It would therefore be much more reaſonable, and more for the ſervice of our country too, that we, according to the ancient method of governing theſe Provinces, and this City in particular (which, God be praiſed, has always been for our good) ſhould diſturb no man on account of his conſcience; but bear with each others religious miſtakes, ſince theſe are not of our cognizance, and are only imputable to thoſe who are under their unhappy influence: To the end, that, by ſo doing, the general, the uſual, the ancient and neceſſary concord may be maintained and promoted in the State, and we may unanimouſly agree and perſevere in oppoſing our common enemies. But if thoſe men who ſeem to hanker after a new perſecution, ſhould think themſelves as well grounded in their opinion, as I and many thouſands more think our ſelves aſſured of the contrary; I am apprehenſive that theſe Provinces, and all that ever withſtood* Spain *and* Popery, *will be expoſed to an unavoidable deſtruction. I doubt this my diſcourſe may not be reliſhed by ſome Gentlemen at the firſt, but I beg of them, that on this occaſion I may enjoy the uſual privilege of the* Areopagites, *that not my perſon, but my arguments, may be conſidered and weighed with ſincerity and impartiality. Then will God, I truſt, give us a happy iſſue, and the old Adage,* Mutua defenſio tutiſſima; *i. e. That,* our greateſt ſecurity conſiſts in mutual defence, *will be found moſt true.*

An° Dom. 1598.

This Speech, delivered with gravity and ſerioufneſs, though it ſerved to inſinuate into the hearts of ſome of the Magiſtrates the ſpirit of his prudence and good nature, yet could not prevail ſo far, as wholly to procure the releaſe of the priſoner. For a few days after, on the 19th of *January*, he was brought before the Court, and there ſentenced to be baniſhed from the City, and all places within a League of it, never to return without leave of the Magiſtrates. [1] His book intituled the *Light of Truth*, was, as ſome ſay, condemned to the flames. The Burgomaſter who ſpoke for the priſoner tells us, in a certain Account of theſe proceedings, publiſhed many years after, that among the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* of that age, there were two, who were of opinion, that *Hereticks ought to be perſecuted:* but that one of them, had he lived 22 years longer, would have been condemned by his own Law; for tho' in the main he was of the *Reformed* Perſwaſion, yet as to the doctrine of *Predeſtination*, he was of the ſentiments of thoſe againſt whom the Placards were level'd. The doctrine of *Predeſtination*, which at that time was propagated here according to the notions of *Calvin* and *Beza*, kept ſome people out of the church even then. And the aforeſaid Burgomaſter himſelf declared in ſome Memoirs of his, which have fallen into my hand, That 'he had been puzzled many years upon the point of *Predeſtination*; 'and as they would not bear with him in that matter, but on promiſe of never impart- 'ing his opinion of it to any, he thought it reliſhed too much of that very ſervitude, 'which to avoid he had wandered ſeveral years in foreign parts; he therefore ſcrupled 'to ſacrifice his liberty in that point, and to ſubmit to a ſtrange yoke, eſpecially 'in his native country: He was therefore continually ſhocked and ſcandalized at the 'Directors, and at the management of the Church-affairs, in reſpect to the great dimi- 'nution

Fogelſang *baniſhed.*

The Reaſon why ſome at Amſterdam *refus'd to join in Communion with the Eſtabliſhed Church.*

[1] *From the Annotations of* D. van Santen.

An° Dom. 1598. ‘ nution of the authority of the Civil Magiſtrate; as it appeared plainly enough after-
‘ wards.’

Fogelſang *being again impriſoned, recants.*

This very year, *Fogelſang* living under the juriſdiction of the Bailiff of *Kennemerland*, had the misfortune to be again impriſoned. Being in cuſtody at *Harlem*, he was prevailed upon ſo far, as to preſent the following Paper to the ſaid Bailiff, on the 25th of *October*:

To the Heer Bailiff of KENNEMERLAND.

I Maintained, Firſt, *That God was a corporeal Being, like a Man; I now renounce that poſition, ſince no man hath ſeen God at any time.* Secondly, *I aſſerted, that* Adam *was the image of God, becauſe he was a man, but that his wife* Eve *was not God's image; this I likewiſe renounce; and acknowledge that both* Adam *and* Eve *were the image of God, not according to the fleſh, but with reſpect to the dominion and rule they had over all creatures.* Thirdly, *I held that the Son is not eternal; but now I acknowledge his Eternity, and that in the fulneſs of time he became fleſh, and being become fleſh, he is very God and very Man. According to the fleſh he died for the ſins of mankind, and according to the ſame fleſh he roſe again for our juſtification; after his Reſurrection he aſcended to God his Father in Heaven, from whence he will come to judge the Quick and Dead.* Fourthly, *I confeſs that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghoſt is God; yet that there are not three Gods, but one only God. And if there be ſtill any thing remaining which is not conformable to the opinion of the Brethren, I beſeech them to bear with me, as with one that is newly born, and to feed me with milk till I become ſtronger. I will likewiſe be conſtantly preſent at their Admonitions and Exhortations, that ſo I may in time acquire more nouriſhment and growth. I likewiſe held Infant-baptiſm to be unlawful, for which reaſon my laſt child is ſtill unbaptized, but now I will cauſe it to be baptized in the church, as ſoon as I ſhall be diſcharged; and I hope that Mynheer the Bailiff will not detain me any longer in priſon, but will run to meet me as the Father his loſt Son. Thus the Shepherd rejoyced over the loſt ſheep.*

Signed,

GOSEN FOGELSANG of *Buren.*

On the 30th he ſent from his priſon another Paper, in which he confirmed the former by Scripture texts and arguments. He alſo implored in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, the pardon of the Magiſtrates and Miniſters for his paſt offence, and begged them to receive him, as Chriſt receives and forgives us. Whether theſe confeſſions were produced by inſtructions and real convictions, or extorted by the tedioufneſs and diſtreſs of his impriſonment, is much to be doubted; nor does it appear to me, upon what account the Bailiff diſcharged him. But the 14th of *November* was the firſt time that his Wife could obtain leave of the Judges of *Amſterdam* for him to return to that city.

The Freeſland *Clergy ſeek to oppreſs the* Anabaptiſts.

In *Freeſland* in the mean while great oppoſition was made againſt the *Anabaptiſts*. In the month of *Auguſt* of the paſt year, the States of that Province had allowed of a publick diſpute between a Miniſter named *Ruard Acronius*, and *Peter* of *Cologn* a Teacher of the ſaid Sect, at which preſided four Gentlemen deputed by the States, but without any farther Conſequence, Perſecution, or Prohibition. [1] But the Miniſters whom this moderation had diſpleaſed, took a reſolution in their Synod, holden at *Leeuwarden* in *March*, to preſent the following Petition to the States:
‘ Since experience has ſhown how prejudicial it has been to the Church of God, to
‘ tolerate the *Anabaptiſts* in the free exerciſe of their ſchiſmatical opinions, after the
‘ publick diſpute with them, juſt as if there was no difference between the pure do-
‘ ctrine of the True Church, and their heterodox notions; the Miniſters therefore
‘ of God's word belonging to this Province, intreat the Deputies of the States to
‘ provide ſome remedy for this evil, ſo as it may be moſt for the benefit of God's
‘ Church, and the diſcharge of their conſciences.

This was ſigned in the name of the Synod,

PASCATUS BAERTS.

[1] Bor. Lib. XXXV. *p.* 17.

[1] Upon

1 Upon this Petition all the towns of *Freesland* were ordered, by a Letter from the States dated the 27th of *May*, *Not to permit nor connive at any meetings of the* Mennonites *or* Anabaptists *within their respective jurisdictions*. Such a prohibition was understood by some as tending towards a new Force on conscience, or Persecution for religion; but the Magistrates of the towns discovered but little zeal in the execution of it. An° Dom. 1598. *The* Anabaptists *in* Freesland *are prohibited the publick exercise of their Religion.*

2 Not long after, *George Dousa* published a *Latin* Epistle of *Meletius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, which was dated the 23d of *October*, in the year 1597, and directed to his father, *Janus Dousa* Lord of *Nortwick*; by which it plainly appeared that the *Eastern* Churches approached much nearer to those of the *Reformed* than to the *Romish*; and that the said Patriarch exercised much more charity and moderation than many of the *Western Nations*.

In this Epistle, among other remarkable passages, he says: 'That he, who by 'the Grace of God had the care and direction of the greatest churches in the world, 'had been frequently refreshed in the dangers, troubles, and pressure of his office, 'which had almost overwhelmed his soul, by his conferences with travellers and 'strangers.'——He then proceeds thus, 'The diversity of religion does not deter 'me from discoursing and corresponding with all kinds of men, and chiefly with '*Christians*; for laying aside the intricate mazes of disputes, particularly of those 'that are only vain and curious, we walk in the wide paths of charity, or at least 'we do not treat of the things in which we disagree, without it.' Then desiring some books, which he says were produced in these parts by christian charity, for great and valuable ends, he subjoins: 'The fruits of which are least of all enjoyed 'by those that set up for Rulers, Censors, and Legislators of the Earth, and who 'zealously exert their power in treating mankind, their brethren, nothing less than 'brotherly; and who triumph over those miseries of men which they ought to pity 'and compassionate: *A Letter of* Meletius *Patriarch of* Alexandria, *to* Janus Dousa.

O cæcas hominum mentes, O pectora cæca!

'The Son of God was pleased to divest himself of his glorious Majesty, in order to 'promote the salvation of men; and we erect I know not what kingdoms for the ruin, 'and by the ruin of mankind, and yet would be esteemed the *Followers* of Christ, 'even that very Christ from whom we so much differ in all our actions.—— 'If you enquire into the causes of the aversion to us, I cannot tell what other an- 'swer to make, than that which is the real truth; to wit, that we *Greeks*, that 'is, the Sons of the *Eastenr* churches, who follow the Doctrines, Traditions, Pre- 'cepts, and Decrees of the Fathers, strictly and purely maintaining and adhering 'to, the said Doctrines and Traditions, do not suffer our selves to be drawn away 'by any innovations or deceitful inventions of men, from those Decrees that were 'made by all the *Seven General Councils*, to say nothing of the *Provincial* ones. 'We observe inviolably the Symbol, or Confession of Faith, drawn up in the *first* '*Nicene Council*, and perfected in the *second*, most exactly explaining the Article of b 'the *Holy Ghost*. b As for the Symbol, or Creed, which is falsly ascribed to *Atha-* 'nasius, (together with the additions made to it by the *Popes* of *Rome*) we prove it 'an imposture as clear as the day. We own the *Romish Pope* for Bishop of *Rome*; 'but with Paul we admit of no universal Head of the Catholick Church, save Christ 'alone. Him we acknowledge, from his own words, to be the Corner-stone of 'Sion, upon which, he himself has declared, that the Church is founded. For, 'says he, upon this Rock, (and says *Paul*, this Rock was *Christ*) not upon thee 'Peter, but upon my self, will I build my Church, as the most accurate *Austin* has 'well observed. Since then we profess these things, I cannot imagine why some , (as *Sanderus* has most impiously done) should compare the *Eastern* Church, (O 'horrible wickedness!) to that of the Devil. But such is the disposition of un- 'christian minds, whatever disagrees with their taste, whatever is ungrateful to 'them, that they immediately cry down for impious, that they exclude from the 'favour of God, that they banish out of his Church, and that they persecute with 'fire and sword.' He concludes with the following Prayer; 'That the good and

[a] Bor. Lib. XXX. *p.* 17. *See* Bor *also above*.

[b] Extat. hæc Epistola, Typis *Adr. Henrici* Hag. Com. 1598. impres.

An° Dom. 1598.

'gracious God would at last vouchsafe to extinguish the fire of these sinful lusts in 'the minds of men! That he would disperse the clouds of Ecclesiastical differences! 'And that all of us who have been transported beyond our selves by our passions, 'may be most strictly united by the inspiration of his holy Spirit. And that he 'would not suffer men to differ, whom to unite to each other, and with himself, 'he caused his Son to descend from the Throne of Heaven to the lowest Earth.'

1 In the mean time, upon a debate arising in the Council of Queen *Elizabeth*, whether she should hearken to the propofals of Peace made by *Spain*, and like the King of *France* abandon the interest of the *United Provinces*, the States were accused with respect to religion: *That whilst they pretended they were fighting for Religion and Liberty, they had banished all Piety and Religion, by tolerating all sects and perswasions excepting the* Romish. But it was answered by other Members of the Council, in their defence, that, *such an accusation was pure calumny, and raised by people who were enemies of the* Reformed Religion; *since the States were entirely addicted to the True Religion, as well as to their native Freedom, and that Religion which agreed with all the* Protestant *Churches throughout* Christendom, *in all the fundamentals relating to salvation; but that with respect to other points not so absolutely necessary, they allowed of a forbearance according as times and circumstances required, after the same manner as was done by the* Primitive Churches; *forasmuch as the tares have sprung up every where and at all times.* However, the Queen soon after exhorted the States to peace, and to receive the Archduke for their Sovereign, who with a Daughter of *Spain* was to have for her portion a share in the government of the *Low-Countries*; assuring the Ministers of the States at her Court, That *she would procure for them all their Religious and Civil Rights, and their own Government*; that is to say, subordinately to that of the said Archduke. But the jealousies of the *Dutch* were too great to hearken to this advice; and not without reason: For though the *Spaniards* spoke the same language, it was all dissimulation, as the States discovered by intercepted letters from the King of *Spain*. In these suspicions they were confirmed by the attempt of one *Peter Panne* of *Ypres*, by his trade a Cooper, but who was become a Factor and Merchant, an ignorant and brainless fellow; for such indeed are the fittest instruments of desperate villainies. This man being by some tokens become suspected, was taken up at *Leyden*, and upon examination confessed, that being greatly prest by his debts, and by the rigour of his creditors thrown from one prison into another, he had long sought to extricate himself from his difficulties, though without success. 2 But coming to *Douay*, where he used to supply the *Jesuits* with Butter, the Principal of their College informed him in a long and studied harangue, **How great a benefit it would be to** Christendom, **if any one could be found that would dispatch one only man who played the tyrant, and was the occasion of so much bloodshed, and the ruin of so many men.** This Speech stirred up his soul, which was sunk down by his misfortunes, and kindled in it the design of assassinating Prince *Maurice*, in which he was confirmed by the promise of a reward to him and his son, if he succeeded, and heaven if he miscarried. Besides all this, his own Wife, whom cares and adversity had rendered uneasy, stimulated him to this attempt, and charged him *to behave himself manfully*. Thus being urged on, and confirmed in his design by the Head of the Jesuits, who administered the Sacrament to him, and gave him absolution from all his sins; he came, as soon as provided with money, first into *Zeland*, and from thence to *Leyden*; but the stings of conscience prevailing by degrees, together with the apprehensions of the danger to which he was about to be exposed, he grew more and more averse to the wicked project, till at last he came to a better mind. Having made this confession by fits and starts, and being convicted from his own mouth, he was finally sentenced to death by the Schepens of the town of *Leyden*, with the approbation of a Committee of the States of *Holland*, and of the Courts of Justice; and was accordingly beheaded and quartered on the 22d of *June*.

A Villain suborned to assassinate Prince Maurice, *is taken and executed.*

3 While this event served to make the spirit of the *Jesuits* more and more known, a new Sect endeavoured likewise to distinguish it self in *Holland:* In the month of *August* there arrived in these parts two men of the opinion of those that are commonly called *Socinians* by some, or *Unitarians* by others. One was *Christopher Ostorod*,

3

[1] Cambd. Ann. P. IV. *p.* 713, 714. Reid. *p.* 547. Grot. Hist. Lib. VII. *p.* 327.

[2] Bor, Lib. XXXV. *p.* 26. Grot. ibid. Reid. ibid.

[3] Bor. Ibid. *p.* 17. Uitenb. *p.* 307.

Oſtorod, a *German*, the other *Andrew Voidovius*, a *Pole*. After they had reſted themſelves a few days at *Amſterdam*, the Burgomaſters ſeized upon all their books and papers in the Inn where they lay, and cauſed them to be brought to the Stadthouſe. It was ſuppoſed that the books contained falſities and blaſphemies, and that the owners of them endeavoured to innovate in religious matters. The men affirmed the contrary, and inſiſted that their books ſhould be reſtored. But they were ſent to *Leyden*, to be there peruſed and examined by the Profeſſors in Divinity, who pronounced concerning them, that they contained *Heretical* notions, and ſuch as were near a-kin to the *Mahometan* doctrines. From thence the books were ſent by the Magiſtrates of *Leyden* to the Committee of the States General. The Profeſſors all the while laboured underhand to get thoſe men ſent away as ſoon as poſſible. At laſt this reſolution was taken: *That the aforeſaid books ſhould be burnt in the preſence of the owners, at the office of the* Generality, *on the 9th of* September, *and that the men ſhould be warned to leave the* United Netherlands *in the ſpace of ten days after, upon pain of being puniſhed according to the pleaſure of the States, and for an example to the like offenders.* At the appointed time, the fire was prepared to burn the books; but neither did the owners appear, though ſummoned to ſee the execution, nor were the books committed to the flames, the Deputies and others ſharing them among themſelves out of curioſity. At the ſame time the States writ to all the Provinces to beware of thoſe two perſons, *Oſtorodus* and *Voidovius*. However, they ſtaid a while in the country, and particularly in *Freeſland*, where they drew up an Apology fo themſelves, and cauſed it to be privately printed. In this writing, which was addreſſed to the States, we find a defence of their opinions againſt the judgment of the Profeſſors, with a complaint, that 'They, together with their 'books, were unjuſtly condemned, upon the judgment of three or four Divines, 'without being brought to a trial or hearing. But we do not ſo much reproach 'your Honours (*ſaid they*) as your Divines, who have thus inſtructed you; they 'abuſe your ſervice. —— And it was by the ſame way (*they thought*) that people 'were brought at laſt to the ſtake for their belief.'

An° Dom. 1599.

Oſterodus *and* Voidovius *come to* Holland.

Their Books are condemned to be burnt, and they are baniſhed the Country.

[1] This very year the *Reformed* underwent great troubles in the Duchy of *Cleves*. The Admiral of *Caſtile*, who in the abſence of Archduke *Albert* had paſt the *Rhine* with the *Spaniſh* army, gave out that he would every where extirpate *Calviniſm*, that ſeed of Sedition, and re-eſtabliſh the *Romiſh* religion. Accordingly he drove it out at *Goch* and other places. The people of *Weſel*, who would not ſuffer the *Anabaptiſts* to live among them as Burghars, but forced them to leave the town, were now ſo terrified by the ſaid Admiral, that they were obliged to diſmiſs the *Proteſtant* Miniſters, to ceaſe the exerciſe of their religion, and re-admit the Prieſts, Monks, and Jeſuits. They applied to the Chancellor and Council of *Cleves* for relief, offering to clear the Great Church (of which the Prince had the direction) and the School, for the uſe of the *Jeſuits*, and begging that they might keep the reſt. But their prayers were in vain; they were forced to quit both ſmall and great. Then all the churches were conſecrated a-new with ridiculous ceremonies; one whipt or chaſtiſed the Pulpits, and another ſat in them, and cried aloud, *I have ſinned.*

The Admiral of Caſtile *expells the* Reformed *out of the Country of* Cleves.

At *Aix la Chapelle*, the Magiſtrates quarrelled ſo long with each other, that the *Papiſts* at laſt became the maſters. All that followed the doctrines of *Luther* or *Calvin*, or that were at odds either with the *Papiſts* or among themſelves, were deprived of any ſhare of the Government, and *Papiſts* placed in their room. The liberty of religion, which had been enjoyed there at leaſt forty years, was taken away from the inhabitants at once. This was the cauſe that many abandoned the town, and removed into the *United Provinces*, the ſure harbour and retreat of all the Exiles.

Aix la Chapelle *is deprived of the Liberty of Religion.*

[2] In the mean time died *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, on the 7th of *September*, of the *Louſy Diſeaſe*, and other painful diſtempers. Before his death, he bequeathed the *Netherlands*, with *Burgundy* and *Charlois*, to his daughter *Iſabella*, and her in marriage to Archduke *Albert* of *Auſtria*, all with the conſent of his ſon *Philip* III. and conditionally that thoſe countries ſhould depend upon *Spain*. It was likewiſe expreſly ſtipulated, that if theſe new Sovereigns, or their Heirs, ſhould make the leaſt infraction upon the *Romiſh* Religion, they ſhould *ipſo facto* forfeit their dominion. So that they had no power left them to grant any liberty of religion. And accordingly the

Philip II. *King of* Spain, *dies.*

[1] Meteren. Lib. XXI. *p.* 431. Twisk. Chron. Lib. II. *p.* 1033. —— 1488.

[2] Thuan. Lib. CXX. *p.* 504. Grot. Lib. VII. *p.* 330. Reid. *p.* 552. Bor. Lib. XXXV. *p.* 32.

Anno Dom. 1599.

the new King gave immediate proofs of his hatred to the *Dutch* Masters of Ships and Merchants, whom even the old Monarch had suffered to trade and use his Ports by connivance.

Arnold le Maire *burnt at* Seville.

Arnold la Maire of *Antwerp*, an inhabitant and Grocer at *Delft*, coming to *Seville* to trade, happened to reprove two *Spaniards* for quarrelling; one of which accused him of *Lutheranism*, and caused him to be taken up and committed to prison, where, after having lain several months, and past several examinations, he was declared a *Heretick* by the *Inquisition*, and the next Summer burnt accordingly. *Lawrence Bikker*, a principal Merchant of *Amsterdam*, trading to *Guinea*, was taken by a wile, and sent to *Lisbon* to be burnt; but he was afterwards retaken by some *Dutch* ships.

The death of the Chancellor Leoninus;

This Winter concluded with the death of two famous men, who ended their days soon after each other, and both in the month of *December*. [1] The first was *Elbertus Leoninus*, Chancellor of *Gelderland* at *Arnheim*, in the 79th year of his age; a man of a large body and great understanding, well vers'd in the laws of his country, and in affairs of State. He was born at *Bommel* in *Gelderland*, and it is related of him, that being formerly Professor of Law at *Louvain*, he had gained the friendship of almost all the Nobility of the *Low-Countries*, as well as of Cardinal *Granville* and the Prince of *Orange*, who though they were of different parties, yet trusted him with their greatest secrets, and allowed of his interposition. Being afterwards made one of the Council, he served the King very faithfully, but found himself at last obliged to side with the States, because he was suspected, though unjustly, by the *Spaniards*, and the King himself, on account of the great share he had in the Prince of *Orange*'s favour. He used to say, that he had followed the advice of *Solon*, who was of opinion, *That a good Citizen, in case of civil discords, ought to chuse the weakest and most dangerous side.* During the troubles raised by the *Leicestrian* faction, he gave the Earl good counsel; but he refusing to take it, his Government was for that reason short and unhappy. What his opinion was in matters of religion, he himself explains in the account of his life, in the following words: *I have always said, and so I say still, that,* **we ought to embrace that religion which is the most simple. As for things that are wholly divine, and pass humane understanding, we should leave them to the judgment of God and his Angels. It is my opinion, that instead of confining the Divinity, we should rather be affected with reverence and admiration at it. I have laboured with all my might to banish the too nice disputes out of the Commonwealth.**

In the year 1581, he was chosen Chancellor of *Gelderland*. He was naturally possessed of that advantage which many of the Ancients took such pains for, viz. *the not being swayed by any passions.* [2] From thence arose the greatest equanimity in the greatest adversity.

As also of the Heer van Aldegonde.

[3] The second person to be taken notice of here, was *Philip van Marnix*, Lord of *St. Aldegonde*, born at *Brussels*, of an honourable family, formerly in great favour and esteem with the Prince of *Orange*, who by him governed cities and provinces. His skill in languages, especially in the *Hebrew*, his great Learning, Judgment, Eloquence, Piety, and the pains he took in promoting the *Reformation*, have been extolled by many. That which lessened his praise with some, was his great zeal in promoting the persecution of the *Enthusiasts* and other Sects that did not agree with the *Reformed:* But this his warmth rendered him the more acceptable to others. He died at *Leyden* in the 60th year of his age.

A Minister assassinated at Deventer.

[4] In the beginning of the year 1599, people saw by an instance at *Deventer* in *Over-Yssel*, how far blind zeal, animated by anger and hatred, is able to carry a man. A certain *Popish* Burgher, named *Henry van Achtervelt*, being hurried on by the evil Counsellors just now mentioned, had resolved to attack *Francis Schurichman*, one of the Ministers of that place: Accordingly upon a *Sunday*, being the 21st of *January*, after the Sermon was ended, he fell upon him behind as he was going out of the church between two of the inhabitants, and with a two-edged knife stuck him in the neck, so that the knife passing by his tongue, came out at his mouth; of which he died presently after. The murderer ran immediately out of the church and town, but being pursued by the Officers of Justice on horseback, he was soon taken. They endeavoured

[1] Val. Andr. *p.* 198. Bor. Lib. XXXV. *p.* 69.
[2] Grot. Lib. VII. *p.* 355. Hooft, Lib. XX. *p.* 883.
[3] Bor. Lib. XXXV. *p.* 68. Meur. Athen. Batav. Lib. II. *p.* 179.
[4] Bor. Lib. XXXVI. *p.* 10. Reid. *p.* 601.

endeavoured by torments to make him confeſs his abettors and aſſociates; but he ſaid, he committed that fact of his own motion, without conſulting with any body, and only becauſe the Miniſter had ſpoken againſt the Pope; and this he called a **Meritorious Work.** He was afterwards puniſhed with death, for an example to others. An° Dom° 1599.

The Sect of Puritans *and* Browniſts *come over from* England.

[c] 'About this time, or rather earlier, there was wafted over hither from *England* a new Sect of people, who being for *reforming the Reformation*, ſeparated themſelves from the reſt of the *Reformed*. Theſe people having been expelled by Queen *Elizabeth*, and for their pretended purity being called [c] *Puritans*, or *Browniſts*, from *Robert Brown* one of the firſt founders of this Sect, fixt themſelves moſtly at *Leyden* and *Amſterdam*. The chief reaſons of their ſeparation may be ſeen in ten Articles, which they propoſed to one who had formerly been an Elder of their Church, but who at that time was Maſter of a Grammar School, and a Member of the eſtabliſhed Church, from which they endeavoured to draw him again to themſelves. Theſe Articles increaſed by the addition of an eleventh, and with References to Texts of Scripture, were publiſhed afterwards in *England*, and are of the following tenor: '*In the* *Eleven Articles, containing the Reaſons of their Separation.*
'*firſt place*, Becauſe the church of *Amſterdam* is in ſuch confuſion, that, 1*ſt*, The Con-
'gregation never meets together; 2*dly*, The Miniſters never ſanctified the Lord's day
'with the people. 3*dly*, There can never be any certainty of the preſence of the
'Church-members. 4*thly*, No publick tranſactions, whether of Excommunication or
'other Church-diſcipline can be duly performed. All which is contrary to the
'following Texts of Scripture. 1 *Cor.* xij. 27, and ——xj. 20, 23. *Matth.* xviij. 17.
'1 *Cor.* v. 4. *Acts* vj. 2, 5. *Numb.* viij. 9. *Acts* xx. 28. *In the ſecond place:*
'Becauſe they receive or admit to Baptiſm the Seed of thoſe who are not Members
'of any of the viſible Churches, take no care of them being baptized, as of Mem-
'bers, nor receive their Parents to the Lord's Supper. *Gen.* xvij. 7, 9, 10, 11.
'1 *Cor.* vij. 14. *Exod.* xij. 43. 2 *Chron.* xxx. 6. *Numb.* ix. 13. *Hoſ.* ij. 2, 4. *Rev.*
'xvij. 1. *Ezek.* xvj. 50. *In the third place:* Becauſe they have projected and uſe
'in the publick Service a different method of praying from that which the Lord
'*Chriſt* preſcribed in the ſixth of *Matthew*; reading out of a book certain prayers, in-
'vented and appointed by men. *Exod.* xx. 4, 5. —— xxx. 9. *Pſal.* cxli. 2. *Rev.* viij. 3.
'*Levit.* x. 1. *Iſa.* xxix. 14. *Matth.* xv. 9. *Rom.* viij. 26. *Eph.* iv. 8. 1 *Pet.* ij. 5. *In*
'*the fourth place:* Becauſe they do not obſerve the command of *Chriſt* in *Matth.*
'xviij. 15, 16, 17. nor ſuffer it to be rightly obſerved by the people. 5*thly*, Be-
'cauſe they ſerve God daily in the temples of *Antichriſt*. *Exod.* xx. 4. *Deut.* xij. 3.
'2 *Kings* x. 26, 27, 28. —— xviij. 4. *Acts* xvij. 23. *Rev.* xviij. 11, 12. 6*thly*,
'Becauſe the Miniſters are maintained in a different way from what *Chriſt* ordained.
'1 *Cor.* ix. 14. and that in ſuch manner as every Miniſtry, whether it be of the
'*Papiſts* or any other Sects, may be maintained. 7*thly*, Becauſe they change their
'Elders yearly, and do not continue them according to the doctrine of the Apoſtles,
'and the cuſtom of the moſt primitive churches. *Rom.* xij. 4. —— 8. 1 *Cor.* xij.
'11, 12. *Acts* xx. 17, 28. 1 *Pet.* v. 1, 4. See likewiſe *Numb.* viij. 24. 8*thly*,
'Becauſe they confirm Marriage in the Church, as if it were a part of the Eccleſia-
'ſtical Miniſtry, whereas it naturally belongs to the Civil Government only. *Ruth* iv.
'9*thly*, Becauſe they make uſe of a new puniſhment, by ſuſpenſion, which *Chriſt*,
'according to *Matth.* xviij. 17. and *Gal.* iij. 15. never required. 10*thly*, Becauſe
'they obſerve days and times, keeping holy certain days in the year on account of
'*Chriſt*'s Nativity, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion. *Exod.* xx. in the II. and IV. Com-
'mandment. *Rev.* i. 10. 1 *Cor.* xvj. 1. —— iv. 2. *Acts* xx. 7. *Col.* ij. 16, 17. *Iſa.*
'lxvi. 23. *Gal.* iv. 10, 11. 11*thly*, Becauſe they receive for Members of their
'Church, impenitent perſons, being excommunicated; by which means the true
'Members become one body with thoſe that are delivered to *Satan*. 1 *Cor.* v. 5.
'1 *Tim.* i. 20.

Theſe people had printed and publiſhed, in the year 1598, (which they ſtiled *the laſt year of the patience of the Saints*) a certain Confeſſion of Faith. In this, which was for the moſt part conformable to the *Geneva* doctrine in the main and fundamental points, they ſaid, That 'the **Antichriſt**, that man of ſin, had corrupted and
'overturned the holy Laws, Offices, and Employments of the Church, together
'with the reſt of the Articles of the *Chriſtian* Faith; and introduced and eſtabliſhed

[c] Epiſt. Eccleſ. *p.* 96. *Sp.* 36.

An° Dom. 1599.

'in their room a new fangled Religion, Liturgy, and Hierarchy; that the Kings, 'Nations, and Inhabitants of the earth, had been made drunk with this cup of For- 'nications and Abominations.——That all that Hierarchy ſtill retained in the Church 'of *England*, of Metropolitans, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Suffragans, Deans, 'Prebends, and Canons.———All the ſaid Hierarchy with all its appurtenances, 'was a new and antichriſtian adminiſtration.——That all ſuch as ſought after their 'eternal welfare, were bound by virtue of God's command, to withdraw as ſoon as 'poſſible from this antichriſtian Conſtitution.———That it was the duty of all 'Princes and Governments to put down and root out all falſe and will-worſhip, all 'humane inventions in matters of religion.———To aboliſh all adoration of Idols 'and Images; all Altars and Eccleſiaſtical Veſtments, and all other ſuperſtitious 'trumperies; and to convert to their own, and the publick uſe, all the idolatrous 'edifices, (ſuch as Temples, Chappels, and all other places, formerly dedicated and 'employed by the Heathens and Antichriſtians in their falſe and will-worſhip) to- 'gether with all the revenues and all the funds of the Hierarchy, and unlawful 'Church-Miniſtry.

Several Letters were exchanged on account of the publication of this *Confeſſion* between *Franciſcus Junius*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, on the one part, and *Francis Johnſon*, *Henry Ainſworth*, *Daniel Studley*, *George Kniveton*, *Chriſtopher Bowman*, and *Stanſhal Mercer*, and other ring-leaders of this Sect, on the other. *Junius* endeavoured to convince them that their proceedings were far from tending to peace, and adviſed them to abſtain from further diſputes. But they on the contrary preſſed for more poſitive anſwers, and demanded that their opinions ſhould be either refuted or approved: Nay, they declared at laſt, that they took his ſilence for conſent. [1] He on the contrary endeavoured to cut all ſhort with the following Anſwer, which though it was written later, and but a little before his death, deſerves to be inſerted in this place, to which (on account of the matter) it belongs:

F. Junius's *Advice to them.*

YOUR Packet of Letters, my Dear Brethren, *came to hand yeſterday in the evening. I deſired you to ceaſe diſputing; you require me to engage in it. I abide by my reſolution; for the Peace of the Church is of more value to me than the Seeds of Diſſention; which whoever are fond of, muſt be content to reap their fruits. What you conclude and give out, that I approve your proceedings, is a very wrong inference. I have reſolved with my ſelf to ſay nothing of the matter, and though you ſhould write me a hundred more Letters, I ſhall continue to adviſe you for the beſt, till I ſee you take better methods. If this do not pleaſe you, yet bear with it; for indeed it does not pleaſe me to meddle with diſputes at ſuch a time as this. It is more agreeable to the Will of God, that I ſhould be ſilent with reſpect to theſe differences, than that I ſhould involve both my ſelf and you in them at this juncture. You move a great many things in your Letters, but I ſhall not enter into the diſcuſſion of them, but confine my ſelf religiouſly to the work of the Lord.* Chriſtian Prudence *will never permit me to paſs my judgment upon controverſial matters, without hearing both ſides.*———

This Letter could not ſtop the mouths of the *Engliſh*; they would have the laſt word, and told him his ſilence was occaſioned by want of arguments. *If we*, (ſaid they in their Letter, which I have had the fortune to ſee) *had erred from the Faith with* Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, *and ſuch ſort of people, we make no queſtion but you would have opened your mouth to anſwer, confute and convict us: But becauſe you can ſhow no error in our opinions, and yet do not care in the preſent ſituation of times and affairs, to declare for us and our work, it is therefore ſafeſt to be ſilent: That is indeed diſcreet, but does not conſiſt with the Will of God, who has pronounced by the Prophet* Jeremiah, *chap.* xlviij. *ver.* 10. Curſed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully; and curſed be he that keepeth back his ſword from blood: *On the contrary*, Happy ſhall he be (O daughter of *Babylon*, who art to be deſtroyed) that rewardeth thee, as thou haſt ſerved us. Happy ſhall he be that taketh, and daſheth thy little ones againſt the ſtones. *Pſal.* cxxxvij. 8, 9. *Now if theſe things were ſaid to the temporal* Moab *and* Babylon, *how much more do they belong to the* Antichriſt, *and to the ſpiritual* Babylon, *and all her daughters and abominations? If this agrees with*

[1] In Epiſt. Jun. nondum edit. v. Epist. Eccl. Ep. 42. th Ep. 43.

with the type and ſhadow, how much more with the ſubſtance it ſelf? —— This was the language of thoſe people who held Eccleſiaſtical or Religious meetings at *Amſterdam* after their own way, by the connivance of the Magiſtrates; and we find that there are in that city, and in other places, ſome remains of them to this day; a living monument of the misfortunes which attended the *Reformation*. An° Dom. 1599.

Thus ended this Century, at which time the Churches of the Provinces ſtill found themſelves very far from the end they had propoſed, in caſting off the yoke of the *Romiſh Papacy*. For we were not only obliged to ſtruggle with the remaining *Papiſts*, (who were careful to try all kinds of artifices to preſerve their old adherents, and to allure to themſelves new followers) but we were likewiſe involved in mutual quarrels with ſo many other Sects, each of which was upon a different foot, and walked in contrary paths, without making the leaſt advances towards one another. The wiſeſt foreſaw indeed the conſequences of this, and endeavoured to accommodate matters as well as they could, but the torrent of zeal and animoſity bore them down; they contented themſelves therefore to wait for better times, and better men. However, there were even then ſome good men who in their Letters burſt out into the following complaints and wiſhes. 'How can any one rejoice, who obſerves, 'that beſides the general impiety that reigns over the whole earth, ſuch great diverſi-'ty of opinions about religious matters, prevails now even in the church of *Chriſt*, 'through all *Chriſtendom*; that among all ſorts of men there are ſome who have 'the boldneſs to vent whatever comes into their fancies againſt the Truth; that many 'who are in authority among them, dare preſcribe and preſs upon *Chriſtians* with 'ſuch warmth and earneſtneſs whatever they pleaſe for neceſſary articles of Faith? 'And indeed, whilſt I reflect on theſe things, my ſoul melts within me, is diſtracted 'and tormented with ſuch a hurry of various thoughts, that ſhe knows not which 'way to turn in this confuſion, but is compelled to cry out thus to her God: **O 'Lord, Grant thy peace to thy** Iſrael; **Peace be within his walls, and proſperity 'within his palaces! Heal the ſtripes and wounds of** *Joſeph*; to the end, that mankind, as Brethren and Relations, being united in the bands of ſincere love and truth, 'to thy honour and their own ſalvation, may praiſe thee in thy houſe from Genera-'tion to Generation!

The End of the Firſt VOLUME.

ANNOTATIONS AND OBSERVATIONS Upon ſeveral Things and Paſſages in the *Hiſtory of the Reformation.*

BOOK I.

a PAG. 1. F *OR its Simplicity.*] Concerning this original Simplicity of the Chriſtian Religion, read what *Grotius* writes to *Thuanus* in his Poetical Works, *p.* 353.

——— *ſed ſæpius annis*
A noſtris, Oculos ad ſæcula Priſca retorque,
Cum Rudis & ſimplex nondum ſe fecerat Artem
Religio: nondum titulum Pietatis habebat
Fulmineus Mavors, & Sceptri dira Cupido:
Cum brevis hoc totum melior quo vita paratur
Regula dictabat, non ſolis nota Magiſtris,
Sed Populi Commune Bonum: neque Docta ſerebant
Jurgia Diſſidium, ſed Certabatur Amando:
Omnibus idem Ardor Verum Defendere tantum
Morte ſua ———

See likewiſe *P. Cunæi de Repub. Hæbr. Lib. III. c.* 9. *p.* 364. and other remarkable places referr'd to by *Simplicius Chriſtiano-Catholicus*, or Dr. *Timam Geſſel* in the Preface of the *Synopſis*, or *Plain View of thoſe places in which is repreſented what things are neceſſary and ſufficient to ſalvation.* The loſs of this *Simplicity* was the ruin of the Church. See *G. Nazianz. Orat. XXI.* in his Works, *p.* 380. A. B. And *Hug. Grot.* in the VIth Book *De Verit. Relig. Chriſt.* Read alſo his Annotations to the *Latin* Edition of the ſaid Book, *p.* 358. *S. Epiſcop.* Sermons on *Joh.* xvij. 3. *p.* 35, *and* 36. and *S. Curcel. Diſſertat. adv. S. Mareſ.* p. 25.

b PAG. 1. *To adorn it with the Rules and Doctrines, &c.*] "The Doctrine of Chriſt (*ſays* Eraſmus *in his* "*Preface to* Hilarius) which was at firſt a Stranger to "Logomachies or Diſputes about Words, began to "rely upon Philoſophical Solutions. This was the "firſt ſtep whereby the Church fell from worſe to "worſe. *See his Letters*, p. 1638. N. *and a little lower*, p. 1639. F. "The Church never ſuffered ſo "much hurt, as when ſhe ſeemed to advance moſt in "Philoſophical Learning, and in the Riches of this "World. *See likewiſe* p. 1634. C. *and beſides*, p. 706. D. 768. C. 1874-5. E. F. *See* Tertul. de Præſcript. Hæret. *Lib. p.* 95, 96. Greg. Nazian. *Orat. XXVI. in ejuſd. Opt. p.* 458. B. *Alſo* De ſacris Diſſidijs Diſſert. Amſterd. 1649. *p.* 24. and *N. Vignier. Hiſt. de l'Egliſe*, for the year 1601. *p.* 36, 41.

c PAG. 1. *Added the Ceremonies.*] There are many of the Pagan Ceremonies introduced into the Chriſtian Church. *See the ſaid* Vignier, *p.* 73, 74.

d PAG. 1. *Prevailing gradually by Practice.*] *The Articles increaſed, but the Simplicity decreaſed*, ſays *Eraſmus* in his Preface to *Hilarius. Er. Epiſt.* p. 1638. A.

e PAG. 1. *Were made neceſſary.*] The hammering out ſo many Articles of Faith, did a world of miſchief, eſpecially when they were turned into Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and made obligatory. "At laſt, *ſays the above-mentioned learned Man, in the ſaid Preface,* "p. 1638. B.) they fell a cavilling and diſputing upon "matters of Religion, like Sophiſts; and then Arti-"cles were poured in upon them by thouſands. From "hence they proceeded to dreadful Threatnings. And "even now whilſt the failure is in our lives: Now, "while *Faith* abounds more in our mouths, and leſs "in our hearts: Now, when the right knowledge of "the holy Scriptures is gone; we ſeek nevertheleſs "to compel men by the moſt terrible methods to be-"lieve what they cannot believe, to underſtand what "they cannot underſtand, and to love what they don't "nor won't love." He alſo adviſes in another of his Letters, *p.* 680. E. not to make Articles of Faith ſo lightly; "But only to enjoyn ſuch things as are plain-"ly expreſs'd in holy Scripture, or without which we "cannot attain to ſalvation. To this there are but "few things neceſſary; and the more ſimple and few "they

" they are, the more eaſily will they be admitted. " Now we ſplit one only Article into ſix hundred; " and ſome of theſe Articles are of ſuch a nature, that " none (as is pretended) may be ignorant, or doubt of " them, without running the riſque of damnation." Read likewiſe his Annotations on *Mat.* xj. 30. *p.* 57, and *C. Barlæi Bogerm.* p. 107.

f PAG. 1. *Who had always poſſeſs'd a great ſhare of Authority.*] Read *T. Geſſel. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Part I. *p.* 497 and 673. The chiefeſt Authority and Splendor of the *Roman* Church (as *Mark Antony de Dominis. Lib. IV. de Repub. Eccleſ.* p. 558. thinks) conſiſted in this; *viz.* That the two principal and greateſt of the Apoſtles, *Peter* and *Paul* (to theſe ſome add *John* whom *Jeſus* loved above the reſt) had laboured to build, to inſtruct, and to perfect it. Thus that Church became the Apoſtolical See, yea poſſibly the only one in the Weſt, and conſequently the Mother and Teacher of many Churches. Beſides, the Power and Majeſty of the *Roman* Empire, the Seat of which was in the City of *Rome*, was very uſeful and ſerviceable in ſpreading and propagating the Chriſtian Religion. From hence, in time, the Authority of the Biſhops of that City increaſed, more and more; not through any *Divine Right*, but by *Cuſtom* and *Conceſſion*, or through Human Right, partly Spiritual, derived from Councils; and partly Temporal, deriv'd (at leaſt with reſpect to the Temporal Power of *Rome*) from the Emperors. Again, in the 9th Chapter of the ſaid Book, the ſaid *M. A. de Dominis* ſhews, in what Privileges or Prerogatives the Biſhop of *Rome* ſurpaſſes other Biſhops. But though the early Ages of Chriſtianity ſhewed great reſpect to the Biſhop of *Rome*, yet they never aſcribed to him the Sovereign Authority in Church affairs; but the ancient Biſhops of other Communities, and thoſe Doctors of the Church, who are ſtiled the *Fathers*, did always, from time to time, oppoſe his Encroachments upon them; as is yet more fully proved by our abovementioned Author, in the 8th Chapter of his 4th Book, *p.* 643. Read alſo *Eraſm. Epiſt.* p. 1611. C. and *p.* 167. B. The ſaid *Eraſmus* elſewhere aſcribes great Authority to the See of *Rome*, *p.* 678. C. and 1001. B. " Indeed (*ſays he*, *p.* 1079 B.) the taking away the " Primacy of this See, does by no means pleaſe me: " but I could wiſh to ſee her Diſcipline ſo ordered, " that ſhe might become a Light to all that aſpire to " the Evangelical purity." He was likewiſe of opinion, that the Authority of the Pope ought notwithſtanding to have no force or weight in oppreſſing Truth and Innocency. See his Letters, *p.* 889. G. and the 9th Vol. of his Works, *p.* 901. " And there were " Divines of great Name even among the *Proteſtants* " or *Reformed*, who allowed to the *Roman* See, Biſhop, " or Church, ſome Honour and Authority above, or " over other Churches in Eccleſiaſtical matters, but " upon ſuch terms as were rejected by the *Pope*." *P. Melanchon*, a perſon who, for his great Underſtanding, Judgment, Learning and peaceful Temper, excell'd many of his Brethren and Contemporaries, ſcruples not to ſpeak thus in the 4th Volume of his Works, *p.* 825 and 829. " Our People do agree, " that ſuch a Church Polity or Government is allow- " able; to wit, That ſome Biſhops have authority o- " ver many Churches, and likewiſe the Pope or Biſhop " of *Rome*, over all other Biſhops. No man, I think, " that is wiſe, will diſapprove of this Canonical Go- " vernment, provided it be contained within its pro- " per bounds; that is, that neither the Pope nor the " other Biſhops abuſe their power for oppreſſing Do- " ctrines. And as for their Riches and Revenues, we " teach, that the Gifts of Kings and Princes are per- " mitted and lawful; and theſe their Revenues are " ſuch Gifts. Wherefore, ſo far as relates to the Pa- " pal Supremacy and the Authority of Biſhops, there is " no diſpute, and the Pope with the reſt of the Biſhops " may retain their preheminence. For Directors are ne- " ceſſary in the Church, in order to examine and ordain " thoſe that are called to Church-ſervices, to exerciſe " Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures or Judgments, and to overſee the " Doctrines of Miniſters and Teachers. And if there " were no ſuch Order in the world as that of Biſhops, " yet ſuch an Order ought to be inſtituted. We only " wiſh that thoſe who are now in that high Office may " have an eye to what Doctrines are taught, and take " care that the Faith which is committed to them, be " truly and purely tranſmitted to poſterity by thoſe that " are ſubordinate to them. If they did ſo, no body ought " to diſobey them. The Monarchy of the *Roman Pope* " would likewiſe have this good in it, as I conceive, " that many would retain the Unity of Doctrine: " wherefore it were eaſie to agree in this Article of " the Superiority of Biſhops, if other matters could be " complied with. And as for that immoderate and " unjuſt power which Popes have ſometimes arrogated " to themſelves, of depoſing Kings and Princes, it " might eaſily have been moderated by the Sovereign " powers; ſuch things belonging neither to the Goſ- " pel, nor the Church.

To the ſame purpoſe *J. Caſaubon*, one of the moſt learned, judicious and diſcreet Oppoſers of the Papacy, expreſſes himſelf in a certain Letter he writ to Cardinal *Perron* in the name of King *James* of *Great Britain*: *Let the Pope really ſhow that he does not ſeek his own Honour, but the Glory of the immortal God, and that the peace, unity and ſalvation of Mankind are chiefly at his heart; then will the moſt ſerene King, as he has not long ago declared, readily allow him the Right of Primacy, and with Great* Nazianzen, *freely confeſs, that the ſuperintendency of the whole Church belongs to him.* See the *Letters* of the ſaid *Caſaubon*, p. 933; and *M. A. de Dom. Oſtenſ. Error. F. Suarez.* Lib. IV. *de Rep. Eccl. adjunct.* Cap. III. Sect. 25. Read likewiſe *M. Bucer, Enarrat. in xvj cap.* Mat. Sect. 3. p. 357; and *Grot. Annot. ad Conſult. Caſſand.* p. 13. *ejuſd. votum.* p. 36; and *Diſcuſſ.* p. 69. Alſo *A. Rivet. Annot. & Animadv. in Grot. Conſult.* p. 58. *Apolog. pro vera Pace*, p. 91. *Item Vindic. Apol. ſui*, p. 173.

g PAG. 1. *Erected a certain ſpiritual Kingdom.*] This ſpiritual Kingdom degenerated by degrees into Tyranny, and was extended to Temporal or Civil affairs, partly by tricks and devices, and partly by force and violence. See *P. Mornæi Hiſt. de la Papauté. M. A. de Dom. de Rep. Eccleſ.* p. 637, and *p.* 762, *&c. Fr. Guicciardin* in his *4th Book of the Wars of* Italy: where it is ſhown at large, how the Biſhops of *Rome*, who had at firſt nothing but a ſpiritual Power, have acquired temporal Governments and Principalities. But this remarkable paſſage has been ſince eraſed by thoſe to whom the Popes committed the care of caſtrating Books; though, in the year 1609, publiſhed again by *Peter Kopff* at *Frankfort*, together with other curious Pieces, under the title of, *Political Exhortations to the Princes of the* Roman *Empire, relating to the reſtraining the exceſſive Power of the Papal Court.* We are alſo informed by *J. Serres, en ſon Inventaire*, p. 53, in the *Life* of King *Pepin*, That, " the primitive Sim- " plicity of the Catholic Church, whilſt rich in her " Poverty, and abounding in the Truth, which ſhe " had retained ſince the Golden Age of the Apoſtles " and Fathers, was turned into pomp and ſtate: the " Crown of Martyrdom, with which the firſt Biſhops " of *Rome* had been honoured, into a Triple Crown; " which did not only give Laws to the Emperors, " Kings and Princes of the Earth, as it ſtill continues " to do, but even trampled them under foot, and de- " poſed them from their Governments." And *Grotius* too, in his *Comment* upon St. *Matt.* chap. xiij. v. 41. ſays, that " The putting men to death on account of " Religion, did not alone ſeem ſufficient, for cruelty " had ſharpen'd its invention of all ſorts of puniſhments. " Anathema's were not only thundered out againſt " private perſons, but alſo extended to whole nations. " And that they might not be thunder'd in vain, Kings " and Princes were excited to deſtroy the people thus " excommunicated, with fire and ſword, and with- " out diſtinction of age or ſex; and having made " ſuch a wilderneſs of fruitful Provinces, they ſancti- " fied it with the name of Peace. *Vid. Crit. Sacr.* Tom. VI. p. 416. N. 60.

The aſcribing to themſelves ſuch an authority over divine and human things, was the occaſion that many looked upon the Biſhop of *Rome* to be the great Antichriſt mentioned in the 2d Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians* and elſewhere. See *J. Armin. Diſput. Publ.* p. 193--- *C. Vorſt. in* 1 *Tom. Controverſ.* R. Bellarm. p. 79. and *De Cauſis deſerendi Papat. Diſput. VIII.* and his *Teſſeradecad. Antipiſtor.* p. 497. And ſome even of thoſe who would never ſeparate from the Romiſh Church, have had the courage to find out, and ſhow the *Antichriſt* in certain of the Popes of *Rome*. See *P. Morn. Hiſt.* p 278, 286, 315, 349, 397, 464, 515. Others again, who preſs'd for a Reformation, had more favourable ſentiments of ſome of the Popes. See *Melanchthon* in the places quoted above, and *Grot. Append. ad Interpret. locor. N. Teſt. quæ de Antichriſto agunt, aut agere putantur*, p. 41. and *Crit. Sacr. Tom. VII.* p. 4878---- *M. A. de Dom. Lib. VII.* p. 149. Others, and they Proteſtants too, thought that *Antichriſt* was to be found as well out of the Church of *Rome* as in it: *All that ſavours of the ſpirit of* Antichriſt *(which may be found not only on the banks of the* Tiber, *but alſo near the* Leman Lake, *and elſewhere) is what I deteſt from the bottom of my heart*; ſays *Grotius* in the foremention'd Appendix, *p.* 116. On the other hand, *Aggæus Albada* writes in a certain Letter to the Preſident *Van der Myle*: *Let us learn to know* Antichriſt; *for tho' he is not owned to be among our Party, yet there he is.* Epiſt. ſelect. Centur. III. *p.* 960.

h PAG. 1. *Appointed Cardinals*, &c.] Concerning theſe Prelates, their Name, Office and Dignity, which the Popes know how to uſe to their own advantage, read *M. A. de Dom. Rep. Eccleſ* p. 584; and *Domin. Veneti de Cardin. Legit. Creat.* A Treatiſe joyned to the ſaid Hiſtory —— *D. Blondel de Papa Fœmina*, p. 99. *Jac. Uſſerij Armach. de Occident. Eccleſ. Succeſ. & Stat.* p. 117 —— *Eraſm. Op. Tom. IX.* p. 903--- *Edw. Sandys de l'Etat de la Relig.* p. 116.

i PAG. 1. *By the Inſtruction*, &c.] See *T. Geſſel. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* p 333. where he ſays, that the *Romiſh* Church may be called a Mother-Church with reſpect to thoſe of the *Weſtern* parts, particularly *Italy*, *France* and *England*. But that the Church of *Jeruſalem* was the Mother of all Churches, not excepting that of *Rome* it ſelf. Read *M. A. de Dom. de Rep. Eccleſ.* p. 560. "It is no ſmall honour and glory *(ſays he)* that all "other Churches have received the Faith from this; "but there does not accrue from hence any juriſdiction or authority to it over others. For certainly if "*Rome* be for this reaſon eſteemed the Mother of the "other Churches, *Jeruſalem* ought, with much more "reaſon, to be called their Grandmother." And a little lower he adds: "Let her then be called a School-"miſtreſs, as long as ſhe continues to teach well."

Read further of thoſe Churches that have been raiſed either by Inſtructors who were ſent out of the *Roman* Church, or who of their own accord have come from thence. *M. A. de Dom.* p. 558---- *N. Vignier. Hiſt.* p. 32 and 162: and *Ub. Emmius Rer. Friſ. Hiſt. Lib. III. p.* 45.

k PAG. 1. *Language.*] The *Latin* Tongue was introduced into the Church at firſt, becauſe it was uſed by all nations as a common and univerſal language. But in the courſe of time and things, being become unintelligible, the *Romiſh* Church applied it to much greater advantage: for when ſhe began to make a Stalking-horſe of Religion, with deſign to aggrandize her ſelf in the world, ſhe ſaw that the Ignorance of the people would be of ſignal ſervice to her in that deſign; wherefore ſhe found it adviſeable ever after, to make uſe, in a great meaſure, of the *Latin* Tongue, that was become unknown to the Common people, in the Externals of Divine worſhip. Read the Additions to the 3d Chapter of *Sandy's Account of Religion*, p. 17. which ſome think were written by *Paul Servita*. See likewiſe *Caſaubon's Letters*, p. 93, *of the Uſe of an Unknown Tongue in Divine Service*--- Eraſm. Annotat. ad I. Ep. Cor. *Ch. xiv. p.* 532. —— *La Lettre d'E. de Courcelles à S. de Sorbiere*, p. 12. —— *S. Epiſcop. True Antiquity*, p. 27; and particularly *P. Molinæi Antibarbare, ou du Langage inconnu.* Printed at *Sedan*, 1629.

l PAG. 1. *To publiſh new Decrees.*] They pretended that the Pope was an Univerſal and Infallible Judge of differences in Religion. Againſt which read *M. A. de Dom.* p. 78. *Eraſm. Annot. ad I. Corinth.* Chap. xiv. p. 497; *ejuſd. Adag.* p. 856. But King *James* was of opinion, as *J. Caſaubon* writes to Cardinal *Perron*, that the following Rule ought to be obſerved; *viz.* "That the Articles of our Faith, and "whatever was neceſſary to be believed for ſalvation, "ſhould be ſought for only in the holy Scriptures; "and that no Human authority, how great ſoever, "ſhould be depended on, but only the Word of God, "in which He has revealed his Will to us by the Ho-"ly Ghoſt. And accordingly, that the primitive Fa-"thers and Churches were in the right, in drawing "their Creeds from the holy Scriptures; but that as for "framing new Articles, they had no authority." See the ſaid *Caſaubon's Letters.* p. 921.

m PAG. 1. *To debar the Common People*, &c.] *Henry Stephens*, in his *Apology* for *Herodotus*, printed in *French* in 1568, *p.* 337, ſays, "That poſterity muſt "know that it was not above thirty years ſince, that "thoſe who had a mind to read the holy Scriptures "in the Vulgar tongue, were forced to do it with the "ſame fear and caution, as thoſe that coined falſe "money, or attempted any other wicked and unlaw-"ful action." 'Twas in thoſe times, that what our Saviour ſays, *Matt.* xxiij. 13. might juſtly be applied to the Paſtors of the Church: for they would neither read the Bible themſelves, nor ſuffer others to read it. He likewiſe informs us, that an old and venerable Doctor was wont openly to ſay, *I am ſurprized that theſe young fellows quote us the New Teſtament; for I vow to God, that I was above fifty years old, before I knew what that book meant.* He makes mention alſo of a Bible which the Clergy had tranſlated into *French*, according to their own minds, and augmented with the Gloſs or Interpretation of *Orleans*, which perverted the Text; and he adds, that the ſaid Gloſs was not put in the Margin, but that they had the confidence to mix it with the Text it ſelf. Thus they cauſed the Scriptures to agree with the Abuſes and Errors of the Romiſh Church. And this Medley, or confuſed jumbling of both together, they ſtiled the *Layman's Antidote*, to preſerve him from the contagion of Error: But it ought rather to have been called the *Contagion* it ſelf. † For the ſame reaſon it was that ſome of the Mendicant Friers of the Order of St. *Dominic* hammered out, in the year 1254, a new Goſpel, which they named, *The Everlaſting Goſpel*, and *the Goſpel of the Holy Ghoſt*; and maintained that *this Goſpel did as far excel that of* Jeſus Chriſt, *as the Sun outſhined the Moon*——— *That God the Father ruled under the Law, God the Son under Grace; but that upon the riſe of the* Four Begging Orders, *the Holy Ghoſt had begun to reign, and would continue ſo to do to the end of the world.* This their Goſpel contain'd many idle and ſilly Stories; a proper means to amuſe the People, and in time to get the Bible quite out of their hands, (for the Art of Printing was not yet found out) to maintain old Errors, to forge new ones, and laſtly, to ſupport the Authority of the Pope. However, this dangerous Impoſture met with ſome Oppoſers in the Univerſity of *Paris*; and Pope *Alexander* IV. found himſelf obliged to condemn this Goſpel. It was therefore burnt by his Order, but privately to ſpare the Honour of the Makers, who nevertheleſs remain'd in his favour. And *William de Saint Amour*, with others that had oppoſed it, were afterwards declared Hereticks by the Pope, and baniſhed at his inſtigation.

† *Vid. Jac. Uſſer. de Eccleſ. Occid. Succeſ.* p. 337. *H. Steph. Apol. pro Herod* p 459. *Morn. Hiſt. de la Pap.* p. 429 *Vign. Hiſt de l'Egl.* p. 403, 489. and the Continuation of *Merula*, p. 822 and 852.

* ſince

* Since then, much Pains have been taken to prevent the tranſlating the Holy Scriptures into known languages; but the Reformation has baffled them all, and in ſeveral places befriended the common People with tranſlations in their Mother-Tongue. But where the Popiſh Religion is ſtill in full force, the reading of the Bible is allowed to but very few. They endeavour to hoodwink the People: they exact a blind obedience from them, and fear nothing ſo much as that light which Truth brings along with it ſelf. *Who does not know* (ſays *Eraſmus* † in a certain letter he writ to the Preſident of *Holland*, *Nicolaus Everardus*) "that the "Monks (*and the ſame is applicable to the Popes*) do "allow the Scriptures to be handled by a few only, "to the end that their Power and Gain ſhould not be "diminiſhed. See likewiſe his ‡ Preface to the Expoſition of the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, where he maintains that the Bible ought to be turned into the vulgar Tongue, for the benefit of every one. ** "The "Evangeliſts, *ſays he*, did not ſcruple to write in Greek (*a language "well underſtood in thoſe times*) what our Saviour "ſpake in Syriack. Neither did the Romans heſitate whether they ſhould tranſlate into Latin "the Works of the Apoſtles; that is, whether they "ſhould make them known to the meaneſt of the "People without diſtinction. Neither did *Jerom* forbear to render the Holy Scriptures in the Dalmatian "Tongue: in truth I could wiſh they were turned "into all languages. It was the deſire of Chriſt, "that his Philoſophy ſhould be ſpread far and near. "He died for All, and would be known of All." He had ſaid before, that though ſome had abuſed to their own deſtruction, that which in its own nature was good and wholeſome, yet it did not follow that the ſtudy of the Scriptures was a dangerous thing. Let us therefore yield (ſaid he) the firſt place of inſtruction to them (the Teachers.) "Nevertheleſs I "ſee no reaſon (*added he*) why the Idiots or Laymen "ſhould be debarred the uſe of the Scriptures, eſpecially of the Goſpel, which was preached and promulgated for the unlearned as well as learned, for "the Scythians as well as the Greeks, for Slaves as "well as Freemen, for Women as well as for Men, "for the Poor as well as for Princes. What is taught "in them, equally concerns every one; what is promiſed, equally belongs to every one: They are "likewiſe deliver'd in ſuch a manner, that they may "be much ſooner comprehended by a pious and modeſt, though illiterate Perſon, than by a proud and "conceited Philoſopher. 'Tis peculiar to the *Jews*, "who were converſant with *Types* and *Shadows*, "to conceal their myſteries from the People; but the "light of the Goſpel will not bear to be hidden.

Read alſo *M. A. de Dom.* p. 20, *&c.* where having ſaid that it is commanded that all ſhould ſearch the Scriptures, and that they ought not to be locked up from any; he proceeds thus: "Why then does the "*Court* of *Rome* with-hold ſo great a benefit from all its "Chriſtians, and forbid them the uſe of the Scriptures "in their own language? This ſeems to me intollerable: but the truth is, the poor Creatures, who "being blind, are led by blind Guides, would "no longer ſubmit to the Papal Excommunications "and Thunders (which they now fooliſhly and ignorantly tremble at) in caſe they were to read the "Bible in their Mother-Tongue. Muſt then the "reading God's Word, which is the peculiar and "principal food of a faithful ſoul, be turned into "ſuch a crime or fault as deſerves the puniſhment "of Excommunication? Perhaps a bold Layman "may often make an ill uſe of the Scripture, "if the reading of it be publickly allow'd him, as all "Hereticks have abuſed it: Ought it therefore to be "entirely ſuppreſſed, or ſo concealed that none can "come at it? A ridiculous Remedy, and which is "incomparably more dangerous than the Evil it ſelf. "Hundreds, thouſands, and ten thouſands will draw "great advantages from theſe Scriptures, inſtead of "one that will abuſe them. For the moſt ſimple and "ignorant will eaſily learn and diſcover in them, "things that are plain and manifeſt; and when they "meet with difficult paſſages, they will leave them "to the Learned, or paſs them by with a reſpectful "ſilence, or elſe conſult their Teachers about them, "and ſo be inſtructed without any kind of danger. "A very great, laſting and publick Good ought not "to be hindered or ſuſpended for fear of an inconſiderable Evil that may happen but ſeldom, and affect but a few people. How unhappy then and "miſerable are thoſe Chriſtians that live under ſo "great a Tyrant of Souls, as is the Pope!

See further, *S. Epiſcop. True Antiquity*, p. 11, and 12. *C. Vorſtii Teſſerad. Antipiſt.* p. 176. *Sandys de la Relig.* p. 213. *J. Jewel. Apol. Eccleſ. Anglic.* p. 106.

* *Vid.* J. Caſaub. *Epiſt.* p. 931.

† Eraſ. *Epiſt.* p. 1070. D.

‡ Ibid. Epiſt. p. 1850.

** Ib. p. 1853. C. D. Vid. & p. 1070. G.

PAG. 1. *For their own Honour and Profit.*] n "Where ſhall we find one among ſo many, whether "it be the Pope himſelf, the Cardinals or Biſhops, or "other Eccleſiaſtick Perſons, who is not more concerned for his own Honour and Intereſt than for "the Salvation of Souls? ſays *Eraſmus* in his Epiſtles, *p.* 672. ----- Read alſo about the Avarice of the *Romiſh See*, *M. A. De Dom.* p. 93.

PAG. 1. *But the Blood*, &c.] 'Tis an old ſaying, That the Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Church. *We increaſe in Numbers* (ſays *Tertullian* in Apolog. adv. Gentes. Cap. XLVI. p. 8.) *as often as we are mowed down by you; the Seed is the Blood of Chriſtians.* And in another place (*Lib. ad Scapulam, in fine*) "This Sect (*meaning the Chriſtians*) will not however be extirpated; for you muſt know, that they "flouriſh then moſt, when they ſeem to be moſt oppreſſed: for thoſe who contemplate ſuch great Patience, and are thereby excited to enquire further "into the meaning of it, after having found out the "Truth, embrace it preſently themſelves." So likewiſe *Lactantius*, in *Divin. Inſtit.* p. 227. "The more "men perſecute the Religion of Chriſt, the more it "will increaſe. See alſo the Works of *Juſtin Martyr.* the *Paris* Edition of the year 1636, *p.* 337. B. ---- *Bellarmin. de Eccleſ.* p. 297. ---- The *Annotations* on the *Pacification* at *Cologn*, p. 51. ---- *L'Avertiſſement à l'Aſſemblié de la Rochelle*, par *A. Elintus*; that is, by *D. Tilenus.* A *Paris* chez. *François Julliot*, an. 1621. p. 12 & 13.

o

PAG. 2. *Tranſported with Revenge*, &c.] p Here it may be asked, whether that which was lawful for *David* and the *Maccabees* to do, is not likewiſe allowed to *Chriſtians?* "It is certain, *ſays* Grotius, "(*Lib. I. de Jure Belli & Pacis, Cap. IV. Sect.* 7.) "that Chriſt allowed thoſe Chriſtians whom the Magiſtrates endeavoured to put to death, to fly from "Perſecution, *viz.* thoſe who were not fixed to any "place by the obligations of their Office: But it is as "certain, that he allowed them nothing more than "flight." Of the ſame opinion were likewiſe the Primative and Beſt Chriſtians; for they either *fled* or *ſuffered.* But ſome think, it was not for want of good Will any more than Right, but only of Power, that the Chriſtians of thoſe Ages did not repel Perſecution with force: Let us therefore once again hear *Tertullian*, the moſt learned of all the *Latin* Divines (as *Eraſmus* calls him) who in his Apology againſt the Gentiles, *p.* 665. ſpeaks thus: "God forbid that the "Fire of Men ſhould revenge this Divine Sect, or "that we ſhould lament thoſe Sufferings by which we "are tryed. If we would ſtand upon our guard either as Strangers or Subjects, could we want *Numbers? could we want Legions?* Or do the *Moors*, and "*Marcomans*, or even the *Parthians*, or any other "Nation how numerous ſoever, of one Place and "Country, exceed thoſe who are the moſt numerous People of the whole Earth? We are Strangers, "and yet we fill all your Provinces, your Iſlands, "your Cities, your Caſtles, your Villages, and even "your Army, your Palace, your Senates, your Forum;

" rum; we leave you nothing but your Temples " empty. If we would contend with you in Arms, " how much ſhould we ſurpaſs you? We who ſuffer " our ſelves to be led like Sheep to the ſlaughter, nay " without Arms, without Reſiſtance, we could have " conquer'd you only by deſerting, and by ſeparating " our ſelves from you. For if we who are ſo vaſt " a Body, had only retired to ſome remote corner " of the World, the loſs of ſuch a number of Ci- " tizens, how contemptible ſoever we may appear " in your eyes, would have ſufficiently puniſhed " you, and revenged us. Without doubt the ſoli- " tarineſs, the ceſſation of buſineſs, and a kind of " horror and amazement reſulting from thence, " would have forced you to repentance; for you " would have been obliged to ſeek out new In- " habitants to fill your depopulated Town, in " which there would remain fewer Citizens than " Enemies ".

The ſame language ſpeaks *Cyprian* to the Perſecutor *Demetrian*, in his Works, *p.* 147, and 148. And *Lactantius* in his *Divine Inſtitutes*, Lib. V. c. 21. p. 231. As alſo *Grotius* in the place already quoted.

Prayers and Tears are the Arms of the Church.

Thus the primitive Chriſtians uſed to ſpeak. See *M. A. De Dom.* p. 719. and his *Oſtenſ. Errorum in Suarez.* Cap. III. Sect. 66. and *T. Geſſelii Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Part II. p. 186. ----- The ſaid *M. A. De Dom.* further adds: " That no Chriſtians, and much leſs Eccleſi- " aſticks, ought to uſe the Sword of Steel for the ſake " of Chriſt; or wage War againſt the Unbelievers on " account of Religion. *And having aſſerted*, That " the Church ought not to fight againſt Princes, even " wicked Apoſtates or Infidels, upon any eccleſiaſti- " cal, pious or holy account, eſpecially when ſuch " Princes do not oppoſe the Chriſtian Faith, *he pro- " ceeds to ſay*, Neither can I imagine, how the Church " can countenance ſuch a War, even though the " Prince ſhould perſecute his Chriſtian Subjects: be- " ing perſwaded in my own Mind that the Sword is " not to be uſed, neither in the defence of the Faith, " nor even for Chriſt himſelf: neither have I ever " read that in all thoſe Ages, when the Heathen Em- " perors, or any apoſtate, heretical, cruel and un- " godly Princes reign'd and oppreſſed the Chriſtians, " the latter ever took up Arms againſt their perſecu- " ting Princes, or ſtirred up others to do it, even " when it was in their power: And yet I find at the " ſame time that the Church flouriſhed moſt of all " under theſe Perſecutions, and being adorned with " all kind of Virtues, ſhined out then moſt brightly: " But on the contrary, that Peace and Plenty has " made her idle and ſloathful. I know too, that all " Chriſtian Virtues, ſuch as Piety, Holineſs, Zeal for " the Faith, inward Religion, and the beſt Morality " have appeared much more illuſtrious in many of " thoſe Chriſtians that are Subjects to the Grand Sig- " nior, than in the Kingdoms of Chriſtian Princes". And again at *p.* 720, *&c.* upon the Objection of *Bellarmin*: " That Force may be oppoſed by Force, and " that by the Law of War, People may reſiſt the Per- " ſecutions of the Heathens, or of Hereticks, if they " are able". The ſaid *de Dominis* replies, and among other remarkable things, ſays, " That a Be- " liever may juſtly ſave himſelf by Flight, and ſo a- " void Perſecution; and of this (*addeth he*) I never " doubted, having learned this Doctrine not only " from the Word of God, but alſo from the Actions " and Apology of *Athanaſius*: but that it is lawful to " withſtand by Force and with Arms our own rightful " Sovereign, though he be a Perſecutor of the Faith, " I have never yet learned: and eſpecially have I not " been able as yet to ſatisfy my ſelf that the Miniſters of " *Jeſus Chriſt*, by virtue of their Office or Authority, " may take up or meddle with Arms in order to " make any ſuch Reſiſtance. I know the Opinion of " *Nazianzen*, who ſpeaks thus of *Julian* the Apoſtate: " *He was nevertheleſs compelled by the Grace of God,* " *and the Tears of Chriſtians, many of which were* " *poured out, and by many, ſince they had no other re-* " *medy againſt the Perſecutor* (* notwithſtanding that his whole Army in a manner conſiſted of Chriſtians.) " *Now if Tears and Patience*, continues he, *be the only Remedy, then may we not uſe* " *any Arms, any Violence, any depoſing of Princes, any withdrawing of our Fidelity and Obedience.* Certainly " the Argument of *Bellarmin* arms as well heretical " Subjects againſt thoſe Catholick Princes who have " inflicted temporal Puniſhments on them, as Catho- " lick Subjects againſt heretical Princes. And by the " ſame argument, all Oppoſition, even the moſt un- " juſt, may be excited, fomented and defended. ----- " ‡ For if ill Men have the power of oppoſing Force againſt the Magiſtrates, they will always pretend " that they are unjuſtly perſecuted. They that were " Hearers of the Apoſtles (*as* Andrew Duditius *writes to* Beza) brought forth for the moſt part Fruits " worthy of the Goſpel, and of Repentance. But " they did not publickly arm the People, nor main- " tain that Religion is to be propagated by War or " Violence. Can we then ſay that they who do ſuch " things, preach and practiſe things conformable to " the Apoſtles Doctrine?

* Grot. de Jure Belli & Pacis. *L.* 1. *c.* 5. *Sect.* 7.

‡ De Dom. *L.* 7. *c.* 8. *Sect.* 38.

I entreat you carefully to obſerve (ſays *Albada* to the Heer *Adrian vander Myle*, in Epiſt. Select. *p.* 631, *&c.*) *that paſſage in the* Revelations, *ch.* xvi. *v.* 13. " By the Spirits there mentioned, are doubtleſs meant " thoſe Teachers of Sects who are wont to preach " that the Kingdom of Chriſt is to be promoted by " Arms, or thoſe who ſeek for the defence of the " Temporal Arm in the ſaid Kingdom". And a little lower, *p.* 633, *&c.* " I would fain be informed, " by you, which is Chriſt's little Flock? and what the " nature of it is? Whether it conſiſts of Sheep or of " Wolves? As alſo, who is the Shepherd, and what " Arms he would uſe? In what World, and for what " things he would fight? We ſhould not hoodwink " our ſelves, and without diſcretion call whole Pro- " vinces, Factions, and I know not what ſort of Peo- " ple, the Flock of Chriſt. I muſt tell you plainly " that I eſteem none of thoſe Teachers nor Diſciples " who take up, or adviſe the taking up of Arms for " Religion, to be the Flock of Chriſt. The Lord will " perhaps be merciful to the Ignorance of ſome Men. " I ſhall ſay nothing of what is politically attempted " or undertaken for a civil or politick End, *viz.* the " good of the Commonwealth: I mean only what " Chriſtians are to do for the ſake of Chriſt. This is " the Patience and Sufferings of the Saints. Would we " then be ſaved together with them? let us ſtrive " to be found among them; but not in thoſe Aſſem- " blies which paſs from Forbearance to Revenge. " Therefore I moſt earneſtly entreat you, have no " fellowſhip with them, even in Thought.

" An armed Church (*ſays* Jo. Næranus *in certain* " *Annotations*) is the Army of *Midian*. All they that " take the Sword ſhall periſh by the Sword. God's " Houſe is the Houſe of Prayer, but ſuch as theſe " make it a Den of Murderers. Chriſt has bequeath- " ed his Croſs to the Church for ſuffering, but no " Sword for ſlaying; that is the weapon of Antichriſt. " His Hoſts are the Armies of Martyrs with their " Wounds, no Regiments of Soldiers with Banners.

Conſult likewiſe *l'Avertiſſement à l'Aſſemblée de la Rochelle par A. Elintus*, p. 9, *&c.* And *D. Tileni Examen d'un Ecrit intitulé, Diſcours des Vrayes Raiſons*, p. 6, 26, *&c.* Item *Sam. Petiti Diatr. de Jure, Principum Edictis*, &c. -----

PAG. 2. *Neceſſary Truths*, &c.] The beſt and wiſeſt Divines have always underſtood that we ought to diſtinguiſh between Truths and Truths. This was likewiſe the opinion of the Miniſters deputed from the City of *Bremen* to the Synod of *Dort*. See the Judgment of the foreign Divines, publiſhed with the *Acts* of the ſaid *Synod*, p. 336. q

The *Neceſſary Truths* are but few in number. Read *Caſaubon*'s Letter to Cardinal *Perron* in the name of King *James*. Wherefore the ſaid King looked upon

it to be the ſhorteſt way to attain to unity: "If things "neceſſary were careſully ſeparated from the unne- "ceſſary, and proper methods taken to agree in all "that was needful, and a chriſtian liberty allowed in "other matters; as for the neceſſary things, which "were but a few, thoſe (*he thought*) were in a man- "ner equally holden by all ſuch as deſired to be ac- "counted Chriſtians." And that Prince was of opini- on, that ſuch a diſtinction was of ſo great weight in leſſening the differences with which the Church of God is at this time tormented, that he judged it to be the duty of all that ſought for peace, to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in declaring, teaching and preſſing it. *Vid. Caſ. Epiſt.* p 914.

"In order to fix the point of Neceſſity (*ſays* Epiſ- "copius *upon* John xvii. 3.) theſe three things muſt "be preſuppoſed: (1.) That whatever is neceſſary to "be known and believed, muſt always, and by all "men have been holden equally neceſſary. (2.) That "what ever is neceſſary to be believed, ſhould be ſo "neceſſarily laid down and maintained, that Salvation "and Damnation ſhould be declared boldly and with- "out ſcruple, to depend on it. So that it may be "pronounced of every one, He who doth not believe "this or that, cannot ſerve God, nor be ſaved, if he "lives under the influence of his Unbelief. (3.) That "every thing which is to be neceſſarily believed, "ought to be clearly, nakedly, and eaſily under- "ſtood or apprehended by every one, even by the "meaneſt and ſimpleſt perſons." And again, at *p.* 32, *&c.* "All that does in ſome manner depend upon "any neceſſary Article, or may be deduced from it, is "not of equal neceſſity with the Article it ſelf.—— "And here we muſt avoid two extreams: *Firſt*, The "ſuffering unprofitable or prejudicial things to be im- "poſed on us, under the pretence, that this or that "is not neceſſary. *Secondly*, The ſlighting (under the "ſame pretence) things good and profitable, or that "may help us in making a right uſe of neceſſary things. "Would we judge diſcreetly of neceſſary, pernicious "and uſeful things? there is one thing neceſſary to "be obtained, *viz.* a pious diſpoſition of mind—— "This lies between the two extreams, of Self-conceit "and Superſtition, the two great ſprings of all the "quarrels and diviſions in the Church. Pride and "Self-conceit is puffed up, and depends too much up- "on its own ſtrength; Superſtition relies too much on "others, and is too ſcrupulous: The former, obſti- "nately retains its own opinions, that it may not ap- "pear to have been miſtaken: The latter is afraid to "abandon that which it has once ſucked in; and ad- "heres to it, becauſe it dares not truſt it ſelf. The "former will not be taught by another: The latter "either cannot or dares not. Both of them abound "in jealouſies and ſuſpicions, fearing that there is poi- "ſon in every word, and hereſie in every propoſition. "But Piety is the golden medium. This will therefore "readily reſign its own opinion for a better; and as "it will hear, ſo will it try all things, and hold faſt "that which is beſt.-----" See likewiſe *Epiſcop.* An- ſwer to the Tryal of the *Remonſtrants* Catechiſm, *p.* 34.---- *Apol. pro Confeſſ. Remonſ.* p. 11, & 32,---- *Reſponſ. ad Specim. Calumn. p.* 123.--- *Oper. Epiſcop.* p. 154, *&c.* ——*Vitenbog.* Church Hiſtory, *p.* 134, *&c.* —— *Epiſt. Eccleſ.* p. 425.—— *Lettre à M. Sorbiere par Courcelles*, p. 24.—— *Accont. Satanæ Stratag.* p. 337, *&c.*—— *Calvin. Inſtitut. Lib. IV. cap.* 1. *Sect.* 12.—— *F. Junij Eirenic.* p. 134.—— *J. D'avenant. ſentent. de Pace, &c.* p. 28.—— *J. Uſſerij* Ser- mon on *Epheſ.* iv. 13.—— The Additions to *Geſſel's* Church Hiſtory at the end of the 2d Part, *p.* 596.---- And laſtly, *Synop. Loc. S. Script. Patr. & Recant. Theo- log. quibus demonſtratur quænam ſint ad ſalutem creditu neceſſaria & ſufficientia.* Amſt. 1650. *Edit.*

r PAG. 2. *Needleſs Diviſions.*] "There are peo- "ple in Chriſtendom ſeparated from us, as we are from "them, concerning whom we ſhould not dare pro- "nounce without horror, that they continuing in the "ſentiments which they have embraced, are excluded "from eternal ſalvation; ſays *J. Uitenbogaert*, in his Letter to *J. Becius*, dated 27. *Sept.* 1606. See his Ch. Hiſt. *p.* 345.

Many, nay moſt of the Sects (thus writes *Epiſcopius*, in his Anſwer to *Heidanus*, p. 430, *&c.*) *are needleſs.* "They therefore that endeavour to leſſen them, do a "thing acceptable to God and all good Chriſtians. "Men are generally bent on nothing but Schiſms and "Diviſions. Every one rends Chriſt's ſeamleſs Gar- "ment. Every one throws Dice for his Veſture. And "he who thinks he has gotten a ſhred of it, hoiſts it "up like a bloody Flag or Standard, as a challenge "to all others. One Nation ſets its ſelf againſt ano- "ther, and that in the very boſom of Chriſt's Church: "and if one were to enquire into the reaſon or pre- "tence, he would find it to be nothing elſe but am- "bition and the luſt of tyrannizing over others. "There are many opinions of ſo little importance, "that it is not worth our while to depart even a hair's "breadth, much leſs to ſeparate ſo widely from each "other on their account. As may appear only from "hence: Oblige every Sect to prove that the parti- "cular Tenets which they broach, are of ſuch a na- "ture, that unleſs they are known and embraced, "people can neither live holy nor dye happy; then "ſhall you ſee them all at a loſs. A ſure ſign that the "Separation or Diviſion founded upon ſuch opinions, "is raſhly made, and ſcandalouſly continued". See further S. *Epiſcop.* de Schiſmate. *Theſ.* 3, 4. *p.* 128. ---- *M. A. de Dom.* likewiſe treats in his *Eccleſ. Repub.* of the Nature and Cauſes of Schiſm, and particularly of the Schiſms between the *Greek* and *Latin*, the *Proteſtant* and *Popiſh* Churches, *Sect.* 131. and *Sect.* 188, to the end of that Chapter. And in *Chap.* XI. he endeavours to prove that the modern Differences a- bout religious Matters, don't ſufficiently juſtify a Se- paration. And in *Chap.* XII. that we ought not to make a Schiſm in the Church on account of the Exter- nals of Religion.

PAG. 2. *Againſt the exceſſive Growth of Eccle-* S *ſiaſtical Pride.*] The Heer *P. C. Hooft* in the VIth Book of his excellent Hiſtory of the *Low-Countries*, calls Eccleſiaſtical Greatneſs "a Seed, which being as "unextinguiſhable as Gun-powder, at firſt only flaſht "a little, then gave a briſker Fire, but at laſt burſt "out into ſuch dreadful Thunder, that no other Evil "has ever put the Commonwealth into a more dan- "gerous Conflagration, or ſhaken it more cruelly and "violently.

PAG. 4. *Honouring Saints.*] See *J. Caſaub.* C Letters, *p.* 927.--- *Jac. Arminii* Diſput. Publ. XXIV. ----- *C. Vorſtii* de Cauſ. Deſer. Papat. Diſput. III. --- *S. Curcellæi* Epiſt. ad *A. Patium* in Epiſt. Eccleſ. *p.* 859. Neither ought we to count all thoſe Saints or Holy Per- ſons, who have been eſteemed or honoured as ſuch. Mon- ſieur *de Langey* in the Preface to his Hiſtory of *France* relates, That Cardinal *Beſſarion* being at *Rome*, and ſee- ing the Canonization of ſo many new Saints, whoſe Lives he had been acquainted with, and could not allow to have been very good, much leſs think that the Perſons deſerved to be canonized, or rank'd in the number of the Saints, ſaid upon that occaſion: *Theſe new Saints put me under great doubts and ſuſpicions what to believe of the old ones.* See *N. Vignier's* Church Hiſt. *p.* 610. ---- Concerning the canonizing of the Saints, read likewiſe *M. A. Dom.* Lib. VII. Cap. 5. Sect. 55.

PAG. 11. *Till the Year* 1535.] 'Tis recorded by U *N. Vignier* in his aforeſaid Hiſtory, *p.* 268, and 276. that ſince the death of *Priſcillian*, in the year 385. (who is thought to have been the firſt that was put to death for Religion at the inſtances of the Catholicks) no body, as far as he could find, ever ſuffered any capital Puniſhment for Hereſy in the *Weſtern Church*, till the year 1022.

PAG.

w PAG. 14. *They turned the holy Scriptures*, &c.] In ancient times the Writings of the Old and New Teſtament were wont to be tranſlated into the vulgar Tongue, for the uſe of all People. See the Anſwer of *A. Hutten* to the Queſtions of *L. Beyerlink*, p. 32. ---- and our own Annotations, Letter (*m*).

x PAG. Ibid. *Into Low-Dutch Rhimes.*] Poſſibly becauſe the Scripture being by them turned into Metre, might be the more eaſily learned and remembered; with the ſame view *Grotius* writ his *Proof of the True Religion* in Dutch Verſe. See his Latin Tranſlation, *p.* 2. We likewiſe read in a very ancient *Saxon* Book, That the Emperor *Lodowick*, ſurnamed the Holy, a Son and Succeſſor of *Charlemain*, cauſed the whole Bible to be turned into *German* Verſe, for the benefit of the common People.

y PAG. Ibid. *Such prepoſterous Fruits.*] The Riches of the Church occaſioned much evil. Se *M. A. de Dom.* p. 28.

z PAG. 15. *Denouncing ſuch a Curſe.*] This ſolemn form of Execration had been preſcribed in the year 816, by the Synod of *Aix*; and might have been ſeen not long ſince in the Manuſcript Books of the Great Church at *Aix*. See *M. Z. Boxhorn. Hiſt. Univ.* p. 464, &c.

aa PAG. 14. *That the Church*, &c.] Read *Vitenbog.* Ch. Hiſt. *p.* 23. & *L. V. Aitſema*, 2d Part of his Hiſt. Lib. IX. *p.* 934. ----

ANNOTATIONS *on the Second Book.*

a PAG. 36. *Without Schiſm.*] King *James* held (as *Caſaubon* writes) that it was a great ſin to ſeparate from the Church; but that he or his Church were guilty of that ſin, he utterly deny'd: *For we did not deſert*, ſaid his Majeſty, *but were driven out.* Vid. ib. Epiſt. *p.* 910. Read likewiſe *Jac. Armin.* Diſputat. Publ. XXII. *p.* 204. ---- But otherwiſe Men ought to endure many inconveniences, rather than commit the ſin of Schiſm. *For tho'* (as *Cyprian* ſays, Lib. III. Epiſt. 3. *p.* 77.) "ſome Tares may ſpring up "in the Church, yet they ought not to choke either "our Faith or Charity, ſo far as to make us ſeparate "from the Church on account of thoſe Tares. Let "us only endeavour to become good Corn ourſelves, "to the end that when the Lord begins to gather the "Corn into his Granary, we may enjoy the Fruits "of our Works and Labours. The Apoſtle ſays in "his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, that there are not "only gold and ſilver Veſſels in a great Houſe, but "alſo wooden and earthen; and that ſome are made "to honour, and ſome to diſhonour. Let us then uſe "our utmoſt deligence and labour, as far as poſſible, "to become gold or ſilver Veſſels.

So likewiſe St. *Auſtin*, Epiſt. 48. *ad Vincent.* Tom. III. *p.* 123. *We bear with ſome whom we can neither amend nor puniſh.* Neither do we forſake the Lord's Threſhing-Floor on account of the Chaff that is in it. Nor do we break the Lord's Net becauſe of the bad Fiſhes. Nor for the ſake of the Goats which at laſt will be divided from the Sheep, do we abandon the Flock of the Lord. Nor do we depart from the Houſe of the Lord becauſe of the Veſſels that are prepared for diſhonour. *If the holy Word had not proceeded from the Chair of* Moſes, *Truth it ſelf would not have ſaid* (Matth. xxiii. 2, 3.) Whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that obſerve and do: *But if they themſelves who adminiſtred holy things had been likewiſe holy, he would not have ſaid*, Do not ye after their Works: for they ſay, and do not. *For by no means do Men gather Grapes from Thorns, ſince the former never ſpring from the roots of the latter. But when the branch of a Vine happens to ſhoot or ſpread it ſelf into a Thorny Hedge, nobody for that reaſon conceives an averſion to the Fruit that hangs on the ſaid Branch, but avoiding the Thorns, he plucks off the Grapes.* Vid. *Auguſtin.* contra Literas *Petiliani* Lib. III. Cap. 8. Tom. VII. *p.* 114. —— *There are two ways by which you may avoid the Contagion of any Evil: firſt, if you don't conſent to it; and ſecondly, if you reprove it.* Ib. de Verb. Dom. Serm. XVIII. Tom. X. *p.* 57. *a.* ----- *We muſt not forſake the Good on account of the Evil, but bear with the latter for the ſake of the former.* Ib. Epiſt. 48. ad *Vincent.* Tom. III. *p.* 112. *d.* ---- *The Communion of bad Men does not infect the good who partake with them of the Lord's Supper; but only by an agreement of Actions.* Ib. Epiſt. 152. *p.* 448. *d.* Tom. III. See likewiſe *Caſſand.* Op. *p.* 779.

b PAG. 38. *All theſe are intolerable Hereſies.*] In the very ſame Letter here quoted, *Eraſmus* adds farther, *p.* 588. "Upon the ſmalleſt matters we hear "nothing but the diſmal out-cry of Hereſy. In an- "cient times none were accounted *Hereticks* but ſuch "as did not agree with the Goſpels, Articles of "Faith, or things that had acquired an equal autho- "rity with them. But now if one happens at any "time to differ from *Thomas Aquinas*, or from the "ſophiſtical Arguments of the Schools, he is imme- "diately pronounced a *Heretick*. Every thing that does "not pleaſe them, every thing they don't underſtand, "is *Hereſy*. If one underſtands Greek, that's *He-* "*reſy*. If one ſpeaks politely, that's *Hereſy*. "In ſhort, every thing they cannot do themſelves, is "*Hereſy*. I confeſs the Sin of Heterodoxy is very "great, but all variety of Opinions ought not to be "ſo ſtyled. And they who write or treat about "matters of Faith, ought to be free from all Ambiti- "on, Self-Intereſt, Hatred and Revenge. But who "does not ſee through the Deſigns of theſe People? "If we once put the Reins into their hands, they "will drive furiouſly, and the Lives of the beſt Men "will lye at their mercy.

c PAG. 46. *That Eccleſiaſtical Excommunication.*] See likewiſe what *Eraſmus* had written before upon this Subject to the Cardinal of *Mentz*: "In the Pri- "mitive times the *Heretick* was heard with reſpect; "and if he gave a good reaſon for his Opinions, he "was preſently diſcharg'd; but if he was confuted, "and yet remained obſtinate, the higheſt puniſhment "inflicted on him was, not to admit him to Catho- "lic and Eccleſiaſtical Communion. *Ib. Epiſt.* p. 588. "*a.* & p. 651. *d. Item Apolog. pro Confeſ. Rom.* "p. 266.

d PAG. 46. *His Father* Floris.] In the firſt Edition of this Hiſtory we ſtiled the Father of Pope *Adrian*, a Weaver, upon the Credit of two Authors, *Swingerus* in his Theatre of Human Life, *p.* 3697. and *Garimbert* in his 4th Book of the Lives of the Popes. But the Heer *Cornelius Boot*, formerly Burghermaſter of the City of *Utrecht*, a very diligent Inquirer into many remarkable Antiquities, has proved to me from divers ancient Letters, and by other Arguments, that the Father of the ſaid Pope was a Boatwright and Woodmonger. See likewiſe *Valerius Andreas* in his *Bibliot. Belg.* p. 19. of the laſt Impreſſion. In certain MS Memoirs, which the aforeſaid Burghermaſter has imparted to me, I find that this Pope having been reproach'd with his foreign and mean Extraction, had obtained of the Magiſtracy of *Utrecht* two authentic Teſtimonials, the firſt bearing date 12 *June*, 1522. and the ſecond, 6 *June*, 1523. declaring that he was born a Burgher of the ſaid City, and lawfully deſcended from good and honeſt Anceſtors; for his Great Grandfather *John Tyman d'Edelſon* was a Citizen of *Utrecht* in the year 1378, and left behind him five Sons; the 1ſt *Timannus*, Clerk or Secretary to the Court of Aldermen of that City. The 2d *Daem Janſon*, Schout of the *Nyevaert*, and Grandfather of *Daem Janſon*, one of the Aldermen of *Utrecht* in the year 1455,

as

as alſo of *Daem* and *Hillegont Schaey* (Grandmother of Burghermaſter *Adam van Diemen*, whoſe Widow was beheaded in the year 1568, during the *Spaniſh* Tyranny). The 3d Son was *Nicolas d'Edel Janſon*, Father to *John d'Edel* or *Dedel*, Alderman of the aforeſaid City, in 1451. The 4th was *Elias Janſon*, Alderman of *Wyke* in 1421, & —— 25. The 5th, *Boeijen*, or *Boijden Janſon*, who, together with his Sons *John*, *Cornelius*, *Nicolas* and *Floris* got a good livelihood by trading in Wood, and building Boats and Barges. *Floris* died in his Father's life-time, leaving a Widow and three ſmall Children, the youngeſt of which was he who has been ſince known by the name and dignity of Pope *Adrian*.

e PAG. 52. *Was Married*, &c.] Several Doctors among the ancient Chriſtians have greatly praiſed the Celibacy or unmarry'd State of the Clergy, as what was moſt convenient and uſeful in the diſcharge of their Function; but they never urged it upon them as a divine Precept any where expreſt in holy Writ. On the contrary, there are reaſons of much greater weight for the Marriage of Biſhops, or Superintendants of the Church; it being not only very uſeful, but likewiſe highly neceſſary for avoiding many Evils, Scandals and Sins; and beſides, 'tis ſufficiently recommended in the 1 *Tim.* c. iii. v. 2, and 4. and in *Titus* i. 6. See *M. A. de Dom.* L. II. c. 10. Accordingly all the Eaſtern Churches have left their Clergy at liberty in this matter: *He that was able to receive it* (Matt. xix. 12.) *might receive it*. But what was the conſequence? That ſome freely and honourably abſtain'd, but that many alſo embraced that honourable State.

In the *Weſt*, on the contrary, the Papacy has preſcribed Laws of Continency to the Clergy; but thoſe, except only in the Article of avoiding Matrimony, are obſerv'd by very few. So that upon this account, ſome body ſays with the Ancients, *Fornication is preferr'd to the Marriage-Bed.* Vid. *M. A. de Dom.* p. 292. *D.* So likewiſe *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius* II. was heard to ſay, *That there were many reaſons for depriving Prieſts of their Wives; but that now there ſeem'd to be many more for reſtoring or giving them back again.* Vid. *Platin* in *Pio* II.

Since that time, the Emperor *Maximilian* II. did not ſcruple in a Letter ſtrongly penn'd, and ſent to Pope *Pius* IV. to maintain, that he ought to connive at the Marriages of Churchmen. Vid. *Thuan.* Lib. XXXI. *in fine.* ---- Read alſo *M. Bucer.* in Evang. Matt. cap. 19. *p.* 400. ---- *G. Caſſand.* Op. *p.* 989. --- *D. Chamier*, Panſtrat. Cathol. L. 16. ---- *M. Chemnit.* Exam. Conc. Trid. *p.* 454. ---- *C. Vorſt.* Teſſerad. Antipiſt. *p.* 440 ---- and *S. Epiſcop.* True Antiquity ---- But would we know how long the liberty of Marrying was allowed and enjoyed by the Eccleſiaſticks in the Weſtern Church, and when and how the Law of Celibacy (againſt which they long ſtruggled) was preſs'd, and at laſt impoſed upon them; let us read *Vign.* Church Hiſt. and among other places, *p.* 72. 80. 94. 111. 148. 169. 184. 220. 241. 277. 310, *&c.* Add thereto *M. A. de Dom.* p. 306.---

f PAG. 52. *That he could not ſubmit*, &c.] *Grotius* asks in his Dialogue about Baptiſm, at the end of his Proof of the True Religion, *p.* 109. *What is the Duty of one that ſpeaks to the People?* And returns this Anſwer; *To be ſilent where God is ſilent, and to ſpeak where he ſpeaks.*

g PAG. 52. *That Chriſtians were not at Liberty*, &c.] *Chriſt*, the Author of our Religion, did not think fit to draw any one by Puniſhments, or by the Terrors of things that influence Men in this Life. *Rom.* viii. 15. *Hebr.* ii. 15. *John* vi. 67. *Luke* ix. 54. *Matt.* xiii. 24. Now that none ought to be compelled to believe by any external force, much leſs be put to death on account of *Hereſy*, has been likewiſe the Opinion of the moſt and beſt Divines in the primitive Times. And this has been fully proved by *M. A. de Dom.* Lib. VII. Cap. 8. from Sect. 3 to 18. And all that has been quoted from Scripture, from the Edicts and Practice of Emperors, from Eccleſiaſtical Decrees and Canons, from the Teſtimony of ſome of the Fathers; or attempted to be deduced from natural Reaſon, is no leſs fully and ſtrongly confuted by the ſaid Author in the ſaid *Chap.* from *Sect.* 29 to 36. Add alſo *Apol. pro Confeſſ. Rom.* f. 25. g. &c. —— *Grot.* Annot. *Matt.* 13. 41. Id. de Jure Belli & Pacis. Lib. II. c. 20. Sect. 48. —— and his Proof of the True Religion, Lib. VI. p. 98. —— *Eraſmus* alſo ſays in his Preface on *Hilarius*, (or in his Epiſt. *p.* 1638.) " That which is " forced can't be ſincere, neither is any thing agree- " able to *Chriſt* that does not proceed from a willing " Mind. —— And *Lactantius* Inſtit. Lib. V. c. 20. p. 228. " We detain none againſt their Will, for " thoſe that want Faith and Devotion are unprofita- " ble in the ſight of God. —— What ſhall we do in " the mean time among thoſe miſerable Diviſions? (*ſays a certain French Author, at the end of the Recueil des Edits faits par les Rois de France, pour appaiſer les Troubles ſurvenues pour le Fait de la Religion*, p. 365, &c.) Muſt the Strongeſt compel the Weakeſt to *Be-* " *lieve* as they would have them? And for that pur- " poſe make uſe of Fire and Sword, as in former " times? God grant, through his Grace, that we be " never guilty of ſo great a ſin! Having for theſe " fifty years laſt paſt, but too much experienced how " vain theſe ſharp and corroſive Medicines are, that " they only increaſe the Diſeaſe, and inſtead of heal- " ing, make the Sore greater. The true ſeat of " Faith is in the Soul; 'tis a Conſtancy that is purely " Spiritual, and cannot be ſubject to corporal Tor- " ments. The only Rack of the Soul is the Remorſe " it feels by reflecting on its paſt Wickedneſs. He " that would purge it from its Errors, he that would " cure it, ought undoubtedly to make uſe of ſpiritual " Means; but whoever attempts to ſerve himſelf of " other Methods, in offering violence to Conſcience, " fights againſt Heaven and Nature, and rather makes " Atheiſts or Infidels, than Believers. ——Read alſo the *Pacification* of *Cologn*, p. 54. —— *L'Extrait de l'Examen de la* Bulle *du Pape* Innocent *X. contre la Paix de* l'Allemaigne *ou il eſt traité de la Conſcience, par* Amand Flavien, *or* David Blondel, *p.* 52. —— And *Vaticanus* againſt putting *Hereticks* to death; and the Opinions of ſeveral Writers concerning *Hereticks*, and whether it be lawful to Perſecute them. —— Collected in the *Latin* Tongue by *Martinus Bellius*, or *S. Caſtalio.*

h PAG. 52. *The Whoredoms of the Prieſts.*] The converſing with Concubines or Harlots was almoſt as frequent among the Clergy, as lawful Marriages among the Laity. See the Letter of *S. Curcelæus* to *S. Sorbeius*, written in *French*, p. 14. —— But that which the Popiſh Divines, and particularly the Doctors of the Canon-Law always taught, and which ought hardly to be mentioned; to wit, *That to keep a Miſtreſs, to commit Fornication and other acts of Lewdneſs, is more tolerable in Churchmen, than to enter into lawful Marriage and an undefiled Bed*, ſeems too horrible to enter into the heart of a Chriſtian. See *J. Caſaub.* Epiſt. p. 917. —— *J. Juel.* Apol. Eccl. Angl. p. 67. —— *C. Vorſt.* Taſſ. Antip. p. 491. —— *M. A. de Dom.* L. II. c. 10. Sect. 45. *N. Vign.* Hiſt. Eccl. p. 557. —— *D. V. Koornhert's* Works. Vol. III. f. 78.

i PAG. 57. *Excluſive of Infant-Baptiſm.*] That good and very ancient Cuſtom of baptizing Infants (ſee *Caſſand.* Op. p. 682. —— & *G. Voſſ.* de Baptiſmo) is advanc'd with too much violence by ſome, and oppoſed with no leſs by others. This Ceremony, as ſome think, (Vid. *S. Epiſcop.* Inſtit. p. 260. Apol. pro Confeſſ. Rom. *Grot.* Annot. ad *Matt.* xix. 14. & Reſponſ. ad ſpecimen Calumn. *p.* 123, &c.) prevail'd firſt in *Africa* and *Greece*, but in ſuch a manner, that ſome Doctors of the Church openly declared that they could not conſent to it; yet without renouncing Communion or Fellowſhip with thoſe that maintain'd it.

it. In *Africa*, though it was not at all doubted at that time whether infants might be baptized, yet we do not find that any Canon or Order was made, requiring the performance of it as a matter of neceſſity. This was firſt eſtabliſhed in the Council of *Carthage*, or the *Melevitan*, as it was called, in the year 418. And St. *Auſtin* was the firſt who, tranſported by his zeal againſt *Pelagius*, had the boldneſs to condemn young children dying without Baptiſm, and to aſſert they were eternally damned, (*vid.* Auguſtini *opera* Tom. II. *p.* 63. *B C.* 66. *D.* 258. *D.* 315. *A B.* Tom. III. *p.* 364. *D.* Tom. VII. *p.* 496. *D.*) though he held their torments were not ſo great as thoſe of the unbelievers. Ibid. Tom. VII. *p.* 448. *D.* & 489. *A.*----His followers have ſince urged the neceſſity of this matter yet more rigidly than he, and others have no leſs violently oppoſed it. *Vid.* Caſſand. *Op.* 706.—Some affirm (*Caſaub.* Epiſt. *p.* 916.) that St. *Auſtin* was indeed a hard and uncharitable father to infants, in caſe his words could not bear a ſofter interpretation than what they ſeemed to import. But what is not leſs ſtrange is, that we meet with ſome Teachers, even among the modern chriſtians, who acknowledge the Baptiſm of children to be very neceſſary, and yet when ſuch children or infants are ſick and like to die, refuſe to chriſten them out of the church, or upon any but church-days. *See* Caſaub. *p.* 915.—But thoſe that reject Infant-baptiſm, run into another extream, alledging that it is a pure human inſtitution, and entirely unlawful; inſomuch, that they will ſeparate from thoſe that hold its lawfulneſs, and will have no communion with them. Nevertheleſs there are ſolid reaſons for our believing that ſuch Baptiſm is not againſt the contents of the Holy Scripture. *Vid.* Grot. *Annot. in* Mat. xix. 19. For that children which belong to God, and are ſanctified in their parents, ſhould be devoted by them, or by others in their ſtead, to God and Chriſt, through the prayers of the Saints, with a promiſe made at the ſame time, that ſuch children ſhall be brought up after a godly manner (all which is not improperly typified by Baptiſm) is certainly neither contradictory to Scripture, nor inconſiſtent with the deſign of Baptiſm. And it ought not to be objected, that all the things which are wont to be repreſented by Baptiſm, are not equally applicable to infants. For even *Repentance*, which we know is typified by Baptiſm, had certainly a more proper reference to thoſe who, after leading a ſinful life for a long time, teſtified a reſolution of an entire reformation, than to others: but yet in Chriſt it could have no place, whom *John* baptized, and *who* (as *Tertullian* ſays) *being incapable of repentance, was nevertheleſs baptized.* A plain proof that the ſame conditions are not always required in Baptiſm, but that it may be differently adminiſtered according to the circumſtances of thoſe on whom it is uſed.—Read alſo the Diſcourſe of *Iſaac Pontanus* to certain Anabaptiſt Congregations, *p.* 191. ——And what is alledged in favour of Infant-baptiſm by *G. J. Voſſ. Theſ. de Bapt. M. Bucer. Enarrat, in Johannē*, cap. 1. p. 595.—— & in loc. com. *P. Melanct.* Baſil, 1546. *p.* 428.

k PAG. 57. *Lead the Wanderer*, &c.] Read a certain *French* Treatiſe publiſhed in the year 1579. intituled, *Diſcours ſur la permiſſion de liberté de Religion, dicte* Religions-Vrede, *au Pais bas*; wherein the Author ſays, "If any one be in darkneſs, men afford him a light, "but do not burn him: If he be defiled, they waſh "him, but do not drown him: If he is ſick, he is "nurſed, but not made away with: If he has ſtrayed "or wandered, they ſet him right, but do not ſtrangle "him. We cry that they (the *Reformed*) are benighted, "defiled, and bewildered; and yet we are ſo void of "charity, or of knowledge, that we burn and drown, "ſlay and plunder them after a moſt barbarous manner."

How juſtly therefore does *Seneca* exclaim (*in Hercule furiente*, v. 1236.) *Quis unquam nomen ſceleris errori dedit?* And the following Apothegm is aſcribed to *Plato*; *Inſtruction is the puniſhment of him that errs.*—See *Grotius, de jure belli & pacis*, p. 347, 365.—*Fr. Jun. Eiren.* p. 46.

PAG. 58. *None that lay under the ſuſpicion*, &c.] Thus the fear of forfeiting their places, detained many againſt their conſciences in the *Romiſh* church. And accordingly, in thoſe countries where the *Proteſtant* religion was tolerated, *Popery* knew how to ſerve itſelf effectually, of the means of offices and employments to which honour and profit were annexed, in order to allure people into that Church. Pope *Clement* VIII. when he was Nuncio, or Envoy, to the King of *Poland*, intreated that Prince in a certain letter, *Not to beſtow any places of honour or profit upon* Hereticks; *aſſuring him withal, that under God this would prove the ſtrongeſt argument for their converſion.* Since which the ſaid Pope related this to the Cardinal *d'Oſſat*, adding, that the King took his advice, and frequently thanked him for it; and that a great number of the Nobility had by that means been proſelyted. *See Les Lettres d'Oſſat*, Lib. VII. p. 622. al. 1015; lat. 274. al. 282.

But can Ambition make good Chriſtians? Or are they all Chriſtians that pretend themſelves ſuch for reaſons of State? The Heathen *Prætextatus*, the Emperor's Governour of *Rome*, uſed to ſay to *Damaſus* the Pope: *Make me Biſhop of this City, and I will preſently be a Chriſtian.* This is told us by *Jerom*, in a certain letter to *Pammach.* See Tom. III. of his Works, *p.* 75. Thus do men make a feigned Confeſſion, *without Faith*, their mouths own what their hearts deny. Yet theſe are the means which every party uſes in its turn. But read, in oppoſition to this, the weighty arguments of that Author, who at the end of the *Recueil des Edicts*, p. 373. ſubjoins his Remarks upon the Edict of *Nantz*, made by *Henry the Great*, in the year 1598; where he ſhows, that the *Proteſtants* who had defended the State with their lives and fortunes, had a right to be admitted to all ſorts of honourable and profitable places; and that it was unjuſt to exclude them from the ſervice of the Government, on account of religious differences, as uſeleſs members of the Body Politick, or as veſſels of diſhonour in the great houſe of the State; to treat them as foreigners, and to ſtigmatize them as Rogues, Heathens and Publicans. He alſo appeals to the examples of the firſt Chriſtian Emperors, who did not ſcruple to prefer to high ſtations, ſuch who were reputed Hereticks, or who ſtill profeſſed themſelves Pagans; in hopes of alluring them to embrace the true Faith, by the good behaviour of the Orthodox, to whom they were joined and united for the benefit of the Commonwealth. "But above all, *adds the ſame* "*Author*, they judged wiſely with reſpect to publick "affairs, that in order to govern in ſafety, all envy "and quarrels ought to be obviated among the peo- "ple, and offices diſtributed with ſuch equality and "juſtice (as the food and nouriſhment is communi- "cated to all the parts of our bodies) that no diſcon- "tents or uneaſineſſes may be excited among them. "They had learned that the duty of a good Prince "was to diffuſe his favours to his ſubjects, like the "common parent of them all; and in imitation of the "Sun, which with-holds its light from none, to im- "part to each man according to his merit ſome of the "rays of his glory and grandeur." And that whatever Prince ſhould act otherwiſe, would produce among his people nothing but Jealouſy, the mother of Diſcord, Faction, and Partiality. Such ſoft and moderate ways were likewiſe uſed by the ancient Doctors of thoſe times.

He alſo praiſes, in *p.* 380, the ſaying of *Alexander the Great*, when ſome complained of him that he made no differerce between the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, meaning the *Macedonians* and *Perſians*; whereas he ought to have ſhewn the countenance of a Father to the former, and that of an abſolute Lord and Maſter to the latter, and to have treated the former like children, the latter like ſlaves: "I will then, *ſaid he*, conſider good "men always as *Greeks*, and bad men as *Barbarians*; I "will regard nothing but Virtue and Vice, for nothing "elſe ought to diſtinguiſh one man from another."

This was also the advice and wish of Dr. *A. Albada*, the Orator and Interpreter of the States at the Treaty of *Cologn*: That *without any regard to the differences in religion, Magistrates should be chosen from among all those who had chiefly distinguished themselves by their uprightness, and other natural virtues.* See his Preface to the said Treaty of Peace. *p. ult.*

m PAG. 58. *Let them first agree*, &c.] Such like objections have been since answered by *Johannes à Lasko* (*in Epist. ad Reg. Pol.* p. 81) after the following manner: "That there are some divi- "sions and differences among *Protestants*, we do not "deny; and therein we acknowledge that we are "but men, and in this matter we seriously lament "the fate of the Church: But in the midst of all our "differences, we do nevertheless, by God's grace, "steadfastly and unanimously adhere to the fundamen- "tals in the Apostles Creed——Though all kinds of "differences in Religious matters are not entirely "free from guilt, yet a great distinction is to be made, "whether the Faith built upon the Apostles be vio- "lated by them or not. And next, whether the "differences were caused advisedly and maliciously, "or only through imprudence and weakness. And "certainly the Church was never in so happy a con- "dition since the age of the Apostles, no, nor "under their Government, as to be at any time "without some dissentions even among the holiest "men; but in the mean while, the aforesaid funda- "mental apostolical Faith was never called in que- "stion, on account of those differences. We there- "fore indeed bewail the differences which remain "among us; but we are not surprized at them, since "the Church was never without them. But we by "no means allow, that we designedly violate the "fundamentals of the Faith in any sort, though such "violation be proved among the *Papists*. Besides, "whatever differences there may be among us, we "submit them all to the scrutiny of the Holy Scrip- "tures; and we agree to civil, free and christian "conferences with all good men, without distinction; "being ready to take open shame to our selves, by "receding from our opinions, if we can be convicted "from the word of God." Thus did the learned *Johannes à Lasko*, at once instruct men in the means of healing their divisions, and of lessening the number of schisms on those accounts. Consult also *Grotius* concerning the mutual differences prevailing in matters of religion, in his second Book of *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, p. 34 and 35. And his *Latin* Translation of it, *p.* 50. As also his Speech to the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, p. 8.— And lastly *Jewel's Apol. Eccles. Angl.* p. 56, *&c.*

n PAG. 59. *Were extremely surprized*, &c.] Thus we read of *Thomas Linacre*, an *English* Priest, well versed in the *Latin* tongue, that when he began to read the New Testament, and was come to the fifth chapter of St. *Matthew*, he laid it down, and broke into the following exclamation; *Either this is not the true Gospel, or we are no Christians.* See the Preface of *Henry Antony vander Linden*, to his Book, called *Syst. Theol.* p. B.

o PAG. 60. *For Religious matters.*] The main Articles of Faith, for which the people of these times were daily put to death, are sufficiently known by some of their printed Confessions. Read also the Annotations upon the Treaty of Peace at *Cologn*, p. 41, *&c.*

ANNOTATIONS *on the Third Book.*

a PAG. 70. *Together with the working of miracles.*] In these ages there is no want nor use of *Miracles* for the confirmation of any sect of Christians. Read *M. A. de Dom.* Lib. VII. Cap. 10. Sect. 60. & 102.

PAG. 71. *I can show you a great many*, &c.] b *Michael de Montaigne* asserts the same of the Christians in general, though he means particularly the *Roman Catholicks*, or *Papists*. "We ought to be ashamed (*says he in his Essays*, Lib. II. Cap. 12. p. 332.) "that no man ever embraced the doctrine of any "human Sect, though never so difficult and mon- "strous, who did not at the same time form his life "and manners in some sort accordingly; yet Chri- "stians are distinguished by their divine and heavenly "institution, no otherwise than externally, or by the "tongue. Shall we prove it? Do but compare our "morals with those of a Turk or Heathen; we shall "always fall short of them: whereas, if we consi- "der the great advantages of our religion, we ought "to exceed them far in goodness; and people should "say of us; *Are they so just, so merciful, so chari- "table? then are they Christians.* All religions have "the other externals in common with us, such as "Hope, Trust, Success, Penances, Martyrdom and "Ceremonies. A conspicuous virtue should there- "fore be the peculiar character of the Truth of our "religion, as it is also in it self the most important "and most divine character of all, and the most "worthy fruit of Truth. *And again*; No enmity is "fiercer than that of Christians; our zeal works "wonders, when pushed on and excited by the pas- "sions of Hatred, Cruelty, Ambition, Schism and Re- "bellion. On the contrary, how slowly do we ad- "vance towards acts of Piety, Moderation and "Charity, unless any one bring along with him a "sweet and mild temper, which happens but seldom, "and as it were by miracle. Our religion was in- "stituted for the extirpation of our vices; but it "covers, nourishes and stirs them up." The Empe- ror *Julian*, commonly called the *Apostate* (as the Hi- storian tells us) *knew no wild beasts so enraged against men as many of the Christians were against each other.* Vid. Ammian. Marcel. Lib. XXII. *p.* 378 —— & J. Juelij Apol. Eccl. Angl. *p.* 63.

PAG. 71. *Auricular Confession*, &c.] We do c not any where find in Scripture, the least command or example of such a particular and strict confession of sin in the ear of a Priest, as the *Romish* church, in process of time, has brought into practice. Formerly the shreeving or confessing our sins was publickly performed in the house of God, but it was only of open and notorious sins and scandals. See *Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* Lib. VI. Cap. 25 & 33. Lib. V. Cap. 28. & Hist. Tripart. Lib. VII. *p.* 571. Lib. IX. *p.* 575. & *M. A. de Dom.* Lib. V. Cap. 7. Sect. 37 & 40.

This kind of confession was afterwards changed into a private one. Read the Additions to *Edwin Sandys* Relat. *p.* 26 ——*M. A. de Dom. p.* 313, &c. And though it was neither instituted by Christ nor his Apostles, yet was it looked upon by some as a good and useful method against sin, by reason of the penances that were imposed. Wherefore the men- tioned *Sandys* thinks it problematical, whether the *Re- formed* churches should not have reduced it to the ancient and primitive foot and purity, rather than have entirely dismissed it. But at the same time he owns, how scandalously this custom has been abused. "They who can perswade themselves (*says he*) that "pardon of sin is so easy to be acquired, and as often "as they have a mind, upon thus shreeving them- "selves, will see no reason to keep a severe watch "over their conduct." And some of the vilest *Papists* have dropped expressions to this effect: That when a man commits any sin, he should confess himself; and when he has confessed, he should sin again, to give occasion for new Jubilæs and Indulgences. Thus they make the same use of confessing as Drun- kards do of vomiting. But the writer of the Addi- tions to the said fourth chapter, discovers more plain- ly the mysteries of this affair, shewing, among other things, how the *Popish* Priests, by this back-door, privately and insensibly infuse into the hearts of their hearers, several doctrines of great service to them,

and which they would otherwiſe ſcruple to maintain by tongue or pen, for fear of meeting with too great oppoſition. By theſe means is *Popery* ſupported. This way do they make people believe, that every thing, true or falſe, juſt or unjuſt, is either to be practiſed or refrained from, allowed or forbidden, according to the Pope's will. And ſo, ſays the ſame Author, we have ſeen, at the expence of our neighbours, how eaſily by this means a whole kingdom may be ſtirred up againſt its lawful Prince, all its ſubjects, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military, binding themſelves by a ſecret oath, and engaging in leagues and confederacies, to deprive him not only of his Crown, but even his Life too. Thus have they found out the art of diſpatching Kings, as *France* can tell by dear experience ——And *Thuanus* himſelf teaches us how the Clergy, particularly the *Jeſuits*, abuſed *Confeſſion* in that country, in order to erect an *Imperium in imperio*, and in the concluſion, to render the Pope and the *Spaniards* maſters of *France*. In the LXXVth book of that learned author, there is a paſſage which the *Jeſuits* have eraſed and changed, becauſe it charges them, " with being the principal perſons who did as it were " bewitch the common people in private Confeſſions " with ſcrupulous queſtions, and drawing them by " degrees from that duty and ſubjection which they " owed the Government, endeavoured to induce them " to take up arms againſt it; all which was carried " on in concert with the Pope by the means of fre- " quent Couriers or Meſſengers, who brought back " Letters and ſecret Bulls to the Heads of the League, " in order to excite the people to tumults and inſur- " rections." See alſo the XCIVth book of the ſame Author, *p.* 598, and 620. And the ſaid paſſages publiſhed by themſelves in a little Tract, intituled, *Thuanus Reſtitutus*.

By theſe *Confeſſions* the very Prieſts have been ſometimes deceived, and made tools to carry on vile intrigues. See *Hen. Steph. Apol. pour Herodot.* c. 16. *p.* 149.——And ſometimes too the *Confeſſors* themſelves have by theſe means brought to paſs their own lewd deſigns, as particularly a certain Prieſt did in the territories of *Venice*, who under this cloak of piety, found means to debauch no leſs than twelve Nuns, of whom the Lady Abbeſs was one, ſhe and two others being delivered of ſo many children within the year. This wretch, under pretence of confeſſing them, agreed upon the time, place, and manner of a criminal converſation with them. Vid. *Epiſt. Select.* p. 316, and 346. Inſomuch that it was not without reaſon that *M. A. de Dom.* ſaid of this kind of vain and wanton confeſſing of women, *that it often began with the Spirit, but ended with the Fleſh.* Lib. V. cap. 7. Sect. 75. Read alſo about *Auricular Confeſſion*, W. Muſculi loci commun. Tit. *de Penitent.* p. 481.--- J. Acont. *Satanæ Stratag.* Lib. V. p. 261.---Lib. VI. p. 294,--- J. Caſaub. *Epiſt.* p. 912.

d PAG. 72. *That it ſhould be the care*, &c.] But others have been of opinion, *that God ſometimes excites even the common people to ſet about the work of* Reformation, *when Princes are careleſs or negligent in it.* As the *Scottiſh* Miniſter, *Alexander Henderſon* ſaid to King *Charles* I. of *Great Britain*; but his Majeſty replied thus, *It is impoſſible for you to prove that the multitude may reform what their Sovereigns neglect, and that God will ratify ſuch reformation; for you know there is a vaſt difference between his permiſſion and approbation.* See les Cahiers de la Conference entre le Roi *Charles* & *Alex. Hend.* p. 7. & 16.——

Afterwards the ſaid King writes, *p.* 37. *I cannot look upon* popular Reformation *to be much better than* Rebellion, *till you can demonſtrate this poſition* (that the people have a right to reform the Church) *from the word of God, from whence I can demonſtrate the authority of Princes.*

But what then muſt a ſubject, a good man, and a chriſtian do, in caſe the Government neglects its duty? he ought, in my opinion, to wait for a publick *Reformation* of the Church, without giving offence by Separations or Schiſms; and in the mean while however, to do all that in him lies towards promoting it, but only by ſuch methods as become him; to wit, *by exhorting, adviſing, and praying; and whenever the honour of God, and the ſalvation of mens ſouls require it, by bearing his teſtimony openly (as often as it is neceſſary or proper) againſt thoſe matters and things in Religion to which he cannot give his conſent, eſpecially againſt the weightieſt of thoſe which he thinks want to be reformed. But above all, let him in the mean time amend that in himſelf which he finds fault with in others.* This is conformable to the nature of the Chriſtian religion; but by no means ought we to uſe force, or introduce Reformation and drive out Superſtition by tumults or by arms. The Churches and publick places of worſhip belong to the Magiſtrates, and they may conſign the uſe of them to whom they pleaſe, and take it away again from ſuch as they judge have forfeited it. But if ſome things be practiſed in, and by, the eſtabliſhed Church, which are againſt our conſciences, then muſt we quit it; and if ſuch Communities as belong to that Church will not bear the repreſentation of their abuſes, or thoſe mild attempts of reforming them, which we hinted at above, but will excommunicate the repreſenter, and eject him, he muſt bear it, and join himſelf to other private chriſtians, or chriſtian aſſemblies, that are more godly, reaſonable, and moderate, and there hold ſpiritual communion, and exerciſe external worſhip. But before we forſake any religious aſſemblies, whether they be the publick or private ones, we ought to take care not to depart from them cauſleſly or too lightly; and even if we happen to be cut off or excluded by them, not to fancy preſently that the band of ſpiritual brotherhood is entirely diſſolved.

" That none may think (ſays *Optatus Milevitanus*, lib. I. *de Schiſmate Donatiſtarum*, p. 3.) that I unadvi- " ſedly call thoſe Brethren, who are really ſo (meaning " the *Donatiſts*) we cannot certainly be out of the way, " while we keep to the words of the Prophet *Iſaiah*. " Notwithſtanding every body knows, nor do they " themſelves deny it, that they curſe and hate us, and " refuſe to be called our brethren: yet can we not de " part from the fear of God, being exhorted to it by the " aforementioned Prophet, who ſays, *c.* lxvi. *v.* 5. " *Hear the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at his* " *word; your brethren that hated you, that caſt you out* " *for my names ſake, ---they ſhall be aſhamed.* Thus " we ſee they are our brethren, though not good ones. " Let none wonder then that I call them *Brethren*, be- " cauſe they are ſo, and cannot be otherwiſe. See the *Eirenicum* of *Franciſcus Junius*, p. 128. in his Works, *p.* 714.——concerning the leſſons for Peace, extracted from thence, and inſerted in the XVIth book of this Hiſtory, about the end.

e PAG. 72. *People ought not to take away the uſe*, &c.] It was formerly objected, that it did not conſiſt with equity or reaſon, that the uſe of a good thing ſhould be taken away becauſe it had been *abuſed* by ſome. But to this it was anſwered: *That while the Governours of the Church could not be reformed neither by the fear of God, nor by the doctrines and precepts of the Scripture, nor by the authority of Princes, in ſo many ages, there was no other remedy remaining, but ſuch as was neceſſarily attended with confuſions and diſorders.* See *Eraſm.* Epiſt. *p.* 1161. *F.* and *p.* 2094. *B C.*

f PAG. 73. *The Church of* Rome *would not be healed*, &c.] This was the cauſe that ſome thought no *Reformation* could be brought about but by Force, Inſurrections, and Wars. The pious *Hieronymus Savonorola*, who was ſtrangled and burnt at *Florence* in the year 1498, at the inſtigation of Pope *Alexander* VI. did in his life-time preach and preſage ſeveral things which have ſince come to paſs, and among others, *that the Church would be reformed by the Sword.* He gave out publickly, that thoſe things were revealed to him. *See the Memoirs of* Philip Commines, Lib. VIII. *p.* 282. And *Groſted* Biſhop of *Lincoln* made no ſcruple of ſaying, that there was no *Reformation* to be expected (*niſi in ore gladij cruentandi*, or) but with the point of the ſword

ſword bathed in blood. Read the conferences between King *Charles* I. and Mr. *Henderſon*. *I dare ſay*, replied the King, *that if my Father's Ghoſt could now ſpeak to you, it would tell you, that no Reformation founded in blood was lawful, nor could be juſtified by the word of God; and that nothing but prayers and tears are the weapons of the Church.* See the ſaid Conferences, *p.* 19.

g PAG. 73. *The firſt was his Conſcience.*] Our learned *Eraſmus* here appeals to his conſcience. And yet ſome are of opinion, that being influenced by worldly views, he ſometimes blamed the *Lutherans* for things in which he knew they were in the right, and ſpoke otherwiſe than he thought. But in the ſame Treatiſe, from whence we a little before extracted ſeveral of his opinions, in the IXth Tome of his Works, *p.* 1295. or in his *Epiſtles*, p. 2053. *B.* he ſays, "No man "ſhall make me approve of matters againſt my con- "ſcience; and I had much rather die a thouſand "deaths than do it." Who can ſuppoſe that he ſhould affirm this, and not mean it? Let us not judge ſo raſhly. God only knows the heart, and Chriſt muſt be the Judge of us all.

h PAG. 84. *This is the Hereticks ſoul*, &c.] The confining the Catholick Church within the pale of *Popery*, was the cauſe of ſuch an unrighteous and unmerciful judgment. Nevertheleſs there have been a few, and but a few, among the *Papiſts*, who not being ſo raſh, durſt not condemn other good and peaceable men, though not of their own perſwaſion. See what *S. Curcellæus* ſays upon this occaſion in his *French* Letter to *S. de Sorbiere*, p. 21. and *G. Caſſand. de officio pii viri*, in his Works, *p.* 787.——and *Epiſt. Select.* p. 225, &c.

There are alſo Doctors among the *Proteſtants* that ſcruple to ſay, that the Church is only in their Community; neither will they wholly reject the *Romiſh* Church. Nay, *Calvin* himſelf writ to Cardinal *Sadoletus*, after the following manner: "But you will "ſay to us, what a preſumption and ſelf-conceited- "neſs is it for you to maintain, that you are only the "True Church, and that there is no other to be "found in the whole world beſides. But be it known "to you, O *Sadoletus*, that we do not deny, that the "churches over which you have authority, are "churches of Chriſt; but as for the Pope of *Rome*, "with all that herd of falſe Biſhops, who have uſurped to themſelves the office of Paſtors, we ſay they "are ravenous wolves." Vid. *Calvin. Tract. Theol.* p. 148.——*J. Vitenb.* Church-Hiſt. *p.* 318.—— and *Fr. Jun. Lib. de Eccleſ.* cap. 18. ejuſd. op. *Tom.* II. *p.* 1019.

i PAG. 87. *To the fire with the* Lutheran.] Thus alſo the Heathens uſed to cry: *Chriſtiani ad beſtias.* See *Tertul. Exhort. ad caſtit.* p. 565. in his Works by *Froben*, 1550.

k PAG. 96. *He ſnatched the conſecrated Wafer.*] They who during ſuch bloody perſecutions happen to be diſcovered by the *Inquiſition*, or betrayed by ſpies, or taken in any forbidden aſſemblies, where they muſt neceſſarily meet, for ſerving God according to the dictates of their conſciences; ſuch perſons, I ſay, making a virtue of neceſſity, ought patiently to ſuffer, and continue ſteadfaſt in the religion they really judge to be the trueſt; without ſuffering themſelves to be deluded by any worldly views, either of life or death, to the forſaking it againſt light and conviction. All this is conformable to the rules of the Goſpel, to the nature of chriſtianity, and to the ſincerity, conſtancy, and zeal of the primitive chriſtians. But for a man raſhly to attempt any thing in the ſight of his perſecutors, by which he is ſure to incur the ſevereſt puniſhment, not called to it by any certain command or impulſe from God, but hurried on by his own inclinations and deſires, which perhaps might be innocent, and even good and pious; but at the ſame time not required of him, being neither ſeaſonable nor prudent; ſuch actions, I ſay, are not to be eſteemed or valued like the ſufferings and conſtancy of other chriſtians.

The Profeſſor *Epiſcopius*, in his Sermon on *Matt.* chap. v. ver. 10. *p.* 169. ſpeaking of thoſe qualifications which are neceſſary for diſpoſing men to ſuffer, ſays among other things: "There muſt be a good "conſcience well founded upon knowledge, that is, "upon certain reaſons and arguments whereby we are "convinced, that what we confeſs, and ſuffer for, is "right and juſt, and pleaſing to God". Thus St. *Peter* tells us in his firſt Epiſtle, *chap.* ij. *ver.* 19. *This is thank-worthy, if a man for conſcience toward God, endure grief*, &c. "that is, in order to keep his con- "ſcience pure, and to do nothing againſt it, provi- "ded it be regulated by the will of God, or that he "be perſwaded in his conſcience, that what he ſuffers "for, is good. Where conſcience is, there is knowledge or acquaintance with another; therefore, "where-ever a godly conſcience is, there is an acquaintance with, or knowledge of the mind of "God; ſo that as God knows wherefore, we alſo "know with God, why we ſuffer. Now that this "knowledge may be ſure and certain, it muſt have "regard to two things; 1. Whether the cauſe be "good; and, 2. Whether it be of that weight and "importance that we are bound to ſuffer for it. "Both are requiſite; the firſt, to the end that we do "not ſuffer for what is evil, or forbidden, though we "may think it otherwiſe. The ſecond, leſt we ſuffer "for what is not commanded of us. For the firſt, we "ought not to ſuffer; for the ſecond, we need not. "As for inſtance, if *Peter* had ſuffered for cutting off "*Malchus*'s ear, he would not have ſuffered for righteouſneſs ſake. It is true, he thought he might and "ought to defend his innocent Maſter, whoſe "cauſe was juſt and good; but the Diſciples of *Chriſt* "were not only not commanded, but even forbidden "to fight for their Maſter. Afterwards, when he was "in danger of ſuffering, as he followed his Maſter to "the houſe of the High-Prieſt, the cauſe indeed was "not unjuſt, but however, *Peter* was not required to "follow his Maſter thither; it had been better if he "had ſtaid with the reſt of the Diſciples. In like manner, if any one ſhould ſuffer for breaking open the "Church, or place of publick worſhip, only with a "deſign to ſerve God there, this might be done with "a conſcience which he would think was good; but "it would not be ſuch a good conſcience as is built "upon a ſure and certain knowledge that ſuch an act "is juſt and right; for it would be againſt a Commandment of God, who has ſaid, *Let every ſoul be "ſubject to the higher powers.* Suppoſe too that another man ſhould go and break down the Altar and "Images in a church, or ſhould ſnatch the Hoſt out "the Prieſt's hands, and tread it under foot, only "becauſe he looks upon it all to be idolatrous, doubtleſs he may ſeem to do it with a good conſcience; "nevertheleſs it is not with a good conſcience, be- "becauſe he had no call to it. And yet this has been "done, and by very good men too, who had no "other reaſon for it, but only the impulſe of their "conſcience, and were therefore prepared to ſuffer "every thing on that account. It is true, I dare not "judge or condemn ſuch perſons neither; but I only "ſay it, to ſhow that we cannot with certainty pronounce of them, that they ſuffer for righteouſneſs "ſake. We may recommend it to that God who "judges always righteouſly, to connive at their zeal, "though not founded upon true knowledge. But "will we proceed upon ſure grounds; we muſt then "without heſitation aſſert, that whoever ſuffers for "righteouſneſs ſake, has not only a quiet but a good "conſcience. There is a vaſt difference between a "good and a quiet conſcience; a good one is always "attended with peace and tranquility, but a peaceful "or quiet conſcience is not always a good one. A man "may ſuffer with a quiet and peaceful conſcience, "becauſe he ſuffers for what he thinks good, though "it may be expreſly contrary to the will of God, and "by him forbidden. Such a tranquility may ſpring "from an opinion, and ſtrong imagination, without "any

The ſame learned Author conceives it to be a neceſſary condition, in order to our ſuffering in a due manner, " That we ſhould not run headlong into " danger, nor imprudently engage our ſelves in it, " by making a confeſſion of our Faith without ne- " ceſſity, or when the danger of it is evident; eſpe- " cially if we know, or do but fear that we are not " able to undergo a tryal. He that courts or in- " vites ſuffering, does more than ſuffer; and he that " loves danger, may chance to periſh in it. We may, " nay we muſt do all that in us lies to avoid ſuffer- " ing, provided we can do it without diſhonouring " God, without neglecting or deſpiſing his will, and " without prejudice to the edification of our neigh- " bour, or to our own ſalvation."

l PAG. 96. *Johannes Anaſtaſius Veluanus.*] *Henry Antony vander Linden*, who was Profeſſor of Divinity at *Franeker*, ſtiles him a learned and religious man; and his *Layman's Guide*, a uſeful and godly book. See the Preface to his *Syſt. Theol. p.* B. 2. publiſhed in the year 1611.

m PAG. 97. *Too much exalt*, &c.] Others do as much depreſs, or abaſe *Human Power*; both which extreams are to be avoided. See *Grot.* his Hymns, *p.* 1.

n PAG. 99. *And die ſo bravely.*] In this matter *Staniſlaus Hoſius*, Biſhop of *Warmia* in *Pruſſia* (afterwards a Cardinal, and one of the Pope's Preſidents at the Council of *Trent*) prefers the *Anabaptiſts* to the *Lutherans* and *Zwinglians*. I do not uſe theſe nicknames out of contempt, but neceſſity. The love of ſeparation is the cauſe of it, and obliges us thus to ſpeak, that we may be underſtood; but I have often deplored the misfortune, that we muſt call thoſe who have been baptized into the name of *Chriſt*, by any other name than that of *Chriſtians*. The ſaid *Hoſius* then ſpeaks thus of the *Anabaptiſts* in his Treatiſe of Hereſies, *f.* 33. *a.* " That they ran to all kind of " torments, how cruel ſoever, juſt as if it was to a " feaſt or merriment." And he adds, that *Calvin* had no reaſon to extol himſelf and his followers ſo much beyond the *Lutherans*, on account of their readineſs and reſolution to undergo all ſorts of puniſhments; " For, *ſays he*, *f.* 34. *a.* if the truth of reli- " gion were to be judged of by the readineſs and " chearfulneſs which a man of any Sect ſhews in ſuf- " fering, then the opinion and perſwaſion of no Sect " can be truer or ſurer than that of the *Anabaptiſts*; " ſince there have been none for theſe twelve hundred " years paſt, that have been more grievouſly pu- " niſhed, or that have more cheerfully and ſtead- " faſtly undergone, and even offered themſelves to " the moſt cruel ſorts of puniſhment than theſe people.

But indeed he had ſaid before, *f.* 33. *b.* with deſign to rob the *Anabaptiſts* of the honour of Martyrdom; " *Though I beſtow all my goods to feed the Poor, and* " *though I give my body to be burnt, aud have not Cha-* " *rity, it profiteth me nothing*, 1 Cor. xiii. 3. For " whoever breaks Unity cannot have Charity. This " guilt, as *Cyprian* ſays, though a man were to die " for the ſake of *Chriſt*, can be expiated by no blood. " He that is not in the Church, cannot be a Martyr; " he cannot attain to the kingdom, who forſakes her " that ſhall reign. The Lord himſelf was crucified " with Murderers, but he that joined them in ſuffer- " ings, diſtinguiſhed the cauſe for which they ſuf- " fered." St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks to the ſame effect; " It " is the cauſe, and not the puniſhment, which makes " the Martyr:" Thus far *Hoſius*. But we are to inquire upon this occaſion; *Firſt*, Whether the *Anabaptiſts* and other *Proteſtants* have as great guilt in the Schiſm as the *Papiſts* themſelves, who firſt departed from ſeveral truths, and then ejected thoſe that were for *Reformation? Secondly*, Whether the *Catholick Church* does not extend it ſelf farther than the limits of the *Romiſh Communion? Vid. J. Uſſer.* Sermon upon *Epheſ.* iv. 13. concerning the Catholicism or Univerſality of the Church, and the Unity of Faith? *Thirdly*, Whether the *Anabaptiſts*, who owned the principal Articles of the Chriſtian religion, and lived agreeably, though they might ſuffer for ſome erroneus tenets, ought not therefore to be accounted Martyrs; or whether, as ſome will have it, they are to be reputed in a ſtate of damnation? " Undoubtedly, *ſays Caſſander*, in theſe people, " *ſpeaking of the Anabaptiſts*, two things have been " frequently obſerved; the one, a fervent zeal joined " with the fear of God and with great reverence " and obſervation of his word; the other, an erro- " neous interpretation of the true meaning of the " Scriptures, into which they have been indeed " miſled by certain probabilities and appearances of " truth; this latter deſerves compaſſion, the former " praiſe and commendation. A ſeparation from the " common fraternity of the Church is indeed a dange- " rous thing; but this muſt be reckoned among their " errors; nay, and it muſt be likewiſe conſidered, " whether we our ſelves have not given great occa- " ſion to it. Vid. *Caſſand.* Op. *p.* 1146 & 1202.

" I do not only eſteem (ſays *Aggæus Albada* to the " Heer *Adrian vander Myle*) the Members of that " Church, which you think is the only flock of " *Chriſt*, to be Martyrs, but the *Anabaptiſts* too, and " all others who have offered up their lives for the " meaneſt truth of God, which has been communi- " cated to them by the ſpirit of Chriſt." *Vid. Epiſt. Select.* p. 625.

ANNOTATIONS *on the Fourth Book.*

PAG. 108. *When we are there come together.*] o The Priſoner *Baldwin Oguier*, relates here what paſt in the Meetings of the *Proteſtants*. Compare with this what *Juſtin Martyr* (who from a Heathen Philoſopher became a Chriſtian Doctor) tells us happened with reſpect to the Religious Aſſemblies of the Chriſtians in his time, that is, about the year CL: " On the day which is called *Sunday*, *ſays he*, all that " dwell either in towns, or in the country, meet in " one place, where the books of the Apoſtles are " read as long as the time permits. Afterwards, " when the Reader has done, he who is ſet over the " Congregation makes a diſcourſe, in which he ex- " horts and excites the people to practiſe the good " things therein mentioned. Then we riſe up alto- " gether, and pour our our prayers. After which " the Bread, Wine and Water is adminiſtred, as we " ſaid before. Then the Preſident of the Aſſembly " prays, and returns thanks to the beſt of his power; " and the people with exultations ſay, *Amen*. *Juſtin.* Apol. *p.* 98. —— *G. Caſſand.* Op. *p.* 12, *&c. Tertul.* Apol. *cap.* 39.

C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, a Heathen, who lived about one hundred years after *Chriſt*, writ to the Emperor *Trajan* concerning the Chriſtians, after the following manner: " That their cuſtom was on a cer- " tain day, before ſun-riſing, to meet together, and " to ſing a *Carmen* or Hymn to *Chriſt*, whom they " adored as a God: That they bound themſelves " by an Oath, not to the commiſſion of any kind " of villainy, but on the contrary, to be guilty " of no Theft or Robbery, no Adultery nor breach " of Promiſe or Covenant: That when they had " thus done, their manner was to ſeparate for a " while, and then to meet again to refreſh them- " ſelves with plain, but not forbidden food." *Vid. Plin.* Epiſt. Lib. X. *p.* 310, &c. —— and *G. J. Voſſ.* Comment. in *Plin.* Epiſt. *p* 38, &c.

PAG. 121. *With Excommunication.*] Though p (ſays the Council of *Trent*) the ſword of Excommunication is the ſinew of Church-diſcipline, and very wholſome to contain the people within the bounds of

their duty; yet ought it to be uſed with great prudence and caution; ſince it is found by experience, that if we ſmite with it raſhly, or for trivial matters, it is more contemned than feared, and produces more evil than good. *Seſſ.* XXV. *Decret. de Reform. cap.* 3.

q PAG. 122. *The Hangman who was to perform the ſentence*, &c.] See the anſwer of *S. Epiſcopius* to the 46th queſtion propoſed by the Students of *Leyden* In the firſt Volume of his Works, *p.* 47. *b.*

ANNOTATIONS *on the Fifth Book.*

r PAG. 142. *But that none who were concerned in it, ever deſigned it for a Rule of Faith to others.*] The Holy Scriptures are the only rule of Faith and Manners. *Vid. Epiſ. Op. p.* 101. *b.* and *M. A. de Dom. Lib.* VII. *cap.* 1. Read likewiſe concerning the authority of *Confeſſions*, *Catechiſms*, and other human forms, and the obligation of ſubſcribing the ſame, *Admonit. Chriſtian. de Libro Concordiæ*, drawn up in the name of the *Newſtad* Divines, by *Zacharius Urſinus*, *Vitenb.* Church Hiſt. *p.* 125, 364, &c. —— That men ſhould endeavour to turn human Poſitions and Doctrines into a Rule of Faith, is not only too great an incroachment upon the Holy Scriptures, but likewiſe incompatible with the liberty of propheſying, and ſhuts the door againſt further inquiries that might otherwiſe tend to the Reformation and Union of Chriſtians.

Johannes à Lasko treating, in the Preface of his Book of the Sacraments, about the union of the churches of *Zurich* and *Geneva*, between whom there had ariſen great diſputes concerning the Lord's Supper, ſpeaks thus: "Our Union is not ſo to be underſtood, "as if we deſigned to exclude the endeavours of all "ſuch as ſhall attempt to introduce a greater purity "of Doctrine. We perceive indeed, that many "things are now taught much better than formerly, "and that many old ways of ſpeaking, long before "uſed in the Church, are now altered. In like manner it may hereafter happen, that ſome of our forms "of ſpeaking being changed, many things may be "better explained. The Holy Ghoſt will doubtleſs "be preſent, with others, in the church of Chriſt "after us, as he has vouchſafed to be with us and "our Anceſtors; for he proceeds gradually, or by "ſteps, and gives an inſenſible increaſe to his Gifts. "And ſince we find that all things tend to farther "perfection, I do not know, I own, whether it becomes us to endeavour to confine the gradual increaſe of his gifts within the compaſs of our forms "of ſpeaking, as within certain Palliſadoes and Intrenchments; as if that ſame ſpirit were not at "liberty, like the wind, to blow how, and when, "and where he liſteth. I do not pretend to give a "looſe for the ſowing all kinds of new-fangled "Doctrines, but I contend for the liberty of adorning and explaining the foundations when once laid, "and with deſign to ſhow, that the ſpirit of God does "not ceaſe from daily imparting to us more and "more light.

But concerning the Confeſſion of the *Low-Countries*, *Grotius* ſays in the third Chapter of his Apology, *p.* 34. in the year 1622, that it was never till then publickly authorized by the States of *Holland*, for which, he thinks, no other reaſon can be aſſigned, "than that it had "been obſerved by the ſaid States, that ſome had "attempted to limit Religion by a Confeſſion, and to "confine ſuch a Confeſſion within yet narrower "bounds by Interpretations and Expoſitions, to the "burdening of tender Conſciences." But it muſt be confeſſed, that ſuch things tended to overturn the views of thoſe who firſt compoſed them; as we have already ſhown above in our Hiſtory from the Letter of *A. Saravia*. See likewiſe *Epiſt. Eccleſ.* p. 361. *al.* 294, *b*, &c.

PAG. 143. *Jooſt Rineſtein*, &c.] The inſtructions or rules of examination which thoſe *Inquiſitors* were to follow, may be ſeen in the Hiſt. of *N. Burgund.* Lib. II. p. 131. f

PAG. 145. *Franciſcus Baldwinus.*] See concerning him, *N. Burgund. Hiſt. Belg.* Lib. II. *p.* 89, &c. ——*Thuan. Præf. Hiſt.* Lib. LVII. p. 1256.——*Caſſand.* Epiſt. Lib. LXVIII. p. 1161. And *Val. Andr. Bibliot. Belg.* & *Melch. Adam. Vit. Theol. Exterior. p.* 98-99. t

PAG. *George Caſſander.*] He is called by *M. A.* *de Dom.* a learned, catholical, wiſe and godly man, in his Book *de Rep. Eccleſ.* Lib. VII. cap. 12. Sect. 124. See likewiſe *Thuanus*, Lib. XXXVI. *p.* 323. We have ſeen him deſcribed before by others; but we find him, and his opinions concerning the buſineſs of *Reformation*, together with his diſcreet tenderneſs for ſuch as ſeparated from the church of *Rome*, beſt and moſt plainly deſcribed in his own writings. He propoſed five methods for healing the diſtempers of the Church, which he again reduced to two capital Articles: the firſt he called a publick, the ſecond a private Medicine: "The publick Medicine (as he "writes to *Johannes Molinæus* in his Works, *p.* 1099) "conſiſted of three Parts or particular Heads. The "firſt was, that the abuſes and ſcandals in the manners both of the Clergy and Laity, ſhould be removed, and the Doctrines relating to each, reſtored upon the foot of the Goſpel and the ancient "Canons of the Church; but eſpecially, that thoſe "who inſtruct others, and excel them in dignity, ſhould practiſe that innocency, juſtice and "goodneſs which they preach. And laſtly, that all "who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, ſhould ſhew "forth in their lives and converſations, the purity "and holineſs of the Chriſtian religion, which conſiſts chiefly in mutual charity, and ſhould reject "thoſe things that are contrary to it, and purſue thoſe "that promote it. Concerning this Article, which "relates to the neceſſary *Reformation* of the Church "as to its Doctrine and Diſcipline, very many perſons have already treated, particularly *Gulielmus* "*Durantes*, commonly called the *Speculator*, in his "writings about the manner of holding a General "Council. *Petrus de Alliaco*, in his little Tract about "reforming the Church. *Matthæus Cracovenſis*, in "his ſpots and deformities of the Church. *Jacobus* "*de Paradiſo*, at firſt Abbot of the *Ciſtercians*, afterwards *Carthuſian* of St. *Theodoric*, in a Book entitled, *Of the ſeven States of the Church, deſcribed* "*in the Revelations*; as alſo, *Of the authority of the* "*Church*; *Of its* Reformation; and laſtly, *Of the* "*Errors and Manners of Chriſtians*; all which pieces "are here preſerved by the *Carthuſians*. Peter, "*Biſhop of* Urbeveta, in his ſhort Expoſition or Comment on the Pontifical of *Damaſus*, throughout. "*Nicolas de Cuſa*, of Catholick Unity. *Picus Mirandula*, about Reformation of Manners, in his Oration to *Leo* X. u

"The ſecond Article was, that ſuch Chriſtian temper and moderation ſhould be practiſed with regard "to the Cuſtoms and Ceremonies of the Church, as "was required not only by the Fathers of the more "primitive Ages, but alſo by many of the ſcholaſtick "Writers; about which may be conſulted *J. Gerſon*, "in his account of the corruptions of the Clergy; "but eſpecially the ſixth Chapter of *Gul. Durantes* and "*Gabriel Biel*, upon the Canon. *Licet.* LXIX. The "ſame moderation ſhould likewiſe be uſed with reference to the Eccleſiaſtical Decrees and Inſtitutions, "concerning which, beſides what the ſaid *Gerſon* "has written of the Eccleſiaſtical Life, and *Eraſmus* "of the prohibition of eating Fleſh, we may read "*T. Cajetanus* of the obligation of Commands. "*Queſt.* XXI. and *Panormitanus* (or the Archbiſhop of "*Palermo*) of married Prieſts, *Cap. cum olim*: In all "which matters the Church ſhould proceed like a "good Phyſician.

The third Article: " That in the inſtruction of " Chriſtian people, great prudence and care ſhould be " taken to avoid unprofitable and confuſed diſputes, " and only to inſtil into them faithfully, ſuch things " as may moſt effectually increaſe piety towards God, " and excite charity towards their Neighbour; and " that this ſhould be done by plain and certain argu- " ments derived from Scripture, and the conſtant and " catholick ſenſe of it. Alſo, that thoſe falſe doctrines " wherein the Hereticks and their followers are en- " gaged, ſhould be refuted by ſtrong proofs and evi- " dences only; and the Texts of the Bible, which have " given a handle, or rather from which an occaſion has " been taken to propagate their errors, ſhould be duly " explained; and if it be thought neceſſary, ſuch er- " rors might be roundly and ſharply reproved from " the Pulpit; but againſt the men that have embraced " them, no other arms ſhould be uſed, but Chriſtian " Meekneſs, and Brotherly Love.'

Caſſander proceeds next to the method of private healing, which he makes to conſiſt of two Articles:

The firſt conſiſts in faithful inſtruction and friendly admonition; to wit, " that when any perſons appear " publickly guilty of Hereſy, they ſhould be taught " with great gentleneſs and brotherly affection; but " not terrified and compelled by rigour and authority.

The ſecond conſiſts in uſing ſuch a kind of force or compulſion, as may allow the erring perſon opportunity of amendment, and at the ſame time prevent the contagion from ſpreading farther. This way of treating Hereticks ſeems to have been approved and followed by *Optatus Milevetanus*, with reſpect to *Parmenianus* and the *Donatiſts*.

In other places he compares Hereſy to an inveterate diſeaſe, that has entirely poſſeſt it ſelf of our bowels and inward parts, and which, as it was long gathering, is very difficultly expelled, and requires a cautious and gentle cure. *Thus*, ſays he, *muſt we alſo proceed with reſpect to this ſpiritual ſickneſs, and take time to cure it. Beſides in this particular caſe* (he ſpeaks it with reference to a diſpute he had been deſired to engage in with certain impriſoned *Anabaptiſts*) *we muſt above all leave the* Holy Ghoſt *to perform his own office, which is, to root out error, and to plant truth in the place of it; for it is impious and blaſphemous to pretend to bound his operations.* See his Works, *p.* 1145, &c.-- He likewiſe condemned the murder of *Servetus*, and openly oppoſed the putting men to death for Hereſy. ——When ſome zealous *Papiſts* reproached him for halting between two opinions, he writ a certain Letter dated *September* 16, 1565, a few months before his end (for he died on the 3d of *February* following) which is to be ſeen in his Works; in which Letter he freely expreſſes his mind, juſtifying himſelf, and making mention of the *Proteſtants* and their doctrine with great diſcretion: ' I am far, (*ſays he*, p. 1212) from ' halting between two opinions, that is, from heſitat- ' ing and hanging in the middle between the Catho- ' lick Faith, and Heretical or Schiſmatical Infidelity, ' ſince I plainly own no other Church than that which ' was inſtituted by *Chriſt*, propagated by the Apoſtles ' throughout the world, and continued down to our ' times; and I reject and abominate all ſuch Aſſem- ' blies, as in an odious and hoſtile manner ſlander the ' ſaid Church, (though ſhe be a little deformed, and ' has loſt ſomewhat of her former luſtre) ſhunning all ' communion with her as antichriſtian, and aſcribing ' to themſelves alone the name of the Church. How- ' ever, this I likewiſe own, that in this field of the ' Catholick Church, the corn is mingled with the tares, ' and the threſhing-floor of the Lord is not entirely ' purged from chaff; yet I think with *Cyprian*, that ' though there may ſeem to be tares in the Church, ' we ought not therefore to ſeparate from it. And ' with *Auſtin*, that we muſt not forſake the Lord's ' threſhing-floor on account of the chaff. I likewiſe ' believe, that a Phariſaical Leaven, againſt which ' every good man ſhould be on his guard, may lie ' concealed under the name of the Catholick Faith; ' and that thoſe who are thus upon their guard, ought ' not therefore to be ſuppoſed to have departed from ' the Catholick Church: neither do I doubt but that ' religion, like other virtues, lies in the midſt of two ' extreams, that is, between *Phariſaical Superſtition* ' on the one hand, and *Hereſy* and *Schiſm* on the other. ' Well did *Eraſmus* ſay, when ſomewhat of this na- ' ture was objected to him: *He is no bad Sailor that ' can ſteer between* Scylla *and* Charybdis: and (that he ' might make his language more analogous to that ' of the Scripture) *he goes righteſt who walks in the ' King's high way, ſo as not to turn either to the right ' or the left.* And theſe are the extreams which I think ' ought to be avoided as evil. If there were not ſuch ' extreams, even in the Catholick Church, ſo many ' good men had not laboured with ſuch diligence, ' though in vain, to reform Eccleſiaſtical abuſes. ' Neither do I therefore joyn with the others, who ' pretend to diſcover abuſes and corruptions in things ' that are right and perfect; but I judge that we ' ought to follow the rule of the Apoſtolical doctrine ' declared in the ancient and uniform Traditions of ' the Church. And ſuch a middle way we find, that ' the Prophets, and other holy men (yea, *Chriſt* him- ' ſelf) have choſen, who, when the *Jewiſh* Church ' was not a little corrupted, reproved its defects and ' abuſes in ſuch manner, as not to depart from the com- ' munion and bands of the Sacraments. For which ' reaſon both ſides found fault with our Saviour on ' account of the moderation with which he corrected ' the faults of the *Phariſees* on the one hand, (with ' whom however he held external communion in ' the Temple) and inſtructed the *Samaritans* on the ' other; ſo that he was rejected by the latter as a ' *Jew*, and by the former as a *Samaritan*. Yet I do ' not conceive that the Unity of the Catholick Church ' is in any ſort infringed, though ſome of its Members ' may differ in ſome points which do not ſubvert the ' fundamentals of the Faith, provided the bands of ' Peace and Charity be not violated. Nor will I diſ- ' ſemble, that I do not rank all thoſe who think them- ' ſelves obliged to follow the opinions of the *Prote- ' ſtants*, under one and the ſame claſs; for I believe ' there are not a few good men among them, who ' agree with us in the principal articles of religion, ' neither do they continue in error out of any per- ' verſeneſs of mind, but only becauſe they are ſcanda- ' lized at ſome abuſes which they obſerve to be tolera- ' ted in the Church; therefore it is not from any hatred ' againſt the Church that they ſeparate, but only ' from the deſire of a reformation of abuſes, and ' an uniformity of ſentiments: ſuch as theſe who ' neither violate the purity of the Faith, nor the au- ' thority of the Church, ſhould be treated gently and ' not driven away from us by ſeverity. But as for the ' doctrine of the *Proteſtants* and the Eccleſiaſtical di- ' ſcipline which they obſerve, I am of opinion that the ' Catholick Church may apply to them the expreſſion ' of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Pſ.* lv. 11. *For there were many with me*; ' (or according to the vulgar *Latin*) *they were with me, ' or agreed with me, in many things.*' And that ſaying ' of our Saviour, *Luke* ix. 50. *He that is not againſt ' us, is for us.* For I think that all the opinions which ' they maintain, are not to be ſo rigorouſly condemned, ' but may ſerve to ſtir up our church to amend ſeveral ' things amiſs in it. And I ſolemnly call God to wit- ' neſs on my conſcience, that I have not embraced this ' moderate opinion (which I hold in common with many ' good Catholicks) upon any other account, than be- ' cauſe I judge it may contribute towards reſtoring the ' peace of the church.——

Read likewiſe concerning his projects and views in promoting the Reformation and Peace of the Church, his book *De officio pii viri*; alſo, *Defenſ. lib. de pii viri officio*, alſo his *Conſult. de Artic. Relig.* together with ſome of his Letters in his Works, *p.* 1124, 1140, 1176, 1181, &c.—— He was of opinion, that peace might be eſtabliſhed, in caſe the foundation of it on both ſides were the holy Scriptures and the Apoſtles Creed. And this his opinion is defended by *M. A. de Dom.* againſt *Bellarmin.* Lib. VII. *de rep. Eccl.* cap xii. p. 330. Three

things displeased him in some who aimed at the Reformation of the Church; The first was, "That they "perswaded themselves that many things must be "abolished as Papal innovations and sinful, which "yet were good and holy, and had been used of old "times in the church, and might still be innocently "continued." The second was, "That some were for "abrogating the corruptions and abuses sprung from "good things, after so violent a manner, as at the "same time to extirpate that which was sound and "wholesome; which, said he, is the cure of a Hangman and not of a Surgeon." The third, "that they "thought the *Reformation* must be made according to "the prescriptions of *Luther*, *Zwinglius*, *Melancthon*, "*Calvin*——but not of *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, "*Nazianzen*, *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, and *Austin*. See his Works, *p.* 887.

W PAG. 146. *Ferdinand.*] This Emperor, says *Thuanus*, lib. xxxvi. p. 323. had learnt by experience that the cause of religion was not to be promoted by fire and sword; and was therefore of opinion, that friendly Debates, Conferences, Consultations, and Councils, whether National or General, were the most proper methods for adjusting the differences about it. And observing likewise that little good was to be expected for *Germany* from the Council of *Trent*, he sought to remedy things by himself, and began in earnest to think of methods for amicably composing the differences about the *Ausburg* Confession. On this account he endeavoured to make use of *Cassander*, who by his order begun the consultation about the said Confession. Read that Emperor's Letters in the Works of *Cassander*, p. 902. and *Epist. Select.* p. 189, 196.——This project was approved by many, but opposed by more; the hottest and most zealous on both sides refusing to lend an ear to such moderate Councils.

X PAG. 150. *Joachim Hopperus.*] ThisGentleman was a *Freeslander*, born at *Sneek*, who on account of his learning and other qualities had been raised to high stations, Vid. *Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg. Pier. Wirsem.* Chronicle of *Freesland*, p. 599. *Grot. Annal.* lib. ij. p. 46. But his wisdom and moderation in matters of religion ought to be had in remembrance. For tho' he was conversant with the most violent Divines, and greatest enemies of moderation, and resided often at *Brussels* and *Antwerp* at the time that innocent blood was daily spilt, yet he had the courage to assist and support *Cassander* in his project for Toleration, and for healing the Schism, and even to invite *W. Lindanus*, the Inquisitor of *Holland*, into the same measures. *Epist. Select.* p. 137, and 230——In a certain Letter to *Cassander* (*in Epist. Select.* p. 171.) he agrees "that "it would be better to revive the ancient Canons, "and to reform the corrupt Manners and Practices "of the Clergy, and thus to purify the church of "God, and restore her to her ancient lustre, than to "make use of those other means that had been hitherto "pursued. And oh! *says he in the same Letter*, that "upon the removing on one hand, the abuses that "reign among the Clergy; and on the other, those "odious, obstinate, and entirely useless questions and "disputes, good men would apply themselves to "those things only in which true holiness consists! "And though some people are violently bent against "Moderation, we ought not therefore to be wanting "in our duty, but to proceed the more chearfully and "courageously in it. For the whole victory consists "in this; not that we should oblige our adversaries "to join themselves to us out of fear, or through "force, but by mildness and benevolence. This I "believe, with God's assistance, may easily be effected, "if we can but convince them that we are no less ene"mies to the wicked lives of our own people than "to the wrong opinions of others; especially, if they "be made to observe, that true religion does not con"sist in the subtilty of controversies, and of various "questions, but only in piety towards God and Christ, "and charity towards men: then I trust they will "not stand out much longer, but forsaking their vain "and unnecessary opinions, accede to the true church "as soon as she is reformed and restored."

PAG. 156. *Catholicks.*] *M. A. de Dom.* says, that the name of *Catholicks* belongs as well to the Protestants as the Papists. Lib. VIII. *de Rep. Eccles.* p. 153. See also, about this name, *J. Casaub. Epist.* p. 903. *S. Episcopius Op.* p. 125. *b.*——and *Usher*'s Sermon on *Ephes.* iv. 13. y

PAG. 159. *It belongs to you*, &c.] These words compared with what the *Reformed* add in the Postscript to the Magistrates of the *Netherlands*, ascribe to the King and other *Popish* Powers, an authority in matters of religion. Accordingly, the Sovereigns of our own country, who, after having thrown off the *Spanish* and *Papal* yoke, were become the nursing Fathers of the Church, understood that the supreme direction of Ecclesiastical affairs (under God, and conformable to his word) did, with yet more justice, belong to them. Some of the Clergy departing in this matter from the judgment of their predecessors, opposed this authority; others again defended the prerogative of the Magistrates in this respect, who by virtue of it, endeavoured to compose the differences in the Church. Vid. *Ordin. Holland. pietas*, p. 44, 78.——*The Testimonies to the Resolutions of the States of* Holland *for the Peace of the Churches*; supposed to be collected by *Grotius*——*Ejusd. de Imp. sum. pot. circa sacra comment. His Speech to the Magistrates of* Amsterdam, p. 4, &c.——*Vitenbog.* Treatise *of the Power and Authority of the Christian Magistrate in Church-affairs*, as likewise his *Church-History*, p. 477----505---837, *&c.* ——*S. Curcel. in Præf. oper. S. Episcop.* ----Read also also *Epist. Eccles.* p. 360, *&c.*——*C. Vorstij Epist. Ded. Antibellarm.*—— *J. Jewel. Apol. Eccles. Angl.* p. 159.——and *M. Bucer in Evang.* Matt. *p.* 428. *&c.* z

ANNOTATIONS *on the Sixth Book.*

PAG. 162. *Also several Gentlemen*, &c.] See *Grot.* Annal. *Lib.* I. *p.* 19. and *Hooft*'s History, *Lib.* III. *p.* 98. a

PAG. 164. *The Arians*, &c.] We are informed by *Erasmus*, in his Preface to the third Volume of the Works of *Jerom*, that the Heresie of the *Arians*, strengthened by learning, and supported likewise in appearance by very strong arguments from the holy Scriptures, and lastly assisted by the favour and wealth of Emperors and whole nations, had excited very dangerous disturbances in the christian world; insomuch that it was long doubtful to which side the simplicity of the Church would incline, and whether it was not rather a Faction or Schism, than a Heresy, both parties being almost equal as to numbers, but the *Arians* excelling the others in learning and eloquence. Vide *C. Barlæi Bogerm.* p. 61.---*item Eras. præf. ad Hilar. sive ejusd. Epist.* p. 1633. *C. necnon ejusd. Op.* Tom. IX. p. 1333. and *Episcopius's* Remonstrant. Divine, *p.* 33. *Jerome* says, the whole world was turned *Arian*. Vid. *Hieron. contra Luciferianos*, & lib. III. *ad Gal.* cap. V. Concerning this Sect there are some things to be observed, which are very particular; the first is, that those *Arians* (especially the Emperors and the *Vandal* Kings in *Africa* of that perswasion) seem to have been the first who inflicted severe penalties on account of religion; and who afterwards defiled their hands with the blood of those that differed from them in matters of Faith. *Grot. in Annotat. ad Matt.* xiij. 41.---*Vid. & Hist. Tripart.* p. 531.----*Vign.* p. 80, *&c.*——*Hist. Eccles. de Godeau*, p. 565.——*T. Gessel. Hist.* p. 461, *&c.*— And *Merula*'s Treasure of the Times, *p.* 303.—382.—— But others affirm, that this is advanced upon the credit of their adversaries; and that even from the writings of those very adver- b

saries,

saries, and from the Remains of *Philastorgius* it appears not obscurely, what violences and severities were practised against the *Arians* both at the beginning and afterwards; from whence the further divisions and animosities partly proceeded. Accordingly we read in the Introduction to the History of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, by *Grotius*, p. 31. the following expressions: "It is a matter of no small praise, that "the *Vandals*, excepting in the times of *Hunerick* "and *Gundemond*, and the *Goths* always (*both which* "*nations were Arians*) forbore from using force against "the consciences of the people whom they had subdued, and suffered those who adhered to the *Nicene* "*Creed*, to believe, teach and practise their opinions as they pleased. **Never was any person "obliged by them, either by threats or violence to "change his religion.** And, as the Ambassadors of "the *Goths* informed *Belisarius*, even the *Goths* themselves, if they had an inclination, were permitted "to embrace the said *Nicene Creed*." *Vid. Procopius* in his second Book of the *Gothick* History, *p.* 238.

Concerning this Sect, it is further remarkable, that there were *Arians* among the *Goths* and *Vandals*, who though they continued in their errors, yet led much stricter lives, according to the rules of our Saviour, than the *Christians* of the *Roman* Empire. Hear what *Salvianus*, Bishop of *Marseilles*, their Cotemporary, says of them in his fifth Book of God's providence, *p.* 162. "They are, *says he*, Barbarians, divested of "*Roman*, yea of all human learning, ignorant of all "things but what they hear from their Teachers, "and what they hear, that they follow.——Therefore, *continues he*, though they are Hereticks, yet "they do not know it; in a word, they are *Hereticks* "with respect to us, but to themselves not; for they "are so well satisfied of their own *Catholicism*, that "they brand us with the same title of *Hereticks*. "What therefore they appear in our eyes, the same "are we in theirs. We are sure they depreciate the "*Divine Nativity*, forasmuch as they maintain, *That* "*the Son is less than the Father*: On the other side "they think that we injure the Father, because *we* "*believe them to be both equal*. The Truth is with us, "but they say it is on their side. We stand up for "the honour of the *Trinity*, but they assert that their "opinion tends more to the Glory of God. They "come short of their duty in this Article; but "they look upon it to be the highest duty of "religion, to act in such a manner. They are indeed impious in so doing; but they believe it to "be the truest piety. Thus they err, but they err "with a good conscience, not out of enmity but love "to God, believing that they really love and honour "him. Though they have not the true Faith, yet "they hold this for perfect "love towards God.* How "they will be punished at "the day of Judgment for "these erroneous opinions, none can determine "but the Judge himself. In "the mean time, I am perswaded that God is long-"suffering, and bears with "them, because he sees, "that although they do not "believe aright, yet they err in the integrity and "simplicity of their hearts, especially (*continues* Salvianus) since he sees that they do those things "which they know not; whereas our people act "contrary to their belief; that they in so doing err "through the fault of their Teachers, ours through "their own; they ignorantly, ours wittingly; that "they do what they think is right, ours what they "are sure is wrong. Therefore the patience of God "both supports them and punishes us through the "same just judgment; for ignorance may in some "measure deserve forgiveness, but contempt, not; "for thus it is written, *Luke* xii. 47. *That servant* "*which knows his Lord's will*, &c. We ought not "then to wonder that we *are beaten with many stripes*, "since we do not sin through ignorance but disobe-"dience; for knowing what is good, we yet do "amiss, and understanding the difference between "right and wrong, we follow that which is evil; "we read the Law, and yet trample it under our "feet; and the only use we make of the Holy Commandments, is to aggravate our sin, by doing what "they forbid. We have learned to serve God, and "we obey the Devil. And we would fain receive "good from the hand of God, for heaping up evil "upon evil against him. We desire God should do "our will, and we refuse to do his; but God is just, "though we be not; for he chastises those who "he thinks deserves it, and bears with those that "ought to be born with. He has thought fit that "both these ways of proceeding should tend to "one and the same purpose, *viz.* that correction "should restrain the desire of sinning, and that his "long-suffering should one day bring Hereticks to "confess the perfect truth of his religion; especially, "perhaps, since he knows that some of them are not "unworthy to be brought to the Catholick faith, seeing, that if their lives were to be compared with "those of the Orthodox, the former would surpass "the latter.——Besides, as to the Manners of these "*Arian Goths* and *Vandals*, in what can we be preferred before them, or even compared with them? "For, as to Love and Charity, which our Lord teaches "us is the chiefest of all virtues, and which he recommends not only throughout the whole Scripture, "but by his own example, saying, *John* xiii. 35. "*By this shall all men know that ye are my Disciples, if* "*ye have love one to another*: Whereas almost all "the *Barbarians* (such at least as are of the same "Nation, or have the same King) mutually love each "other, almost all the *Romans*, on the contrary, "mutually persecute each another." See also *Conr. Ritterhus.* in *Salvian. Comment. p.* 153.—— and *Grot. Append. ad Comment. de Antichristo*, p. 127.

* Salvianus *seems to think their errors damnable; but others are of opinion, that God will not damn any man for bare mistakes and simple errors, which do not result from the pravity of the will.* *Read* the Remonstrant Divine, *described by* Episcopius, *p.* 38. *and his Sermons on* Matth. v. *p.* 407 —— *and on* John xvii. 3. *p.* 664. —— *Also* Respons. Remonst. ad Specimen Calumn. *p.* 67. ——

PAG. 158. *These Preachers and their Followers*, &c.] c
The most zealous enemies of the Reformation defend themselves with the title of Antiquity, and reproach the Protestants with Novelty. But observe how *M. A. de Dom.* wipes off this objection: "The new Reformation, *says he*, removes the old Deformation, to "the end that the purity of Antiquity, which obtained before the Deformation, may be restored; "and thus the novelty of Reformation does not render the Church new, but only re-establishes in it "the pure Antiquity; which antiquity does indeed remain in the *Roman* church, but it is impure, "whereas in the *Protestant* churches it has been purified." See his 7th Book *de Rep. Eccles.* p. 195. and *Jewel's Apol. Eccl. Angl.* p. 114.

PAG. 188. *That every one be left*, &c.] d
This the Jesuit *Strada* calls a wicked notion; but *Tertullian* writing to *Scapula*, the Governour of *Carthage*, says, among other things: "By virtue of "human and natural right, every man may serve and "worship what he likes best; neither does the Religion of one man good or harm to another." See his Works, *p.* 553. in his Apolog. *Cap.* XXXIII. *p.* 656.——And *Cyprian* in his third Letter, *p.* 9. thus comments on the expression of our Lord in *John* vi. 67. *Then said Jesus unto the Twelve, will ye also go away?* In which words (says he) our Saviour conforms himself to the Law, *Deut.* xxx. 19. whereby life and death are set before us, and we are left to our natural liberty of choosing the one or the other. See *Grot. de J. B. & P. Lib.* II. *Cap.* 20. *Sect.* 48.

PAG. 188. *A short Confession*, &c.] This *Junius* himself tells us in the Catalogue of his Writings, at the end of the Account of his own Life, *p.* 69. in the Edition of 1595, by *F. van Raphelingien*; but the said *Confession* has been since lost. *M. A. de Dom.* Lib. VII. *p.* 316. is of opinion; "That those long and tedious "confessions which contain the decisions of many "Theological controversies, cannot be embraced nor e

" propoſed as Symbols, Rules and Formularies of " Faith; for thoſe, *ſays he*, that began to be publiſhed " in almoſt all the *Reformed* churches, in order to put " an end to the differences which aroſe in ſome or " other particular church, are nevertheleſs, and al- " ways will be the principal cauſes of ſchiſm, who " is ſo dull and ſtupid, as to ſubmit his judgment or " his conſcience to the doctrines of particular Teach- " ers, from whom he can receive no certainty of " their Faith?" But indeed he owned that the readieſt way to a general Peace of the Church would be, to draw up ſome ſhort Confeſſion, Formulary or Symbolum of fundamental and neceſſary matters, with the univerſal concurrence of all the Orthodox Eaſtern and Weſtern Chriſtians; to wit, of the *Greek*, *Roman*, *Lutheran*, and the other *Reformed* churches. As to other differences that are not eſſential, nor can be comprized in ſuch a Formulary, they ought, in his opinion, to be mutually tolerated.

Accordingly, King *James*, in the year 1613, made a certain Plan (upon the foot of the Letters which *Grotius* had formerly written to *Caſaubon*, and which had been communicated to his Majeſty) of ſuch a Confeſſion, as might ſerve to unite all Proteſtants, under the benefit of a reaſonable liberty. See *Vitenb.* Church Hiſt. *p.* 615.——

Some have thought, that the ſafeſt and moſt effectual way would be, to follow the path of *F. Junius* in this matter, and to draw up a Confeſſion in pure Scripture terms; ſince ſuch a Confeſſion would be liable to fewer objections than any other.

" Let there be but ſuch a Confeſſion compoſed " (ſay *Arminius*, *Vitenbogart*, *Henricus Johannes* and " *Everard Boot*) as comprehends nothing elſe but " ſuch ſimple points as are neceſſary to ſalvation, " determined already in general Councils, and " couched in plain Scripture words and phraſes, and " then we may be aſſured that no body would eaſily " oppoſe, nor attempt to make any alterations in it." See *Vitenb.* Ch. Hiſt. *p.* 394.——Alſo *J. Acontij Sat. Stratag.* p. 335, *&c.*——and *T. Geſſel. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Tom. I. *p.* 438.——" But never was the Chriſtian " Faith (*ſays* Eraſmus *in his Preface to the third* " *Volume of the Works of* Jerom) more plain and pure, " than when the world was contented with the ſingle " and conciſe Symbol of the Apoſtles, or Apoſtolical " men." But the making and canonizing other human Forms, has produced not only many errors, but likewiſe a tyrannical violation of conſcience. See the Preface to the Confeſſion of the *Remonſtrants*, *p.* 26, 27 and 28——and *Apol. pro Confeſſ. Rem. f.* 5. *b.*

ANNOTATIONS *on the Seventh Book.*

f PAG. 193. *There was a* Carmelite, &c.] That the Monks did not only puniſh with private impriſonment by their own authority, ſuch as committed any offences, or that lived better than themſelves, but alſo treated them ſometimes more ſeverely: *Eraſmus* was ſenſible of it in his time; and for that reaſon he was the more apprehenſive of Monaſtical tyran- The ſaid Author ſays, in a Letter to *Lambertus Grunius*, that *Mattheus*, Cardinal of *Sion*, related one time at dinner in the hearing of ſeveral perſons, how the *Dominicans* (naming the Place, the Men, and the Convent) buried a young Lad alive, becauſe the Father of him, who was a Knight, had, in a threatning way, demanded his Son whom they had decoyed into their Convent. And a certain Gentleman of *Poland*, who being in drink, had fallen aſleep in the church, ſaw two *Franciſcan* Fryers buried alive, after midnight Maſs was ended.

g PAG. 196. *Without either their knowledge*, &c.] That many of the *Reformed* never conſented to the deſtroying of Images; nay, that the moſt knowing of them deteſted that work, is declared by *N. Burgund. Hiſt. Belg.* Lib. III. *p.* 292. See alſo *L'Apol. pour le Pr. d'Orange*, p. 61. and *D. V. Koornhert's* Works. Vol. III. *f.* 34.

h PAG. 215. *They choſe Elders.*] Concerning the *Elderſhip* which is now in uſe, read *H. Grot. de Imp. Sum. poteſt. circa ſacra.* Cap. XI. Sect. 13.---- *D. Tileni Paræn. ad Scotos.* Cap. XI. *p.* 29. *it.* Cap. VI. *p.* 18. and *Pontanus of the freedom of Speech*, p. 62.

i PAG. 220. *Admitting we were as great Hereticks, as the* Jews, Arians *and* Novatians.] Nevertheleſs, *would theſe Reformed ſay*, your Majeſty ought to allow us the free exerciſe of our religion. Appealing further to the proceedings of the Pope, who allowed the ſame to the *Jews*, and to the examples of *Chriſtian* and *Orthodox* Emperors, who had tolerated the *Arian* and *Novatian* Temples. As for the *Jews*, they enjoyed great liberty under the firſt *Chriſtian* Emperors; but the Popes now ſell them Liberty of Conſcience at *Rome*, and elſewhere within their own territories, for money. See *Amand. Flavij Examen*, that is, *David Blondel's Examination of the Bull of* Innocent X. *againſt the Peace of* Germany, or that part of it which treats of Liberty of Conſcience, and which is tranſlated into *French* by *S. Curcellæus* (at the end of *Les Actes Authentiques raſſemblées par D.* Blondel, and printed by *J. Blaeu*, 1655.) *p.* 50, &c. and the Annotations on the Treaty of Peace at *Cologn*, p. 158. The ſaid *Blondel*, who excelled almoſt all the *Reformed* Miniſters, by his knowledge in Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, teſtifies in the above-mentioned *Examen*, from *p* 14 to 49, concerning the *Arians*: " That their faction (*ſo he calls it*) " reigned from the year 350 to the year 361; and " that ſince then, firſt under *Julian* the *Apoſtate*, and " afterwards alſo under the *Catholick Emperors*, they " had and enjoyed publick Temples, or places for " their Religious worſhip, till about the year 526, " not only without any oppoſition from the Biſhops " of *Rome*, but alſo with their conſent, nay ſome- " times at their earneſt requeſt." See again *the Annotations on the Treaty of Peace at* Cologn, *p.* 341, &c.

The *Novatians*, ſays *Blondel*, had the free exerciſe of their religion from the year 321 to the year 433. *p.* 9. See likewiſe *M. A. de Dom.* p. 697 and 749. The ſaid *Blondel* tells us further, that the other Sects of *Donatiſts*, *Luciferians* and *Valentinians* long enjoyed freedom of Religion. *Ib.* p. 11, 14 & 49. *Vid. & Epiſcop. Op. Tom.* II. *Part.* 2. *p.* 316. See concerning the *Novatians*, *Voſſ. de Baptiſmo Diſp.* XVIII.—— *T. Geſſel. Hiſt. Eccl.* P. I. *p.* 308.——*Grot. Annot. in Matt.* Lib. XIII. *p.* 41. *& vot. pro pace*, p. 97—— *& S. Epiſc. Explic.* 1 *Epiſt. John* Lib. III. *p.* 6.

ANNOTATIONS *on the Eighth Book.*

k PAG. 241. *Idols of our Teachers.*] Read *Vitenb. Church. Hiſt.* p. 110 and 741.——*Grot. vot. pro pace*, p. 3. *ejuſd. Diſcuſſ.* p. 199. and *A. van de Korput*, in his Preface to the Reader, before the Life of *Melanchthon*, p. 3.

l PAG. 246. *The firſt Jeſuit.*] Concerning the Inſtitution of the Order of the *Jeſuits*, their Doctrine, Deſigns and Actions, read *J. A. Thuan.* Lib. XXXVII. *p.* 367. Lib. XCIV. *p.* 598, 622. Lib. XCVI. *p.* 696. Lib. CI. *p.* 948. Lib. CVII. *p.* 1308. Lib. CIX. *p.* 1381. Lib. CX. *p.* 30. Lib. CXI. *p.* 92, 95. Lib. CXIX. *p.* 458. Lib. CXXXII. *p.* 1006. Lib. CXXXV. *p.* 1131. Lib. CXXXVII. *p.* 1204, 1220, 1223. —— And *Thuan. Reſtit.* upon Lib. XCIV. *p.* 598, 622. Lib. XCVI. *p.* 696. Lib. CI. *p.* 948. ——*Les Requetes, Procez Verbaux de l'Univerſité de Paris contre les Jeſuites*; printed at *Paris* in the years 1643

1643 and 1644.——*Les Lettres du Cardinal d'Oſſat.* Let. VII. *p.* 67. Let. CXIX. *p.* 305. Let. CXX. *p.* 308. Let. CCCXXIII. *p.* 728, 759.——*L'Inventaire de l' Hiſt de France par J. de Serres, p.* 691, 834. ——*Grot. Hiſt.* Lib. III. *p.* 194. Lib. V. *p.* 242. Lib. XIII. *p.* 454.——*Relat. de l' Etat. de Relig. par Ed. Sandis*, p. 107, 164, 194 and 215.——*Lett. Provinciales, &c. par Louis de Montalte* —— *Hooft's Henry the Great*, p. 112, 113 and 168.—— And the 15th Book of this Hiſt, *p.*

m PAG. 247. *A plain Proof.*] If this be true, the diverſity of opinions in matters of Religion, is not ſo dangerous to the State as ſome may think. The wiſe and good *Camerarius* ſays; "That there is "no reaſon to ſay, that the diverſity of opi- "nions in Religion is prejudicial to Civil Govern- "ment; whereas, on the contrary, it is then only "hurtful to a political Society, when any one, not "content with the liberty of his own ſentiments, be- "comes troubleſome to his neighbours on that ac- "count." See the *Diſcourſ. ſur la Relig.* p. 21. And that of *Aubeigné*, Ch. 37. where it is proved, that two Religions may ſubſiſt in the ſame State, without dividing or weakning it; which Proof may be adapted as well to three or more, as to two Sects. Read likewiſe *Grot. Apol.* p. 26.

ANNOTATIONS *on the Ninth Book.*

n PAG. 254. *Children to be re-baptized.*] And yet Baptiſm, though adminiſtred to the children of *Hereticks*, or ſuch as they called ſo, was allowed by the Antients to be good and valid. See *G. Caſſander's* Works, *p.* 720, and *Grot. Ann.* Lib. II. *p.* 32.

o PAG. 254. *Chooſe you ſuch a Religion as you like beſt.*] "Every Prince is obliged (as *Grotius* "writes) to preſerve that liberty to himſelf (which "it is not lawful neither for private perſons to abdi- "cate or reſign up to another) of embracing at all "times, all ſuch Truths as may be proved to him out "of the word of God.

o PAG. 258. *Which alone was ſufficient to confute.*] For the Scriptures alone are ſufficient for the confutation of error. There is no other new manner of ſpeaking neceſſary to reduce Hereticks. See *S. Curcel. Diſſert. Theolog. adv. S. Mares*, p. 51, 52. "We know, *ſays Biſhop Jewel*, that the Word which "was revealed by Chriſt, and promulgated by the "Apoſtles, is ſufficiently powerful to procure our "Salvation, to juſtifie all Truth, and to confute all "Hereſy." See his *Apol. Eccleſ. Ang.* p. 54.

p PAG. 261. *Contrary to the privileges*, &c.] Our Anceſtors complained and remonſtrated againſt theſe things, as manifeſt violations of their privileges, alledging, that in criminal matters they ought to be tried by none but the *Ordinary Judges*; and many ground the juſtice of our Arms chiefly upon the ſame. See *Grot. Apol.* Ch. XV. *p.* 155.

q PAG. 261. *Without any previous accuſation.*] This way of proceſs, without the ordinary forms, againſt perſons of good name and fame, upon facts ſubject to different judgments, ſuch as matters of State and Religion, is properly what we call the *Inquiſition*; againſt which ſo many complained in the time of *Charles* V. and *Philip* II. This grievance is likewiſe reckoned among the weightieſt cauſes of our taking up Arms. The Remonſtrances of the States of ſeveral Provinces ſhowed plainly, that the ſaid States did not only impugn the cauſe or occaſion of exerciſing an *Inquiſition*, but likewiſe the manner of its proceedings, as being incompatible with the Rights, Privileges and Cuſtoms of the Land. *Grot. Apol.* p. 158.

r PAG. 262. *Chiefly for things done by order of their Principals.*] "It is hard (ſays *Cato*) to be "forced to anſwer for the faults of others with whom "we have converſed." See *Grot. Apol.* p. 151 and 152. And *Hooft's* Hiſt. of the Houſe of *Medicis*, *p.* 79.

s PAG. 270. *One of them* (Barent van Utrecht) *had broken a certain Image.*] The LXth Canon of the Council of *Eliberis* in *Spain*, holden about the year 313, runs thus: *If any one ſhould break down an* Idol, *and ſhould on that account be put to death, we do not think fit that ſuch a perſon ſhould be reckoned in the number of* Martyrs; *becauſe* Image-breaking *is not preſcribed in the Goſpel, neither do we find that it was ever done by the Apoſtles.* See *Caranſa Summa Concil.* p. 29. To this Canon *Paulus Merula* ſubſcribes, in his *Treaſure of the Times*, p. 258, and ſays; "That an unſeaſonable "zeal in this matter, is blame-worthy; *and adds*, "Men ought to ſtay for the Order of the Magi- "ſtrate; though we find that this has often happened "in our days through a ſudden zeal, and a vehe- "ment impulſe from God." That it was frequently occaſioned by a haſty zeal in our Forefathers time, is not to be denied; but that it was likewiſe a *vehement impulſe from God*, will be very difficult to prove. It is dangerous to aſcribe any actions, eſpecially irregular or diſorderly ones, *to God's impulſe*, and much more to his *vehement impulſe*.

Thomas Muncer and *John* of *Leyden* perſwaded themſelves, or at leaſt their Hearers and Followers, that it was by *God's impulſe* that they raiſed Soldiers to ravage Countries and Towns. To act ſafely in this matter, we ſhould bring our paſſions and *impulſes* to the touchſtone of Reaſon, and chiefly that of Scripture, which contains the will of God. Whatever runs counter to that, cannot be good, nor proceed from God; but is much rather an inſtigation and *impulſe* of that wicked Spirit, who was a Liar and a Murderer from the beginning; and who, by his violation of Order, and ſowing Sedition, endeavours to overthrow the Kingdom of the Prince of Peace, which is founded in Order and Obedience, to render it rebellious, and then to make it the cauſe of its own deſtruction.

ANNOTATIONS *on the Tenth Book.*

t PAG. 283. *That the Holy Ghoſt is no where in Scripture ſtiled God.*] The expreſſions of *Eraſmus* himſelf, which muſt have a reference to this, are very remarkable. He ſays in his Preface to *Hillary* (as alſo in his Epiſtles, *p.* 1638. *F.*) "That poſſibly "ſome may wonder, that whilſt men are labouring "by ſo many books, with ſo much diligence and "pains, with ſo many arguments and fine ſentences, "and with ſo many anathema's and curſes, to induce "us to believe the *Son* to be *very God*, of the ſame "Eſſence, or, as *Hillary* ſometimes loves to ſpeak, "of the ſame kind and nature with the *Father* (which "the *Greeks* expreſs by the word ὁμόσιον) and equal "to him in Power, Wiſdom, Goodneſs, Eternity, "Immortality, and in all other things; there ſhould "in the mean time be hardly any mention made of "the *Holy Ghoſt*, notwithſtanding that the whole "diſpute about the epithet of *very God*, and that con- "cerning the *ſameneſs* of *Eſſence* and the *Equality*, "relate as much to the *Holy Ghoſt*, as to the *Son*. "And even that *Hillary* no where writes, that the "*Holy Ghoſt* is to be invoked, nor ever aſcribes to "him the name of *God*; only he ſays indeed in one "or two places, that thoſe who were ſo bold as to

"call

" call the *Father*, *Son* and *Holy Ghoſt*, three Gods, were " declared by the Synods to be in the wrong; whether " he thought the *Son* at that time ought to be more " exalted, whoſe humane nature was the occaſion that " it was not ſo readily allowed, that he who was a Man " was likewiſe God, and whom the *Arians* attempted " to bereave of his Godhead, when as yet no diſpute " was ſtarted concerning the *Holy Ghoſt*; or whe- " ther it was, *continues he*, an effect of piety of thoſe " primitive Chriſtians, that though they devoutly " worſhipped God, yet they durſt not pronounce of " him any thing but what was plainly expreſſed in " the ſacred Writings; in which indeed the name of " *God* is ſometimes aſcribed to the *Son*, but no where " explicitly to the *Holy Ghoſt*; though the *Religious* " *Curioſity* of the *Orthodox* has ſince diſcovered by " proper arguments and deductions from Scripture, " that whatever was aſcribed to the *Son* belonged " to the *Holy Ghoſt*, excepting the *Properties* of the " *Perſons*; but by reaſon of the unfathomable depths " of divine matters, they ſcrupled to aſcribe the " name of *God* to the latter. They maintained, that it " was not lawful to ſpeak of ſuch things in other words " than what the Scripture it ſelf uſes, and the publick " Authority of the Church teaches. They had read " of the *Holy Ghoſt*, or *Spirit*; they had read of the " *Spirit* of *God*; they had likewiſe read of the *Spirit* " of *Chriſt*: They had learned out of the Goſpel, " that the *Holy Ghoſt* was not ſeparated from the " *Father* and the *Son*; for there they read, that the " Apoſtles baptized in the name of the *Father*, *Son* " and *Holy Ghoſt*. The Communion of the three " perſons is likewiſe ſtill retained in the ſolemn " Prayers and Collects, derived to us from the moſt " ancient uſage of the Church, which are drawn up " briefly, and at the ſame time learnedly; in which " the *Father* is addreſſed to through the *Son*, and in " the unity of the *Holy Ghoſt*. The *Father* is very " often ſtiled *God*, the *Son* ſometimes, but the *Holy* " *Ghoſt* never in expreſs words. I do not mention " theſe things to render dubious what the authority " of the Fathers has taught us out of Scripture, but " only to ſhow how great caution the Antients uſed " in the mention of Divine matters, even when " they treated them with more reverence than we do, " who are grown ſo bold as to preſcribe to the *Son* " how he ought to honour his *Mother*. We preſume " to call the *Holy Ghoſt very God, proceeding from the* " Father *and the* Son, which it ſeems the Antients " for a long time did not dare to do; and yet we do " not ſcruple to drive him too often by our impiety, " from the Temples of our Souls; juſt as if we be- " lieved that the *Holy Ghoſt* was nothing elſe but a " vain name. Thus alſo moſt of the Fathers who ho- " noured the *Son* with the moſt religious veneration, " were yet afraid to ſtile him *Homuſion*, or of the " *ſame ſubſtance*, becauſe they never met with that " expreſſion in the Scriptures. And thus was the " Church more advanced in the firſt Ages in purity " of life, than in the nice Science of Divinity.

u PAG. 284. *That damned Trinitarian* Eraſmus.] People uſually called thoſe who entertained erroneous opinions of the Holy *Trinity*, by the name of *Antitrinitarians*: Frier *Cornelius* does the contrary here all along. But as to the reproach of *Arianiſm*, the learned *Eraſmus* ſufficiently juſtified himſelf from it in his life-time. See his *Apology* againſt the *Spaniſh Monks* in his Works, Tom. IX. *p.* 831 —— and *C. Barlæi Bogermannum*, *&c.* p. 60 *&* 61.

al. 1023, &c.

w PAG. 146. *The Mother of God.*] See *L' Hiſt. de N. Vignier*, p. 107, 108. —— and *S. Curcel. Diſſert. Theolog. &c.* p. 237. ——

x PAG. 288. *Eſpecially any Schiſm or Diviſion.*] " Do not therefore, *ſays* Nazianzen, raſhly or unad- " viſedly cut off a Member from the body of the " Church, ſince you cannot be aſſured but the ſound " part may ſuffer by ſuch amputation. *Gr. Nazianz. Orat.* Lib. XXVI. *p.* 461.

PAG. 294. *Epiſcopacy.*] See *Ord. Hol. Piet.* p. 120. y —— *D. Tileni Paræn. ad Scot.* Cap. VI. ---- and *Grot. de Imper. Sum Poteſt. circa ſacra.* Cap. XI. p. 333.

PAG. 296. *Began to inveigh againſt him from the Pulpit.*] It is related of Queen *Elizabeth*, of bleſſed memory, that when any of her Chaplains went, as ſhe thought, beyond or beſide his Function, ſhe would call out to him in the middle of his Sermon; *Keep to your Text.* Read *Vitenbogart*'s authentick Relation of what paſt at *Amſterdam* between the Magiſtrates and *A. Smout*, together with the Clergy there; printed in 1630. *p.* 25. *Franciſcus Junius* complains of theſe methods in his *Eirenicum*, *p.* 187. where he thus expreſſes himſelf: " How many " things are thrown out ſometimes in a Sermon " which by no means concern us or our Miniſtry, " which do not at all relate to the Church, or " which properly belong to the cognizance of others! " Of this many Churches in all nations are witneſſes; " of this the Magiſtrates can teſtifie; of this Hiſto- " ries, and ſuch Books as treat of Divine and Hu- " mane laws, are a proof; to wit, that many of " thoſe perſons who ought to have contained them- " ſelves within the limits of their ſpiritual vocation, " have thus totally ruined themſelves, their Miniſtry, " and its moſt ſacred authority; have deſtroyed " many Souls, many Commonwealths, and many " Churches; whilſt they pretended, that all matters " ought to be regulated according to their narrow " capacities, which yet they thought were very ex- " tenſive and large. O my deareſt Brethren! we " ought day and night to be handling that holy " Book, the Book of the Covenant, or of the Old " and New Teſtament, and not the Books of Law " or of Politicks; the Conſciences of men, and not " their worldly Goods; Churches, and not States, " are the proper objects of our care." *Junij Oper. Tom.* I. *p.* 731, *&c.*

" Do not concern your ſelves with matters of State " *(ſays* Peter du Moulin *to his three Sons)* for God " has not called you to it. Your vocation requires " a whole man. Do not erect your ſelves into Judges " of thoſe that hold the Rudder of the Common- " wealth. To blow againſt the wind is the work of " fools. Labour quietly in your Miniſtry, leaving " the event of things to the providence of God, and " praying to him, that amidſt the confuſions of the " State, he would preſerve his Church, and maintain " the purity of his Worſhip. If you behave otherwiſe, " you will hurt your ſelves and your friends, and " do good to no body." *En l'Epitre Dedicatoire de la huitieme Decade de ſes Sermons*, p. *c.* 6.

PAG. 297. *And not Religion.*] The propaga- a ting Religion by the ſword, is by no means agreeable to the character of Chriſtians. Read concerning the reaſons why thoſe of *Holland* took up Arms againſt *Spain*, (*viz.* for their common Liberties and Privileges) the Letter which the States of that Province wrote to the City of *Amſterdam*, as we have inſerted it into the Eleventh Book of our Hiſtory; and particularly their Anſwer to certain Propoſals made them by *Dudley Carlton* in *Vitenbogart*'s *Church Hiſt.* p. 832. —— Alſo *Grot. Apol.* cap. II. *p.* 25.

PAG. 306. *Above eighteen thouſand Hereticks and Rebels.*] This he did in the ſpace of leſs than ſix years. Some write, that in fifteen years there were 100,000 Souls maſſacred, only on account of Religion, within the bounds of the *Low-Countries*. Read the *Remarks on the Treaty of* Cologn, p. 176. *Koornhert* tells us, that he heard from the mouth of a great perſon, in the year 1566, before our Troubles were at the heighth, that he had procured an account from all the Regiſters of the Scouts in two Provinces, and from many, though not all the Regiſters of the reſt of the Provinces in the *Netherlands*, of the names of ſuch as were put to death for Religion; the number of whom did at that time much exceed 36,000 perſons.

ſons. See the 2d Volume of his Works, *p.* 178.—— And *Mart. Bell.* of Hereticks, *&c.* p. 256.

c PAG. 307. *That it was a glorious thing, when nothing but the pure word of God was preached,* &c.] " Without doubt it would be beſt (*ſays* Grotius *in* " *his Apology, p.* 26.) that there were but one Reli- " gion, not only in the *Low-Countries*, but over all " the world; to wit, The ſame which our Lord and " Saviour brought us down from heaven. But man- " kind ſoon deviate from this rule, either through " Ignorance, Paſſion or Cuſtom; and then, if any " one attempt to inform them better, and to con- " vince them that *from the beginning it was not ſo*, " they cry out againſt him as an Innovator, a Di- " ſturber of the publick tranquility, and a Plague to " the nation; and it is eaſy to beſtow theſe titles " upon any man: But beſides that, ſuch methods of " proceeding are very unjuſt, and always condemned " by our people; they are likewiſe impolitick, as ex- " perience has but too plainly taught us.

d PAG. 308. *About this time the* Reformed *religion as taught in the* Palatinate, *at* Geneva, *and elſewhere.*] This was the Religion that was agreeable to the *Reformation* of the *French* churches, which, as ſome thought, were much more purged from the Leven of *Popery* than other *Proteſtant* churches. But others, and even ſuch as had heartily, but diſcreetly, withſtood the church of *Rome*, were of opinion, that in the buſineſs of *Reformation* ſome had gone too far from the path of primitive Chriſtianity, and perhaps had ſome times taken the wrong way. " In caſe, *ſays Iſaac Caſaubon*, we had ſet on foot in " our *France* ſuch a *Reformation* as had not ſo much " altered the face of the ancient Church, many thou- " ſands of perſons would have joined themſelves to " our Party, who are now the moſt averſe to the " Doctrines of our Church." See *Caſaub. Epiſt.* p. 831.——And *D. Tileni Paræn. ad Scot.* cap. XVII. p. 63, &c.

The ſaid *Caſaubon* alſo writes thus in one of his Letters, *p.* 871. " There is a certain ſort of men who " perſwade themſelves, that about a hundred years " ago, the *true Church*, which in the preceding age " was not ſeen, firſt began to ſhow it ſelf to the " world; but I heartily deteſt their folly. And I " am of opinion, that the *Papiſts* have not done " more harm to the Church of God by defending " their modern errors with the pretence of Anti- " quity, than ſome others who are ſtill fond of No- " velties, who interpret the Scriptures according to " their own fancies, and pretend, that whatever " does not agree with their expoſitions, is falſe and " impious." And this learned man tells us in ano- ther of his Epiſtles, *p.* 896. " That there are ſome " among us who poſſibly aſcribe too much to *Anti-* " *quity*; but there are more that aſcribe nothing at " all to it, imagining, that before the times of *Luther* " and *Calvin* (very great amd incomparable perſons) " there was no ſuch thing as a *True Church*. And of " this kiud of men there is a great number at preſent " in my dear country." Let us alſo hear what *Hadrianus Saravia*, formerly Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, ſays in his *Epiſt. ad Lect. tractat. de diverſis Miniſtrorum Gradibus præf.* " I know not by " what judgment of God, *ſays he*, it happens that the " Books and Writings of our people hinder ſeveral " well-meaning *Papiſts* from coming to the know- " ledge of Goſpel-truth. That which has paſt in " *France* and other parts theſe laſt three and thirty " years, has been a greater obſtacle to the happy " progreſs of the preaching of the Goſpel, than all " the Troops of the *Jeſuits*, and other Doctors and " Hypocrites of the *Romiſh* church, with the united " force of all their writings. Had our people, or " thoſe that would have paſt for ours, ſhown that " temper that becomes Chriſtians, the good cauſe " would not have been loaded and oppreſſed with " ſo much hatred and obloquy, and we ſhould have " had more Churches every where. He is but an ill " Phyſician, who whilſt he endeavours to ſave one " limb, expoſes the whole body to deſtruction. " Neither God nor Men will approve of ſuch a *Re-* " *formation* in any place, by means of which, (whilſt " the paſſions of ſome, and the peeviſhneſs of others, " are complied with) the progreſs of the *Reformation* " is hindered in many places. In this general deſo- " lation of the Church of Chriſt, the *Reformation* of " one part of it ought not to be carried on in ſuch " a manner as to deter the reſt from attempting the " ſame." See the Continuation of *Hooft*'s Hiſtory, " *p.* 146. " It is, in my opinion, (*ſays* Conſtantine " Huygens, *in his Book of the uſe and abuſe of Organs*, " *p.* 51, &c.) a very juſt obſervation, that we, when " we ſeparated from this corrupt church (*meaning* " *that of* Rome) ought not to have been ſo ſtrict " againſt little and indifferent Externals, as we were " with good reaſon againſt the Internals of a depra- " ved and ſophiſticated Doctrine; ſo would it have " appeared that we were not ſet on by an itch of " Novelty, but by a ſincere zeal for ſaving Truths." And *Grotius*, in his Apology of the Religion of the States of *Holland* in the *Latin* impreſſion, *p.* 118 and 119, ſays: " I cannot forbear ſhowing the fountain " and origin from whence it proceeds, that ſo little " notice is taken of theſe and other matters. [*he had mentioned before what ſome people thought to be ſtill wanting in the Government of the* Dutch *churches*] " We perſwade our ſelves, that the further we recede " from the practice of the *Romiſh* church, the purer " we are; without conſidering that this church, " notwithſtanding her manifold diſeaſes, may have " retained at leaſt ſomething of her former healthy " conſtitution. All Phyſick is dangerous if it exceeds " the juſt quantity. They that ſpeak thus, and at " the ſame time lament for what has happened in " this kind, can no more be reputed to lean towards " *Popery*, than the whole Church of *England* can be " reproached with it, the *Reformation* of which being " begun not by private Riots and Tumults, but by " publick Councils and Authority, proceeded ac- " cording to this rule; She put away all that ought " to be put away, and retained all that could be re- " tained without Impiety and Superſtition.

Thus alſo *M. A. de Dominis* declared himſelf againſt all thoſe, who, upon every occaſion were ſtriving to remove further and further from the *Romiſh* church, not ſo much out of zeal for purity of Faith, as out of hatred and litigiouſneſs; calling whatever was practiſed by the ſaid church, by the odious name of *Antichriſtian*. " I confeſs, *ſays he* " *in* Lib. VIII. *de Rep. Eccleſ.* cap. VII. p. 113. there " were crept into the *Romiſh* church ſome things un- " neceſſary, ſome ſuperſtitious, and others anti- " chriſtian; but the Catholick faith was, by thoſe of " that church, preſerved inviolate. Many of their " Cuſtoms are ancient, and inſtituted even by the " Apoſtles. Indifferent things may be mended with- " out taking them quite away, and the unity of the " Chriſtian religion muſt ſtill be preſerved. That " which has been *Deformed*, let it be *Reformed*, and " that which is good, remain.

Caſſander likewiſe endeavoured to inſinuate the ſame *Sentiments*, even in the words of *Proteſtants*, into the minds of his Readers: for having in a certain Treatiſe, intitled, *Defenſio Libelli de officio pij viri. In Opera.* p. 868. firſt taken notice of the haſty abo- lition of Ceremonies, he preſently adds, That *Bucer* writes thus againſt *Latomus*; That " it was not neceſ- " ſary to alter every thing, even what had been " practiſed above a thouſand years; but that they " needed only to exchange the new and pernicious " Inventions of irreligious men for ancient Doctrines " and Inſtitutions." And in the *Dutch* Dialogue, con- cerning the preparation for the Council, dedicated to Count *William* of *Naſſaw*, he ſays, " The only ob- " jections are againſt the Cuſtoms which latter Popes " have inſtituted, out of Intereſt, Ambition, or " other paſſions; but not againſt ſuch as were intro- " duced

" duced and maintained by the Holy Fathers and " Good Biſhops.

Melanchon alſo writes yet more moderately concerning *Ceremonies*. Among other things he writes to *Philip* the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, in the following manner: *I beſeech you, for* Chriſt's *ſake, to preſerve the* Ancient Ceremonies *as far as ſhall be poſſible in conſiſtence with piety, for the ſake of the publick peace; for ancient Cuſtoms and Manners have never been changed without great ſcandal and offence; and* Chriſtianity conſiſts leſs in Ceremonies than in the fear of God, Faith, Charity and Submiſſion to the higher Powers. You may likewiſe read ſeveral other reflections, as well concerning the buſineſs of the *Reformation* in general, as that of the *Low-Countries* in particular, in the Church Hiſtory of *Vitenbogart*, *p.* 132---167---474 and 479. See alſo the *Theological Epiſtles* publiſhed at *Amſterdam* by *John Rieuwertz*. *p.* 443---456---494.

d PAG. 309. *To ſet it open as wide as poſſible*, &c.] *Alaba*, in the margin of his Preface to the Treaty of *Cologn*, p. †4, notes a very remarkable paſſage out of the Comment or Expoſition of *Thomas Naogeorgus*, upon the Vth Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle of St. *John*, which refers to ſuch moderation, and runs thus; " Since *John* frequently ſays, and aſſures us, that all " who believe that *Jeſus* is the *Chriſt*, are Children " of God; it follows from thence, that this Faith " and this Confeſſion is the characteriſtick of a true " Believer; and that the Catholick church does not " require an agreement in all other opinions that do " not ſo neceſſarily relate to this, though others who " ſtreighten too much the bounds of the Chriſtian " church, do now a-days inſiſt upon it. As for me, " I ſhall ever eſteem him to be a child of God, who " believes and confeſſes, that *Jeſus* is the *Chriſt*, " though he ſhould happen to differ from me in other " points. Accordingly, I am for tolerating many in " the external or viſible Church, whom others expel " and put to death; but what right they have ſo to " do, I know not." See likewiſe the *Eirenicum* of *Franc. Jun.* p. 127.

ANNOTATIONS *on the Eleventh Book.*

e PAG. 311. *The Pſalms turned into Metre*, &c.] The reſolution of uſing theſe Pſalms in the Churches was confirmed in the year 1578, by the National Synod holden at *Dort*. See Art. LIV. of the ſaid Synod. Beſides, that *Chriſtians* honoured God in antient times by Pſalmody in their Aſſemblies, appears from a Letter of *Pliny* to *Trajan* concerning the *Chriſtians*; mentioned in our Annotations upon the fourth Book of this Hiſtory. See alſo *Tertul. in Apolog.* cap. II. and his Treatiſe *de Virg. Veland. Ambroſ. Præf. in Pſalmos. Blond. Exam. Quæſt. de Pap. Fœm.* p. 96. *Voſſ. Comment. in Plin. de Chriſt. Epiſt.* p. 48.

ANNOTATIONS *on the Thirteenth Book.*

a PAG. 392. *That the Evangelical Reformed Religion*, &c.] What the *States* of *Holland* meant by the words Reformation and Reformed, and how far they extended them, may be ſeen about the end of the tenth Book.

b PAG. 392. *Without tolerating the publick teaching*, &c.] This, without doubt, has reſpect to a *Toleration* in the publick Church; for out of it, the publick teaching and quiet exerciſe of the *Lutheran* and other Sects was not forbidden by thoſe of *Holland*.

ANNOTATIONS *on the Sixteenth Book.*

a PAG. 462. *The little Book of* Nicaſius vander Schuren.] This Treatiſe bore the title of *Inſtitution or Inſtruction in the Chriſtian Religion*; and it contained certain poſitions about the Doctrine of Predeſtination, and the *incitement* to *Evil*, which, in the opinion of ſome were harſh and ſcandalizing. See the *Protocol* of *Leeuwarden*, p 356, 359, 439, 443. The Conferences at the *Hague*, in the year 1611. *p.* 31 and 38; and the Preface to the Appendix of the *Remonſtrants* further account, &c. printed at *Rotterdam*, 1612. *Tilenus* in his Treatiſe about the *Cauſe of Sin*. And *Epiſt. Eccleſ.* p. 204.

b PAG. 475. *As for the Symbol or Creed*, &c.] The learned Profeſſor, *Gerard John Voſſius*, ſays in a certain Tract, entitled, *de tribus Symbolis*, that this which paſſes under the name of *Athanaſius*, is not to be found in the ancient copies of that Father; that he makes no mention of it himſelf in his Writings; as neither did the Authors of the next following Age; nor even thoſe that writ his Life many years after. That it was unknown for a long time in the Church, and diſcovered only about the year 1000, which was above ſix hundred years after his death: That it ſeems to have been tranſlated from the *Latin* into the *Greek* language, ſince the *Latin* copies of it are always uniform, but the *Greek*, as if rendered by ſeveral hands, remarkably differ from one another, which could not have been, if *Athanaſius* had written it originally in *Greek*. He adds, that it is likewiſe rejected by the *Eaſtern* Patriarchs; and that ſome think it was written by *Euſebius Vercellenſis*; ſome by one *Anaſtaſius*; others by a *French* Divine at *Treves*, and this he believes the moſt probable, and that it happened in the time of *Pepin* or *Charlemain*. *Vid. Voſſ. de tribus Symbolis*, p. 46, &c. *Vid. & ejuſd. Addenda indici Diſſertat. de trib. Symb. ſubjuncta.* See likewiſe *Epiſcop. Oper.* Tom. II. Part 2. *p.* 112.

c PAG. 479. *Puritans.*] By this word is not only meant the *Sect*, which after the example of *Brown* and others, ſeparated from the church of *England*, but all other rigid and ſeditious Eccleſiaſticks, who followed them but too nearly. To this alludes a ſaying of King *James*, who when he was asked, *What theſe* Puritans *were?* replied; *Nothing but mad Proteſtants.* And in the Preface of his *Doron Baſilicon*, or *Royal Preſent* to his Son Prince *Henry*, he more fully explains himſelf, and ſays, " That by " *Puritans* he means thoſe heady raving Preachers, " that contemn the Civil powers, and adhere entirely " to their own Dreams, Viſions and Revelations; " who look upon all thoſe that refuſe to embrace " their whimſies, as profane and worldly men: Who " make as great a noiſe and diſturbance about the little " differences with reſpect to Church-Government, as " about an attack upon the *Holy Trinity*: Who adapt " the word of God to their own Conſciences, and " not their Conſciences to the ſaid Word: Who ſay " to every man who denies their Principles, Be thou " as a Heathen and Publican; and wholly unwor- " thy the benefit of air and light, much more of the " Holy Sacraments: Who would rather ſee the " ſubverſion of the Prince, the People and the Laws, " than that the leaſt infraction ſhould be made on " their Dictates." See likewiſe the Anſwer of the " States of *Holland* to the Propoſal of the *Engliſh* Envoy *Carlton*, in *Vitenbogart's* Church Hiſtory, *p.* 844. Read alſo concerning theſe people and their dangerous poſitions, the little Treatiſe of *David Owen*, Chaplain

Chaplain to the Lord *Hadington*, printed in the year 1610, by *Cantrel Leg*, Printer to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, with the title of *Herod and Pilate reconciled*; where having ſpoken in his IXth Chapter of the general Agreement and Uniformity of the *Puritans*, with reſpect to the coercing, depoſing and murdering Kings, whom they call Tyrants, he concludes thus: *Now how far this poiſon may ſpread, I can not tell.* In the mean while, the Kings of Chriſtendom are effectually crucified like Chriſt their Lord, between two murderers, the Papiſts and Puritans. By way of advice to theſe Zealots, the learned and judicious *Tilenus* writ and addreſſed his *Admonition* to ſome of the *Scots*; at the concluſion of which he thus ſpeaks: " The black Gall or Melan-
" choly which ſtirs you up, requires reſt. If it
" ſhould occaſion a more violent motion and over-
" flowing, it would produce immediate death. In
" great and bodily torments the only comfort is,
" that when the pain is exceſſive, it muſt naturally
" ceaſe; for either the pain it ſelf will end, or it
" will put an end to the life of the Patient. But this
" ſickneſs of the mind that has ſeized you, is ſo much
" the more dangerous, by how much it is leſs felt.
" This diſeaſe of yours, the love of Contention, is
" the cauſe that you inſenſibly loſe both Truth and
" Charity. To wreſtle with one's inferior is not
" honourable, with one's equal, not ſafe, but with
" one's ſuperior it is madneſs. What ſhall we then
" call the drawing of the Sword of Contention
" againſt our Prince, about things which are indiffe-
" rent, that is, neither good nor bad? And indeed
" moſt of the things about which we diſpute, are of
" this kind; but the duty and ſubmiſſion which we
" owe the Magiſtrate in ſuch matters, is not to be
" reckoned among things indifferent, but among ſuch
" as are abſolutely neceſſary.

Worthy Reader,

BEſides theſe Annotations, I had collected a few more: For how many incidents, both of words and actions are ſtill to be found in this Hiſtory which might require an explanation? But the Work is already ſwelled to a greater bulk than I intended, which obliges me to ſuppreſs ſome of my Obſervations, and leave off here. Uſe theſe my Labours to your advantage, and join, with all your might, in promoting that Peace of the Church, for which we ought to pour out our prayers to God fervently and continually.

The End of the Annotations belonging to the Firſt Volume.

THE INDEX.

ADolphus, Duke of *Gelderland*, his Body taken out of the Tomb by the Image-breakers, *Page* 199.

Adrian, Pope, choſen, *Page* 46. His Letter to *Eraſmus*, 47. To the Chapter of *Utrecht*, *ibid.* Owns the want of Reformation, *ibid.* Confeſſes the Sins of the Clergy to be the Cauſe of the Troubles, 48. His Death, 49.

Adrians Cornelius, a *Franciſcan* Fryar, his Conference with an Anabaptiſt, concerning putting Hereticks to Death, 282. And about the *Trinity*, *ibid.* His Character, *P.* 285.

Aix la Chappelle deprived of the Liberty of Religion, 477

Albrecht, Duke of *Bavaria*, his Order about Abuſes in the Church, *Page* 18.

Aldegonde, Heer *van*, ſent by the Prince of *Orange* to the Aſſembly at *Dort*, *Page* 298. Taken Priſoner, 306. His Letter about a Diſpute at *Horn*, 317. His Relation of a Conference with the Prince of *Orange* about the Anabaptiſts, 331. His Opinion of the Duke of *Anjou*, 377. In diſgrace with the States, 401. His Opinion of the State of Religion, *ibid.* And of the Prince of *Parma*, *ibid.* Writes a Book called, *The Faithful Admonition*, &c. 431. Appointed to tranſlate the Bible, 453. His Death, 478.

Alkmaer, publick Preaching there, *Page* 181. A *Synod* there, 412. Their Anſwer to ſome Queries, *ibid.*

Alting Menzo, his Zeal againſt *Dovehouſe*, *Page* 350.

Alva, Duke *d'*, is ſent in quality of General into the *Low-Countries*, *Page* 259. His Speech to provoke the King to War upon his *Low-Country* Subjects, *ibid.* Impriſons the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*, *&c.* 260. Is made Governour-General, 261. His rough Anſwer to the Magiſtrates of *Antwerp*, 265. Cauſes the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn* to be beheaded, 267. Gains the Battle of *Jemmingen*, 268. Puts many Perſons to Death, *ibid.* Forbids all Correſpondence with the Exiles, 275. Erects himſelf a Statue at *Antwerp*, 276. By his Cruelty cauſes above 100,000 Houſes to be deſerted, 277. Demands the Tenth Penny, 278, 290. Cites the Refugees to appear, 278. Publiſhes a new Order, and renews the *Placard* of *Ausburg*, 280. Attempts to levy the Tenth Penny at *Bruſſels* by force, 294. Is hinder'd by the Surpriſal of the *Brill*, *ibid.* Returns to *Spain*, 306.

Amſterdam, City of, The Declarations of the Magiſtrates of it about *Brugman*, *&c. Page* 26, 28. A Diſturbance there by the *Anabaptiſts*, 65. A Conſpiracy againſt it by *J. van Geeling*, diſcovered, 67. An Addreſs of the *Reformed* to the Magiſtrates, 152. The Militia are for tolerating the *Reformed*, and oppoſe the *Scout* who would diſturb their Meetings, 183. A ſtrange Diſtemper amongſt the Children in the Hoſpital, 185. A Tumult there, 199, 212, 247, 338. An Ordinance of the Magiſtrates for reſtoring Peace, 200. The *Reformed* there chooſe *Scheltius* for their Miniſter, 211. Have three Miniſters ſettled amongſt them, *ibid.* Chooſe Deacons and Deaconeſſes, *ibid.* Sign an Agreement with the Magiſtrates, and have the Chappel of the *Franciſcans* granted to them, 214. The Miniſters ſwear Fidelity to the Government, 215. The Difference between the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* there, *ibid.* The Sacrament publickly adminiſter'd amongſt the *Reformed*, 216. They preſent another Petition, 248. The *Franciſcans* there complain of *Alva*, 290. The City declares for the States of *Holland*, 334. A great Revolution there, 338. A Synod for *North-Holland* holden there, 391. A Propoſal to explain the *Union of Utrecht*, *ibid.* The Reſolution of thoſe of *Holland* upon it, 392. The Memorial of the *Conſiſtory* concerning *Fogalſang*, 462. The Memorial of *Cornelius Peterſon Hooft*, 463. The Deſign of the *Clergy* there, 472. Some refuſe to join with the Eſtabliſhed Church, 473. The reaſon of it, *ibid.*

Anabaptiſts, their Riſe, *Page* 57. Fined for their Opinions, *ibid.* Put to Death in ſeveral Places, 57, 60, 74, 82, 88, 91, 93, 121, 136, 141, 257, 281, 291, 306, 312, 330, 431. A Reward promiſed in *Holland* for diſcovering their Teachers, 60. An Enthuſiaſtical Sect of them, 61. The Emperor offers them Mercy, 64. They contrive to ſeize *Amſterdam*, *ibid.* Several taken and beheaded, 65. Conſpire to burn the Town of *Leyden*, *ibid.* Their mad Pranks at *Amſterdam*, *ibid.* An Inſurrection of them in *Freeſland*, 66. A remarkable Diſcourſe of one, 92. Their Uſe and Abuſe of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, 100. A Schiſm amongſt them at *Embden*, 101. Their Uſe of Excommunication, 103. A new Schiſm amongſt them, 226. A Covenant agreed to by ſome of them, oppoſed by others, 227. The Diſorder occaſioned by it, 228. Strange Confuſions amongſt them, 229. One of them by ſaving his Perſecutor's Life loſes his own, 281. Aſſiſt the Prince of *Orange* with Money, 295. Some retire to *England*, 314. Two burnt there, 315. Great Numbers of Sects amongſt them, 336. Troubled at *Amſterdam*, 344. The dreadful Conſequence of their Excommunications, 429. Prince *Maurice* writes to the Magiſtrates of *Midelburg* in their favour, 443. The Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* give a Letter of Recommendation to ſome of them, 460. Oppreſſed by the *Freeſland* Clergy, 474. Prohibited the Exerciſe of their Religion in *Freeſland*, 475.

Anaſtaſius Veluanus, the Hiſtory of him, *P.* 96.

Anjou, Duke of, hath the Sovereignty of the States of *Brabant*, *&c.* offered to him, *Page* 377. Owned almoſt every where as Duke of *Brabant*, and Governour of the *Low Countries*, 386. Obtains the Exerciſe of *Religion* for the *Romaniſts* at *Antwerp*, *ibid.* Writes to the Magiſtrates of *Bruſſels* in favour of the *Romaniſts*, 389. Attempts to make himſelf Maſter of *Antwerp*, 390.

Antwerp, the Inhabitants of it oppoſe the *Inquiſition*, *P.* 89. And the Placards of *Philip*, 108. The Opinion of the Council about compoſing the Differences, 176. Tumults there, 246, 358. The *Reformed* there ſend Deputies to *Amſterdam* to complain of their Compliance with the *Lutherans*, 216. The Magiſtrates ſue for the releaſe of ſome Priſoners, 265. A General Pardon publiſhed there, 289. The *Spaniſh* Fury there, 325. The *Reformed* obtain Places for Publick Worſhip, 344. The Clergy chaſed from thence, 358. A Proclamation publiſhed there, 359. The Inhabitants ſecure many of the Altar-pieces and Pictures, 378 The *Romiſh* Religion prohibited there, 382. The Papiſts there obliged to abjure the King, 389. The *Reformed* write to the Prince of *Parma*, 399. The City yielded to him, 400. A Certificate given by the Magiſtrates to the *Lutherans*, *ibid.*

Arenberg,

The *INDEX.*

Arentberg, Count of, aboliſhes preaching in *Freeſland*, *Page* 243.

Arention, John, Preaches to the *Reformed* at *Kampen* privately, 178. Preaches publickly at *Overveen*, 181. Preſents an Addreſs to the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, 182. Preaches near the City, 186. Declares for compliance with the *Lutherans*, 216. Diſputes with ſome Papiſts at *Harlem*, 239. His Death, 304.

Arnulf, Biſhop of *Orleance*, his Speech at the Council of *Rheims*, *Page* 6.

Artus, William, his Declaration before the Magiſtrates of *Mechlen*, *p.* 356. Gives advice for Peace, *ibid.*

Avoidance, as preached by the *Anabaptiſts*, *Page* 235.

B

Backer, John d', his Confeſſion and Martyrdom, *Page* 52.

Bakker, Eraſmus, choſe Miniſter of *Bukelen*, *Page* 379.

Baldwin, Franciſcus, writes in defence of Moderation, *Page* 145. Propoſed as a Mediator, 146.

Bardes, William, *Scout* of *Amſterdam*, a Plot againſt him diſcovered, *Page* 139.

Bergen-op-zoom, Marquis of, ſuſpected to be poiſoned, *Page* 258.

Battenburghers, their Riſe, *Page* 74.

Beza, his Opinion of *Gellius*, *Page* 442.

Bible diſregarded, *Page* 59. Part of it burnt by a Fryar, *ibid.*

Biſhopricks erected in the *Netherlands*, *Page* 133. The Jealouſies occaſioned by them, *ibid.* Oppoſed at *Antwerp*, 134.

Black, David, a *Scotch* Miniſter, his Seditious Preaching and Boldneſs, *Page* 456. Refuſes to anſwer in a Civil Court, *ibid.* Supported by the Clergy, 457.

Bois le Duc, deſerted by the *Reformed*, *Page* 252. An Inſurrection there, 361. A remarkable inſtance of Malice there, 390.

Books. The Original of Eccleſiaſtical Laws againſt Heretical ones, *Page* 292. King *Philip* orders an *Index* of prohibited ones, *ibid.* A Decree of the Council of *Trent* againſt them, 293. The manner of putting this Decree in Execution, *ibid.*

Brabant, Reformation there, *Page* 51. An Aſſembly of the States there, 225. A Petition of the *Reformed* to them, 226.

Breda, a Treaty for Peace there, *Page* 313. The Papiſts obtain a Church there, 437.

Brederode, Heer *van*, makes Intereſt for the Confederates, *Page* 179. Petitions the Governeſs, 243. Has recourſe to Arms, 245. Is aſſiſted by the *Reformed*, *ibid.* His aſſiſtance deſired at *Bois-le-Duc*, 246. Throws himſelf into *Amſterdam*, 247. Leaves it, 255.

Brownists, a Sect called ſo, come into the *Low-Countries* from *England*, *p.* 479. Publiſh XI Articles as Reaſons of their Separation, *ibid.*

Bruce, Robert, a *Scotch* Miniſter, ſtirs up the People to an Inſurrection, *Page* 457. Writes to the Lord *Hamilton*, *ibid.*

Bruges, a Tumult there, *Page* 360.

Brugman, comes to *Amſterdam*, *Page* 26. His remarkable Sermon, 28.

Bruſſels, An Aſſembly of Divines meet there, *Page* 154. Their Opinion about the Differences in Religion, *ibid.* A Tumult there, 345, 378. A Proclamation on account of the Tumult, 378.

Brutley, Peter, his comfortable Death, *Page* 83.

Bullinger, his Letter to *Peter Dathenus*, *Page* 288.

Bush, John, Rebukes the Lives of the Clergy, *Page* 25.

C

Cambden his Teſtimony of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Page* 423.

Canons publiſhed by the Prince of *Orange* and the *States*, *Page* 318.

Carlos, Don, Prince of *Spain*, dies in Priſon, *Page* 270.

Caſſander propoſed for Mediator in the Diſputes about Religion, *Page* 146. His Death and Epitaph, 160.

Caſtile, the *Admiral* of, expells the *Reformed* from *Cleves*, *Page* 477.

Charles, Archduke of *Auſtria*, his Birth, *Page* 35. Choſen Emperor, 39. Appoints Perſons to enquire into Religious Matters, 42. Reſigns his Crown, 106. Retires to a Monaſtery, 107. An Account of his Death, 121.

Charles, Duke of *Burgundy*, Taxes the Clergy, *Page* 30. Sends Perſons to demand the ſaid Tax, 31. His Death, *ibid.*

Chimay, the Prince of, declared *Stadtholder* of *Flanders*, *Page* 395. His Hypocriſy, *ibid.*

Clergy, *Romiſh*, their Pomp, *Page* 14. The number of Witneſſes required for their Conviction, *ibid.* The Form of a Curſe uſed by them, 15. The Clergy of *Horn* forbidden to purchaſe Lands, 34.

Cleves, William, Duke of, acts againſt his Conſcience, and is deprived of his Senſes, *Page* 440.

Cologn, a Treaty of Peace there, *Page* 366. The Elector of it deſires to marry and retain his Archbiſhoprick, 391. Tolerates the *Lutherans*, *ibid.*

Concord, the Book of, a Diſpute occaſioned by it, *Page* 364. A Letter to the Compoſers of it, *ibid.*

Confederacy againſt the *Inquiſition*, *Page* 162. The *Confederates* enter *Bruſſels*, 165. Petition the Governeſs, *ibid.* Meet at *St. Truy*, near *Liege*, 188. Anſwer the Repreſentation of the Governeſs, 189. The King's Reſolution about them, 190. A Difference amongſt them, 222. Petition the Governeſs, 243.

Confeſſion of Faith publiſhed, *Page* 143. Reprinted and preſented to the King, 158.

Confeſſor of the Emperor *Charles*, impriſoned by the *Inquiſition*, *Page* 121.

Conrade, Biſhop of *Utrecht*, his Speech againſt the Pope, *Page* 7. He is Murdered, *ibid.*

Conſiſtory, the Magiſtrates of *Enkhuiſen* appoints two of their Body to be preſent in it, *Page* 430. A Diſpute concerning the Authority of it, in oppoſition to the Civil Magiſtrate, 431.

Corranus, Antonius, his Letter to the *Lutherans* at *Antwerp*, *Page* 239.

Corneliſon, Peter, his Quarrel with *Jaſper Koolhaes* at *Leyden*, *Page* 367.

Corneliſon, William, his Bones taken up and burnt, *Page* 17.

Council at *Rheims* oppoſe the *Pope*, *Page* 6. At *Worms* accuſe *Hildebrand*, 7. Of *Tumults* erected by *Alva*, 260. Called the *Bloody Tribunal*, 261. Oppoſed by the Magiſtrates of *Leyden*, 277. The Sentence againſt the *Reformed* at *Utrecht*, 289. Of *Trent*; its Decrees impoſed on the Clergy of *Utrecht*, 366.

Courtray, an inſtance of Cruelty there, *Page* 371.

Cruelty of the *Spaniards*. *p.* 303, 306, 312, 314, 325, 400. Towards the *Papiſts* in *North-Holland*, 315.

Cuſa, Cardinal, comes into the *Low-Countries*, *Page* 24. Endeavours to reform the Clergy, *ibid.* Preaches up Indulgences, 25.

D

Dathenus, Peter, his Zeal againſt *Eraſmus* and *Bullinger*, *Page* 288. Raiſes a Tumult at *Gant* by a ſeditious Sermon, 342. Retires to the *Palatinate*, 362. Writes to the Prince of *Orange*, *ibid.* Taken Priſoner, 397. His Adventures and Death, *ibid.*

Declinatorium, an Inſtrument ſigned by the *Scotch* Clergy, *Page* 457.

Deputation from the Clergy of the *Low-Countries* to the Queen of *England*, *Page* 425. Their Conference with Mr. *La Fontaine*, Miniſter of the *Savoy*, *ibid.* Some account of their Inſtructions, *ibid.* Their Conference with Secretary *Walſingham*, 426. Their *Memorial* to the *Queen*, *ibid.* Have Audience of her Majeſty, 427. The Queen's Anſwer to their Memorial, *ibid.*

Deventer, the Town of, delivered to the *Spaniards*, *Page* 408.

Dort, City of, the Capitulation of it, *Page* 297. The *Reformed* Religion introduced there, *ibid.* An Aſſembly of the States there, 298. The firſt Provincial *Synod* there, 311. The firſt National *Synod* there, 339. A Synod of *South-Holland* there, 436. Their Remonſtrance and Petition to the States, 437.

Douay, a Seminary founded there, *Page* 376.

Dovehouſe, Hubert, his Original, *p.* 346. Choſen Paſtor at *Rotterdam*, *ibid.* Suſpected of Hereſy, 347. Flies to *Cologn*, *ibid.* Made Paſtor of St. *James*'s in *Utrecht*, and oppoſes Popery, *ibid.* Petitions the Magiſtrates of *Utrecht*, 348. Deſires his Diſmiſſion, *ibid.* Is recalled, *ibid.* His Method of Reformation, 349. His Conference with three *Reformed* Miniſters, 350. Deſires to be diſcharged, 370. His Death at *Utrecht*, 378.

Edict againſt the *Lutherans* at *Bruſſels*, *Page* 59.

Edinburgh, a Tumult there, *Page* 457.

Egmont, Count of, goes to *Spain*, *Page* 150. Returns without effecting any thing, 151. Declares the King's Anſwer to his Remonſtrance, 152. Is diſcontented, 153. Refuſes to ſerve againſt the *Confederates*, 165. Is Beheaded, 267.

The *INDEX.*

Elizabeth, Queen of *England*, ſends the Earl of *Leiceſter* into the *Low-Countries*, *Page* 403. The Clergy of *Freeſland*'s Petition to her, 409. A Deputation from the Clergy of the *Low-Countries* to her, 425. Her Anſwer to their *Memorial*, 427. Exhorts the States to Peace, and to accept the *Archduke* for Governour, 476.

Enkhuiſen, the Magiſtrates appoint two of their Body to aſſiſt at every Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly, *Page* 430. A Synod of *North-Holland* there, 439.

Eraſmus, his Birth, *Page* 29. His Character by *Grotius*, 30. Writes againſt the Monks, 36. His Opinion of *Luther*, 37. Oppoſed by the Monks, 38. His Opinion about putting Hereticks to Death, 46. Invited to *Rome* by Pope *Adrian*, 48. His Advice to *Adrian*, 49. Writes againſt *Luther*, 55. His Letter to *Eaſt-Freeſland* about Schiſm, 58. His Obſervations about Reformation, 70. Declares for mutual Toleration, and againſt multiplying Articles of Faith, 73. What hindered him from being a *Lutheran*, *ibid.* His Death, 74.

F

Family of Love, a Sect of *Anabaptiſts* called ſo, *Page* 105.

Frederick III. Elector Palatine, his Conference with the Heer *vander Mijle*, *Page* 307. His Exhortation to his Sons in his Will, 330. His Death, *ibid.*

Freeſland, the Miniſters there offer the Sovereignty to the Queen of *England*, *Page* 409. The Petition of the *Synod* there to her, *ibid.* The Clergy there oppreſſed by the *Anabaptiſts*, 474.

Freeſlanders, A Sect of *Anabaptiſts*, their Riſe, *Page* 228. Strange Confuſions occaſioned by their Differences with the *Flemings*, 229. *&* *Seq.* A Convention of them at *Horn*, 234. Excommunicated by the *Flemings*, 235. And by thoſe of *Utrecht*, *ibid.* The Effects of theſe Excommunications, 236. A Peace concluded between them and the *Flemings*, called the *Homſter-Peace*, 312. A Schiſm amongſt them, 336. A Peace concluded between them and the *German Anabaptiſts*, *ibid.*

Freethinkers, *Anabaptiſts* called ſo, *Page* 106.

Flemings, a Sect of *Anabaptiſts*, *Page* 228. Strange Confuſions occaſioned by their difference with the *Freeſlanders*, 229. An Aſſembly of them at *Embden*, 334. A Schiſm amongſt them, 336.

Fogelſang Gooſen Michelſon, accuſed of Hereſy and Excommunicated at *Amſterdam*, *Page* 461. Seized and impriſoned, 463. His Confeſſion before the Judges, 468. Is baniſhed, 471. Recants, 474. His Letter to the Bayliff of *Kennermerland*, *ibid.*

Folkartſon, Andrew, the Opinion of the Synod at *Horn* concerning him, *Page* 407.

Freyars, Franciſcan, quit *Utrecht*, *Page* 338. Several burnt for Sodomy, *ibid.* Sent away from *Leeuwarden*, 371.

G

Gant, Reformation there, *Page* 3. Tumult there about *Image-Worſhip*, 4. The *Pacification* there, 326. Which is thought advantageous to the *Papiſts*, 327. A Tumult raiſed there by a Sermon of *Peter Dathenus*, 342. Several Perſons hanged there, 353. They are aſſiſted by Duke *John Caſimir*, 354. Endeavours to bring them to reaſon, *ibid.* Another Tumult, *ibid*, 358. Troubles there, 361. Surrendered to the *Spaniards*, 397.

Gabriel, Peter, Preaches amongſt the *Reformed*, *Page* 180.

Geeling, John van, conſpires againſt *Amſterdam*, *Page* 67. Put to Death, 68.

George, David, his Attempts to unite the *Anabaptiſts*, *Page* 74. Placard againſt him, 75. An Account of him, *ibid.* His Tenets, 76.

Gerard Balthaſar, kills the Prince of *Orange*, *Page* 396. Confirmed in his Reſolution by a *Jeſuit* and *Franciſcan*, *ibid.* His Hypocriſy, 397. Eſteemed as a Martyr, *ibid.*

Gnaphaeus, his Writings and Sufferings.

Government, Church, an Account of it, as eſtabliſhed by the *Synod* at the *Hague*, *Page* 405. Confirmed by *Leiceſter*, 407. Miniſters that refuſed to ſubſcribe to it, deprived, *ibid.* A Scheme for it drawn up by order of the States of *Holland*, 438. Oppoſed by ſome Cities, and by the Clergy, *ibid.* An Account of it as to the Choice of *Miniſters*, *Elders* and *Deacons*, *ibid.* Introduced by the States of *Zeland*, 439.

Gueres, or Gueſes, Confederates againſt the Inquiſition called ſo, *Page* 167.

Guido, Biſhop, refuſes a Cardinal's Hat, *Page* 17.

Gunther, Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, his Letter to Pope *Nicolas* I. *Page* 5.

Grapheus, Cornelius, his Troubles, *Page* 42. His Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Palermo*, *ibid.*

Granville, Anthony Perronet, made Archbiſhop of *Mechelen*, *Page* 133. Has a Cardinal's Hat, *ibid.* Puſhes on the Perſecution, 144. Diſcontents againſt him, 145. Oppoſed by the Prince of *Orange*, *&c.* and recalled, *ibid.*

Gregory III. Pope, introduces the New Stile, *Page* 389.

Groningen ſecured for the King by the Count of *Rennenberg*, *Page* 372. The Tumults occaſioned by it, *ibid.*

Grubel, John, Dean of *Weſt-Freeſland*, his Letter to the *Scout* of *Horn*, *Page* 148.

H

Hague, a National Synod there, *Page* 405. The Church-Government eſtabliſhed by it, *ibid.* The Diſpute with *Herberts*, *ibid.* The Deciſion of *Koolhaes* Caſe, 406.

Harman of *Groningen*, his Blaſphemy, *Page* 67.

Harlem, the Council of it inclined to the *Spaniards*, *Page* 301. The Magiſtracy changed, *ibid.* The Town beſieged and ſurrendered, 303. The Cruelty of the *Spaniards* there, *ibid.* A Tumult there, 339. The *Papiſts* Petition the Prince of *Orange*, 377. The *Romiſh* Religion prohibited there, *ibid.* A remarkable Declaration of one of the Magiſtrates, 378. A *Synod* there, 428.

Henry of *Gant* writes againſt the *Papacy*, *Page* 11.

Henry IV. Emperor, dies at *Liege* and is not ſuffered to be buried, *Page* 10.

Henry VII. Emperor, poiſoned by a Monk, *Page* 18.

Herberts, Herman, Miniſter at *Dort*, ſuſpected of *Heteredoxy*, *Page* 392. Removes to *Gouda*, *ibid.* His Diſputes at the *Synod* at the *Hague*, 405.

Helmichius, Werner, writes againſt the *Placards* at *Utrecht*, *Page* 433.

Hereticks (ſo called) burnt at *Utrecht*, *Page* 11. (See Martyrdom, Perſecution.) The Form of the Sentence pronounced againſt them, 122. Great Rewards promiſed for diſcovering them, 126. By what means the chiefeſt Hereſies have been extirpated, 218.

Holland, the Count of, his Letter to other Governments, *Page* 79.

Holland, Province of, the publick Meetings of the *Reformed* there, *Page* 179. The *Reformed* Religion, according to the practice of *Geneva*, introduced there, 308. An Union betwixt it and *Zeland*, 316.

Holland, States of, a remarkable Expreſſion of theirs concerning the forcing Conſcience, *Page* 305. Their Letter to other Provinces, *ibid.* Their Addreſs to the King, *ibid.* Their Reſolutions againſt the *Papiſts*, 307 They permit the *Romaniſts* to worſhip in private Houſes, 308. What they underſtood by the word *Reformation*, 309. Their Moderation, *ibid.* What Authority they claimed in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, 313. They make Eccleſiaſtical Laws, 319. The Reaſon of them, 322. Their Letter to *Amſterdam* about the *Pacification of Gant*, 327 Agree on an Oath to be taken by ſuch Exiles as returned upon it, *ibid.* Endeavour to compoſe the Differences amongſt the *Reformed* at *Leyden*, 367. Forbid the *Papiſts* the exerciſe of their Religion, 377. A Petition of the Clergy to them, 387. Their Anſwer and the Explanation of it, *ibid.* Order a Scheme for Eccleſiaſtical Government, 388. The Preamble to it, *ibid.* Send a Deputation to the *Prince* of *Orange*, 391. Refer *Koornhert*'s Book to a Miniſter at *Leyden*, 394. Summon *Koornhert* and the Miniſters to the *Hague*, *ibid.* Their Reſolution on the point of *Church Government*, 408. Agree that *Prince Maurice* ſhould act as *Stadtholder*, 409. A Repreſentation of the Miniſters to them, 416. Their Anſwer, 417. Send two Commiſſioners to ſuperintend the Synod at *Dort*, 436. The Inſtructions to them, *ibid.* Send two Commiſſioners to the Synod at *Enkhuiſen*, 438. Their Declaration with reſpect to Church Affairs, *ibid.* Forbid the Youth to Study in *Spaniſh* Univerſities, *ibid.* Permit the Clergy to hold a Synod on certain Conditions, 458.

Homſter Peace, an Agreement between the *Flemings* and *Freeſlanders* called ſo, 312. Broken by the *Flemings*, 334.

Hooft, Cornelius Peterſon, preſents a Memorial to the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, 463. His Speech to them againſt Perſecution, 468.

Horn,

The *INDEX.*

Horn, The Clergy of it forbidden to purchase Lands, 34. The Moderation of the Magistrates, 264. The Great Church there granted to the *Reformed*, 297. A dispute about calling a Minister, 317. A Treaty for Peace between the Anabaptists there, 335. A Tumult there, 422. A Synod there 437.

Hussites, Their Rise 18. Defend their Religion by Arms, *ibid.* A Crusado against them, *ibid.* Persecuted at *Doway*, *ibid.*

James VI. King of *Scotland*, remarkable Words of his in relation to the *Reformation* in *Scotland*, *Page* 454. His Answer to a Preacher in the Church, 455. His Answer to the Propositions of the Clergy, 456. His mild and pertinent Answer to a bold Minister, *ibid.* Calls a Parliament at *Perth*, 458. Comes to an Accommodation with the Clergy, *ibid.*

Jansenius, Cornelius, Bishop of *Gant*, dies, *Page* 328.

Jesuits, an account of their Institution, *Page* 440.

Images, Tumults raised to destroy them, *Page* 191. A Description of the Tumults at *St. Omers*, *Ypres*, *Antwerp*, *&c.* 192. *&seq.* They are disapproved by the Generality of Protestants, 194. Tumults to destroy them at *Bois le Duc*, *&c.* 197. Removed at the *Hague*, *Delft*, *Leyden*, and the *Brill*, 201. Destroyed in *Zeland* and *Utrecht*, *&c.* 202, 372. Tumults at *Mechlen*, *Tournay*, *&c.* 207. At *Bois le Duc*, 245. At *Ter Veer*, 297. At *Zutphen* and *Hattem*, 362.

Image-breakers, See *Images*. The *Spanish* Party gain by them, *Page* 222.

Imbyse, his Arbitrary Carriage at *Gant*, *Page* 361. Retires into the *Palatinate*, 362. Beheaded at *Gant*, 397.

Indulgences, the Abuse of them, *Page* 24. The Price of them fixed, *ibid.*

Inquisition, its Rise, *Page* 13. The Description of it, 88. Complaints against it, 156. The Remonstrance of the Cities of *Flanders* against it, 157. Books printed against it, 158. A *Confederacy* formed against it, 162.

Inquisitors, an Artifice of them, 107. A Story of a zealous one, 127. Their Demands of the Council of *Flanders*, 156. Their Sentence against the *Netherlands*, 266.

John, Don, received as *Stadtholder* in some Provinces of the *Netherlands*, *Page* 332. Declared an Enemy to the Country, 333. The Pope grants a Bull in favour of him, *ibid.*

Johannes Erasmus publishes a Book concerning Antichrist, *Page* 399.

Judge, a remarkable Judgment on a cruel one, *Page* 253.

Junius, Franciscus, opposes the *Inquisition*, *Page* 163. His Courage and Resolution, *ibid.* Escapes the Stratagem of his Enemies, 170. His Opinion about publick Preaching, 171. ——— about *Image-breaking*, 198. An Account of his Troubles, 208. Goes to the Province of *Limburg* and preaches there, 223. The odd Conceptions some had of him, 225. Challenged to a Dispute, 252. Concludes an Accommodation with *Uitenbogart*, 446. His Letter to *Ursinus*, 447. Endeavours to perswade the Magistrates of *Utrecht* to alter their *Ecclesiastical Laws*, *ibid.* Writes an *Exhortation to Peace*, *ibid.* His Advice to the *Puritans*, 480.

Justice, Officers of, a remarkable Discourse between an old Man and some of them, *Page* 92.

Kampen, a Tumult there, *Page* 363.
Kampin, John van, executed, *Page* 68.
Kempis, Tho. a, his Character and Works, *Page* 29.
Keulen, Peter van, excommunicated by the *Flemings*, *Page* 334.
Koolhaes, Jasper, Minister at *Leyden*, his Quarrel with *Cornelison*, *Page* 367. Publishes his Defence, 369. Condemned by the *Synod* at *Midelburg*, 382. Excommunicated by the *Synod* at *Harlem*, 388. His Case decided by the *Synod* at the *Hague*, 406.
Koornhert, Richard, his Dispute with two Ministers at *Leyden*, *Page* 336. His Representation to the *States*, 337. Draws up an Apology for the Magistrates of *Leyden*, 368. Writes against the *Netherland Catechism*, 393. The Dedication of his Book to the States of *Holland*, *ibid.* His dispute with *Adrianus Saravia*, 394. Obliged to depart from *Delft*, 430. Publishes an Apology, *ibid.* Writes to the Synod at *Gouda*, 431. Opposes *Lipsius*'s Defence of putting Hereticks to Death, 435. His Death, *ibid.*

Leicester, *Robert Dudley* Earl of, sent into the *Low-Countries* by the *Queen of England*, 403. Received as Governour of the *United Provinces*, *ibid.* His Esteem amongst the People, *ibid.* Set against the States, 404. Is assisted by the Clergy, *ibid.* Encourages the *Consistory* at *Utrecht*, *ibid.* Calls a National Synod at the *Hague*, 405. Confirms the Draught of Church Government, 407. Writes to the Clergy of *Gorkum*, *ibid.* Presses the receiving the Scheme for Church Government, 408. The Interest made at *Amsterdam* in favour of him, 410. His Letter to the Ministers of *South Holland*, 413. The Propositions of the Clergy to him, 414. He attempts to seize several Places, 415. Returns to *England*, 422.
Leige, Clergy of, Excommunicated by *Paschal*, *p.* 8. Their Letter, *ibid.*
Lent, a point of Law about keeping it, *p.* 54.
Leyden, John of, possesses *Munster*, *Page* 63. Taken and executed, 68.
Leyden attempted to be burnt by the *Anabaptists*, *Page* 65. Invested by the *Spaniards*, 310. Paper Money used there, *ibid.* The Notion of the Ministers upon it, *ibid.* An University founded there, 312. Quarrels amongst the *Reformed* there, 366, The Magistrates publish an Apology, 367. The Ministers answer it, 370. An Agreement made, *ibid.* The Magistrates support *Koolhaes*, 382. Great Discontents there, *ibid.* A Remonstrance there against the Synod of *Midelburg*, 384. A Conspiracy there, 418. An Account of the Grievances of the Conspirators, 419. A further Account of the carrying on of the Plot, 420. The Discovery, 421.
Lipsius his Judgment of the Quarrel at *Leyden*, *Page* 370. Writes in defence of putting Hereticks to death, 435. Is opposed by *Koornhert*, *ibid.* Retires to *Brabant* and turns *Papist*, *ibid.* His opinion of *Koornhert*, 436.
Lodowick, William, Stadtholder of *Freesland*, his Letter to the Classis of *Sneek*, *Page* 410.
Louvain, a Seminary founded there, *Page* 376.
Luther, his Rise, *Page* 37. His Proceeding in the *Reformation*, 39. Goes to *Worms*, 40. The first Placard against him, *ibid.* Writes against *Erasmus*, 55.
Lutheran Soldiers tolerated by the Emperor, *Page* 95. A Dispute between the *Lutherans* and the *Calvinists* at *Antwerp*, 239. A Letter of *Ant. Coranus* to them, *ibid.* Some Troubles occasioned by them at *Woerden*, 374. A *Lutheran* Minister censures the Abjuration of the King, 383. A Certificate given them by the Magistrates of *Antwerp*, 400.

Mande, Henry, a Monk of *Windesheim*, cheats the People, *Page* 22. His Imposture discovered by *John de Wit*, *ibid.*
Margaret of *Austria*, her Letter to the Monasteries in *Holland*, 54. Her Death, 59.
Margaret, Duchess of *Parma*, made Governess of the *Low-Countries*, 131. Holds a Council on the Report of a Confederacy, 164. Her Answer to the Petition of the Confederates, 166. Endeavours to separate their Meetings, 188. Makes an Agreement with them, 204. Does not observe it, 205. Orders *Valenciennes* to be besieged, 242. Her Answer to another Petition of the *Confederates*, 243. Draws up and imposes a new Oath, 244. Her Answer to the Offers of the *Emperor* for a Mediation, 254. Her Representation to the King, 260. Publishes a *Placard* to prevent the Flight of the *Reformed*, *ibid.* Is discharged from the Government, 261.
Mary, Dowager of *Hungary*, made Governess of the *Low-Countries*, *Page* 59. Some account of her Character, *ibid.* Her Letter to the States of *Over-Yssel*, 61. And to the Courts of Justice in *Holland*, *ibid.* Goes to *Ausburg* to represent the Evil of the Inquisition, 90. Obtains a qualifying Placard, *ibid.*
Martyrdom of *Nicolas*, a Layman at *Antwerp*, *Page* 51. *John de Backer* at the *Hague*, 52. A Widow of *Monikedam*, 56. A young Man at the *Hague*, 58 *Isbrand Schol* at *Brussels*, 61. Several Persons, 84. *Jacob Lisewelt*, 85. *Robert Oguar* and his Sons, 109. *Charles Regius* at *Brussels*, 110. *Angelus Merula*, 111. *Christian d' Queker*, *Jacob Diensart* and *Joan Konings*, 135. *John Herewiin*, 136. *John d' Crens*, *ibid.* A blind Man, 141. *Christopher Fabricius*, 146. *John Cornelius Winter*, 169. Four Priests at the *Hague*, 286. *Peter Papis* by order of Don *John*, 334. Two Ministers in *Flanders*, 395. Two Ministers at *Dendermond*, 397. *John Cateau* at *Ypres*, 453.

The *INDEX.*

Anna Vanden Hore at *Bruſſels*, 459. A Miniſter at *Deventer*, 478. *Arnold Marr* at *Sevil*, *ibid.*

Matheus Glabo, a Monk, writes againſt the Clergy, *Page* 19. Tried at *Conſtance* and retracts, *ibid.*

Matheus, a *Lollard*, his Bones burnt, *Page* 17.

Mathias, *Archduke*, declared Governour of the *Netherlands*, 333.

Maximilian, his Attempt to unite the Imperial and Papal Crowns, *Page* 36. His Death and Character. 39.

Maximilian II. his Letter to *Lazarus Schwend*, *Page* 328. His Death and Character, *ibid.*

Mecklen, the Magiſtrates endeavour to hinder the Reformation there, *Page* 242. A *Synod* there, 288.

Medals, the Occaſion of conſecrated ones, *p.* 167.

Medenblik, A Diſpute there with *Tako Sybrantz*, *Page*, 451. The Magiſtrates of it write to the States, *ibid*

Meetkerke, Adolf van, an Account of his Admiſſion to the Sacrament, *Page* 376.

Megen, Count of, Chaſes the *Preachers* out of *Gelderland*, *Page* 243. Secures *Utrecht*, 246.

Meletius, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, his Letter to *Janus Douſa*, *Page*. 475.

Mels, the Paſtor of it, preaches againſt *Popery*, *Page* 51.

Memorial, of the Reformed Clergy in oppoſition to *Koornhert*, *Page* 394. Of the Clergy in the *Low-Countries* to the Queen of *England*, 426. Of the Conſiſtory at *Amſterdam* concerning *Fogartſon*, 462. Of *Cornelius Peterſon Hooft*, Burgomaſter of *Amſterdam*, 463

Menno, the Chief of a Sect amongſt the *Anabaptiſts*, *Page* 78. Attempts to unite them, 101. Joins with the violent Party againſt the *Franekerians*, 102. The Uſe of Re-baptization amongſt his Followers, *ibid.* Excommunicates a Congregation at *Wiſmar*, 104. His Death and Character, *ibid.*

Merula, Angelus, the Story of him, *Page* 111.

Middelburg, Canons there deprived for Immorality, *Page* 11. The Synod there condemns *Koolhaes*, 382. The Clergy aſſembled there, publiſh an Anſwer to the Remonſtrance of *Leyden*, 385.

Modet, Herman, ſent into *England*, *Page* 410.

Monks, their Wickedneſs complained of, *Page* 20, 21, 25. *Franciſcans* come to *Amſterdam*, 26. Of *Bruges*, expelled, 34. Written againſt by *Eraſmus*, 36. Two Monks of St. *Auſtin* burnt, 45. They change with the Times, 331. Are driven out of *Gant*, 338.

Mons, the Marquis of, ſent to *Spain*, *Page* 167.

Montigny, Baron of, ſent to *Spain*, *Page* 143. Returns with a favourable Anſwer, *ibid.* Sent the ſecond Time, and never returns, 167.

Muncer, Thomas, Leader of a Sect of *Anabaptiſts*, *Page* 62.

Munſter, Tumults there, *Page* 62. The Enthuſiaſts make themſelves Maſter of it, and plunder it, 63. Recovered by the *Biſhop*'s Army, 68. The new King of it put to Death, 85. The Enthuſiaſts endeavour to raiſe freſh Diſturbances there, 373.

Nassau, John, *Count* of, his Zeal for the *Reformed* in *Gelderland*, *Page* 351.

Nassau, Lewis, *Count* of, adviſes the *Reformed* to Union amongſt themſelves, *Page* 223. Gains a Victory over the *Spaniards* at *Heiligerlee*, 267. Is defeated by *Alva* at *Jemmingen*, 268.

Nassau, Maurice, *Count* of, made *Stadtholder* of *Holland* and *Zeeland*, *Page* 403. Propounds a Queſtion to the Miniſters, 423. Their Anſwer, *ibid.* Choſe *Stadtholder* of *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Zutphen*, 434. Agrees on Conditions with reſpect to Religion, *ibid.* Refuſes to let the *Jeſuits* remain in the Duchy of *Cleeves*, 440. Aſſaſſins hired to murder him, 452. A Villain that was hired to murder him, taken and executed, 476.

Netherlands, A terrible Inundation there, *p.* 289.

Netherlands, States of, prohibit ſeditious Sermons, *Page* 337. Require an Oath of the Clergy, 338. Their Letter to the States of *Artois*, 357. Their Propoſal to the King, with reſpect to Religion, 366. The King's Conceſſion to them, *ibid.* A Petition of the Miniſters to them, 381. Their Anſwer, *ibid.* Declare the King of *Spain* to have forfeited his Right to the *Low-Countries*, 383. Annul the Agreement of *Amſterdam*, *ibid.* Offer the Sovereignty to the King of *France*, 401. And to the Queen of *England*, 402. A Declaration concerning the Remonſtrance ſent to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, 414. The Repreſentation of the *Synod* at the *Hague* to them, 446. Reject the Treaty for Peace propoſed by the *Spaniards*, 452. The Clergy petition them for a National *Synod*, 458. Which is oppoſed by ſeveral Provinces, 459.

Nicolas I. Pope, his Ambition and Partiality, *Page* 5.

Nicolas, Henry, Head of a Sect of *Anabaptiſts*, *Page* 105.

Nicolas, a *Layman*, drowned at *Antwerp*, *Page* 51.

Nieuwenaer, Count of, endeavours to ſecure *Nimeguen*, *Page* 400. His Zeal at *Utrecht*, 401.

Nimeguen, an Inſurrection of the Papiſts there, *Page* 400.

Novices, A Teſt put to them, *Page* 25.

Nuns, Some of them leave their Nunnerys, and marry, *Page* 51.

Oath, a new one impoſed by the Regent, *Page* 244.

Ogena Lieven, his Contrivance to deſtroy the Image as *Gant*, *Page* 108.

Ophoozen, John van, an *Anabaptiſt* Teacher, a ſtrange Whimſy of his, *Page* 335.

Oquerr, Robert, of *Liſle*, his diſcreet Behaviour and Martyrdom *Page* 108.

Orange, William, I. Prince of, oppoſes the Cardinal *d'Granville*, *Page* 145. Encourages *Fr Baldwinus* to write for Moderation, *ibid.* Favours the Reformation, 149. His Opinion of the State of Affairs, 155. Seconded by the Cities of *Brabant*, *ibid.* His Speech in the Council, 164. Arrives at *Antwerp*, 175. Made Governor of it, 176 Agrees with the Proteſtants of *Antwerp*. 205. Makes his Defence to the *Regent*, 206. Diſcovers the evil Deſigns of the Government, 216. Sends his Advice in Writing to the King, 217. His Actions in *Holland* and *Utrecht*, 225. His Conduct at *Amſterdam*, 237. Refuſes to take the new Oath, 244. Reſtores Peace to *Holland* and *Zeland*, 245. Refuſes a Preſent offered him by the States, *ibid.* Appeaſes a Tumult at *Antwerp*, 247. Offers to lay down his Offices, 253. Is looked upon by the *Reformed* as their Protector, *ibid.* Adviſes them to unite with the *Lutherans*, *ibid.* Retires to *Germany*, 254. Is cited to return, 262. Begins the War againſt *Spain*, 266. His Declaration, 276. Gives Commiſſions to the *Water-Gueuxes*, 285. Raiſes a Fund for carrying on the War, *ibid.* Several Cities embrace his Party, 296. Endeavours to maintain the *Romaniſts* in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, 298, 362. Is obliged to retreat, and disband his Army, 299. His Letter on the Surrender of *Harlem*, 304. What Sort of a Reformation he and the States deſired, 309. His Offers to the States of *Brabant* and *Utrecht*, 317. Publiſhes Eccleſiaſtical Laws, 319. and the Reaſons of them, 322. Several Cities declare for him, on Condition he would tolerate the *Papiſts*, 330. Grants a Protection to the *Anabaptiſts* at *Midelburgh*, *ibid.* His Opinion of the *Anabaptiſts*, 332. Goes to *Bruſſels*, 333. His Letter to the Inhabitants of *Midelburgh*, 343. Introduces a Sort of religious Peace at *Gant*, 354. His Repreſentation to the City of *Antwerp*, 358. Changes the Magiſtrates of *Gant*, 362. Offends ſome Miniſters of *Utrecht*, by hearing *Dovehouſe* preach, 371. Decides the Differences at *Utrecht*, 373. Publiſhes an Apology on Account of the *Ban* againſt him, 376. The *Papiſts* at *Harlem* preſent a Petition to him, which he refers to the States, 377. Accepts the Offer of Chief Governor of *Holland*, 382. The Conditions agreed to, *ibid.* Wounded at *Antwerp*, 386. The Warning given him by *Aggæus Albada*, *ibid.* Is about to be choſen Count of *Holland*, 396. Is ſhot, *ibid.* The Conſequences of his Death, *ibid.* His Character, *ibid.*

Ordeal, the Uſe of it, *Page* 13.

Overveen, publick Preaching appointed there, *Page* 180.

Pacification of *Gant*, *Page* 326.

Parma, Prince of, takes *Dendermond*, *Page* 397. Cauſes two Miniſters to be murdered there, *ibid.* His Anſwer to the *Reformed* at *Antwerp*, 399. Endeavours to have the free Exerciſe of both Religions, 401.

Paſchall II. Pope, his Letter to the Count of *Flanders*, *Page* 8. Oppoſes the Emperor, *ibid.* Stirs up *Henry V.* againſt his Father the Emperor, 10.

Perſecution of the *Anabaptiſts* by the *Zuinglians*, *Page* 57, 58. In *Freeſland*, 85. *Flanders*, *ibid*, 144. *Oſtend*, 86. *Amſterdam*, *ibid.* 271, 301. At *Leeuwarden*, 86.

The *INDEX.*

In *Hainalt*, *Page* 86. At *Valenciennes*, 91. In ſeveral Places, 108. At *Furnes*, &c. 135, & ſeq. The Progreſs of it, 158. At *Liſle*, &c. 168. Encreaſes, 257, 261, 262. In *Holland*, 270. Very terrible, 291. Of the *Romaniſts* in *Weſt Freeſland*, 391.

Perſecution, occaſions great Murmurings, *Page* 154. The ill Conſequences of it, 469. Some Conſiderations againſt it, *ibid.* Inconſiſtent with the Doctrine of particular *Predeſtination*, 470. Once begun, eaſily ſpreads, 472.

Philip, Duke of *Burgundy*, his Order againſt the Clergy's purchaſing Lands, *Page* 23. Againſt harbouring Criminals in Church-yards, 26. His Death, 30.

Philip II. of *Spain*, Declared preſumptive Heir of the *Low-Countries*, *Page* 87. Renews the Emperor's Placard againſt Hereſy, 107. Reſolves to go to *Spain*, 131. Arrives there, 132. His Zeal againſt Hereticks, 133. Increaſes the Perſecution, 146. Orders the promulgating the Canons of the Council of *Trent*, 153. His Reſolution againſt Hereſy occaſions greater Diſturbances, 154. The Execution of his Orders oppoſed, 155. Sends new Orders by the Biſhop of *Bruges*, 156. His Anſwer to the Emperor's Repreſentation, 276. His Regulation, with reference to printed Books, 292. His Death, 477.

Philips, Richard, an *Anabaptiſt*, an Account of him, *Page* 232. Writes againſt the *Freeſlanders*, 233. Excommunicated by them, 234. Publiſhes a Declaration of the Diſputes amongſt the *Anabaptiſts*, 235.

Placard againſt receiving the *Pope's Bulls*, *Page* 34. Againſt *Proviſors*, *ibid.* The Firſt againſt *Luther*, 40. Againſt the Clergy's purchaſing Lands, 49. Concerning Nomination to Benefices, 50. Againſt *Lutheraniſm*, 55, 57. At *Bruſſels* about Books, *ibid.* About the Clergy, 59. Againſt *Anabaptiſts* at *Bruſſels*, 68. Againſt *Hereticks*, by the Emperor, 79. Againſt the Education of Children at *Weſel*, 81. Againſt *Heretical* Books, 82, 85. Againſt the ill Lives of the Clergy, *ibid.* Concerning Eſtates forfeited for *Hereſy*, 87. Againſt the new Chriſtians fled from *Portugal*, 88. Againſt *Hereſy*, *ibid.* Againſt ridiculing the Church by Drolls, 128. Againſt the Growth of *Hereſy*, 143. Againſt publick Meetings of *Proteſtants*, 173. To prohibit the meeting of the *Reformed*, 179. Againſt plundering Churches, 205. For regulating the Preſs, 287. By the Prince of *Orange*, permitting the free Exerciſe of Religion, 299. The firſt Placard againſt the *Romaniſts* in *Holland*, 383. Renewed, 399. Againſt the Univerſity of *Leyden*, 387. Againſt *Pilgrimages*, 414. At *Utrecht*, againſt *Fornication*, and *Popery*, 429. Againſt *Popiſh Superſtition*, 431. At *Utrecht*, againſt ſeparate Meetings, 433. Againſt the *Papiſts*, 453.

Popery, writ againſt by *John van Goch*, *Page* 33.

Preachers, chaſed out of *Gelderland* by the Count of *Megen*, *Page* 243. Chaſed away by the Inhabitants of *Maeſtricht*, 251. Leave *Antwerp*, 254.

Preachers of the Old and New Teſtament, the Miniſters of St. *James*'s in *Utrecht* ſtiled ſo, *Page* 380.

Preaching, hindered by the Magiſtrates of *Mechlen*, *Page* 242. Aboliſhed in *Freeſland*, 243. Diſcontinued in *Holland*, 255. Seditious, 408.

Predeſtination, *Calvin*'s Doctrine, oppoſed by ſome of *Holland*, *Page* 308. Treatiſes concerning it publiſhed by *Gellius Snecanus*, 441. The Confeſſion of *Clement Martenſon* and *Cornelius Meynertſon Spruit* relating to it, 450.

Printing, of Uſe towards the Reformation, *p.* 23.

Proteſtants ſee **Reformed**, the firſt publick Meetings of them, *Page* 170. The publick Preaching oppoſed, 171. Meet publickly near *Gant* and *Antwerp*, 172. Their publick Preaching forbidden by the Magiſtrates of *Antwerp*, 173. Their Petition to the ſaid Magiſtrates, *ibid.* A ſecond Petition, 174. The Magiſtrates refuſe to diſturb them, *ibid.* but uſe a Stratagem to divide them. Reſolve to preach within the City, 176. but are hindred, 177. They meet near *Bois le Duc*, *ibid.* And *Tournay*, &c. *ibid.* The firſt publick Meeting in *Holland*, 179. Diſapprove the Tumults for deſtroying Images, 194. Attempt to preach in the Churches, 195. which is allowed, 196. Addreſs the Magiſtrates of *Antwerp*, *ibid.* Build two Churches at *Antwerp*, 206. Preſent two Petitions to the King, 219. Seek Aſſiſtance in *Germany*, 222. Anſwer to the Advice of Count *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, 223. Have Places allowed them to preach at *Amſterdam*, 238. An Agreement with them at *Leyden*, *ibid.*

Proviſors, an Order againſt them, *Page* 22. A *Placard* againſt them, 34.

Puritans, a Sect called ſo, come into the *Low-Countries* from *England*, *Page* 479. Publiſh the Reaſon of their Separation, 479. The Advice of *Junius* to them, 480.

Quarrels, amongſt the *Reformed*, about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs at the *Hague*, *Page* 398. At *Medenblik*, *ibid.*

Reformation, Books written in Favour of it, *Page* 119. Promoted by the Poets, *&c.* 127. Books diſperſed in Favour of it, 169. The Opinion of the Council of *Spain* about it, 190. A ſtrange Accident promotes it at *Limburg*, 224. The different Apprehenſions of it, 309. Favoured by the Prince of *Orange* and the States, *ibid.* Hindered by the Heats of the Clergy, 466.

Reformed ſee **Proteſtant**, Miniſters ſettle in the Cities of *Holland* *Page* 187. A Party of the *Reformed* defeated, 242. Obliged to quit *Cambray*, *Haſſelt*, and *Maſeik*, 251. An Aſſembly of them in *Holland*, 255. Many of them leave *Amſterdam*, 256. Publiſh an Apology, 258. A Meeting of them at *Delft*, 271. Meetings of them in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, 339. Petition the Arch-Duke for the free Exerciſe of Religion, 341. A ſecond Petition, 341. Seize ſeveral Churches, 351. Some Miniſters maintain the Neceſſity of keeping Promiſes with the *Papiſts*, 363.

Religion, the free Exerciſe of it uſually attended with the Increaſe of Trade, *Page* 89, 149. Not eaſily extirpated by Force, 219.

Religious Peace, a Project for it, *Page* 341. Rejected at *Hainault*, 342. and at *Utrecht*, 348. Accepted at *Groningen* and *Lieuwarden*, 351. Rejected in *Gelderland*, *ibid.* A *Confederacy* to oppoſe it, 356. Publiſhed at *Antwerp*, 359. Proclaimed at *Groningen*, 360.

Rennenberg, Count of, quits the Service of the States, *Page* 372.

Requiens, Don *Lewis*, made Governor of the *Low-Countries*, *Page* 306. Publiſhes a general Pardon, 310.

Robert, a *Monk*, perſecutes the *Waldenſes*, *Page* 13.

Rudolphus Agricola, bewails the Corruptions of the Church, *Page* 33.

Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*, the Contentions amongſt Proteſtants about it, *Page* 55.

Saravia, Adrian, ſummoned, with other Miniſters, to the *Hague*, *Page* 410. The Preſident's Speech to them, 411. Their Anſwer, *ibid.* The Reply to it, 412. Writes a Letter in his own Vindication, 422.

Sabout, Adam, his Character, *Page* 94.

Scotland, Eccleſiaſtical Occurrences there, *Page* 454. The Preachers there oppoſe the Royal Authority, 455. Eccleſiaſtical Laws enacted by the Parliament, *ibid.* A Tumult raiſed there by Earl *Borhwell*, *ibid.* The Clergy there refuſe to anſwer in the King's Courts, 457.

Sigebert, writes in Defence of the Emperor, *Page* 10. and of married Prieſts, 11.

Snecanus Gellius publiſhes ſome Treatiſes concerning Predeſtination, *Page* 441. The Opinion of *Beza* concerning theſe Writings, 442.

Socinians, two come into *Holland*, *Page* 476. Their Books burnt, 477.

Sonnius Franciſcus, His Death, *Page* 328.

Sonoy, Diedrick, refuſes to ſubmit to Prince *Maurice*, *Page* 409. The Teſtimonial of ſome Miniſters in his Favour, *ibid.*

Spain, the Opinion of the Divines there about Liberty of Conſcience, *Page* 150.

States of Groningen and the Ommelands, their Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, *Page* 453.

States of Holland ſee **Holland**.

States of the Netherlands, ſee **Netherlands**.

Stork, Nicholas, Head of a Sect of *Anabaptiſts*, *Page* 61.

Sybrantz, Tako, choſen Miniſter of *Utrecht*, *Page* 379. Refuſes to yield to the *Conſiſtory*, 404. Leaves the Town, *ibid.* A Diſpute with him about Church-Government, 451. His Memorial to the States, *ibid.*

Synods of the *Reformed* in the *Low-Countries*, are holden by the *Exiles* at *Embden*, *Page* 294. Provincial Synod at *Dort*, 311. The firſt National Synod at *Dort*, 339. At *Midelburg*, 381. At *Harlem*, 388, 428. At *Amſterdam*, 391. National Synod at the *Hague*, 405. At *Sneek*, 409. At *Alkmaer*, 412. At *Gouda*, 431.

A Synod

The *INDEX.*

A Synod of *South-Holland* at *Dort*, *Page* 436. At *Horn*, 437. At *Enckuyſen*, 438. At the *Hague*, 446.

TAchelin, a Prieſt, preaches againſt the Papacy, *Page* 11. Is murthered, *ibid.*

Tapper, Inquiſitor-General, dies at *Bruſſels*, *Page* 129. An Account of him, *ibid.*

Templars, Knights, deſtroyed, *Page* 16.

Tergoes in *Zeland*, a Tumult there, *Page* 352.

Tetgaud, Archbiſhop of *Treves*, his Letter to *Nicolas* I. *Page* 5.

Timmerman, Herman, an *Anabaptiſt*, his Conference with a Monk about putting Hereticks to Death, *Page* 282. And about the *Trinity*, *ibid.*

Timmerman, John, a Monk, has the deſign of Aſſaſſinating the Prince of *Orange* diſcloſed to him in Confeſſion, which he approves, *Page* 386. But changes his Opinion, *ibid.*

Tindal, William, burnt at *Vilvorde*, *Page* 70.

Tollancer, Joost de, put to Death at *Gant*, *Page* 431. Exhorts the *Anabaptiſts* to Peace, *ibid.*

Torrentius, Levinus, Biſhop of *Antwerp*, his Moderation commended, *Page* 454.

Tumults, at *Valenciennes*, *Page* 137. At *Amſterdam*, 199, 212, 247. At *Antwerp*, 246, 358. At *Bois le Duc*, 197, 245. At *Bruges*, 360. At *Bruſſels*, 345, 378. At *Gant*, 4, 342, 354, 358. At *Harlem*, 339. To deſtroy Images, 191, 192, 194, 197, 201, 202, 207, 245, 297. At *Munſter*, 62. At *Kempen*, 363. At *Utrecht*, 372, 413. At *Horn*, 422.

VValenciennes, a Tumult there, *Page* 137. Beſieged, 242. Submits to the King's Troops, 250. The Governour and ſeveral others put to Death, *ibid.* The Perſecution there, 442.

Vander Mijle, Heer, his Repreſentation to the Miniſters at the *Hague*, *Page* 411.

Vander Mark, Count of, made the Prince's Lieutenant for *Holland*, *Page* 298. His Inſtructions, *ibid.* Sits down before *Amſterdam*, 299. His Hatred to the Monks, 300. Arreſted and permitted to leave the Country, 302.

Vaſſeur, Adrian, impriſoned at *Midelburg*, *Page* 431.

Vbbo, a Preacher amongſt the *Anabaptiſts*, accuſed by ſome of them, *Page* 229. Refuſes Advice to the *Freeſlanders*, *ibid.*

Velius, Juſtus, an account of his Enthuſiaſm, *Page* 355.

Villers, Peter, Miniſter at *Antwerp*, his Opinion about tolerating Popery at *Gant*, *Page* 376. His Letter to the Heer *Adrian vander Mijle* concerning the Admiſſion of *Adolf van Meetkerke* to the Sacrament, *ibid.* His Death and Character, 443. An Account of his Book to promote Unity amongſt Proteſtants, 444.

Vitenbogart, a Miniſter of *Utrecht*, attempts to compoſe the Differences there, *Page* 446. Concludes an Accommodation with *Junius*, *ibid.* Sent to make up the Differences between the Clergy and *Tako Sybrandtz*, 452.

Vnion of *Utrecht*, *Page* 356.

Vrſinus called to be Miniſter of *Utrecht*, *Page* 447.

Vtrecht, a Schiſm and Civil War there, *Page* 20. The Reſolution of the Magiſtrates there in favour of *Dovehouſe*, 348. They reject the Project for a Religious Peace, *ibid.* The *Reformed* ſeize the Church of the *Franciſcans*, 349. A raſh Action there, 357. A Tumult there, 360. An Agreement, *ibid.* The Magiſtrates Agreement with *Dovehouſe*, 370. A Tumult there, 372, 413. The difference compoſed by the Prince of *Orange*, 373. The exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion forbid there, 375. The Archbiſhop of it dies, 376. The Conference between *Dovehouſe*'s Congregation and the *Reformed* of the *Conſiſtory*, 379. The Magiſtrates write to the Prince of *Orange*, *ibid.* Agree to exclude the Clergy from the Aſſembly of the States, 387. The diſorders occaſioned by the Church-Laws eſtabliſhed by the Synod at the *Hague*, 407. The Clergy ſend a Deputation to the Queen of *England*, 424. Their Opinion about conſulting Prince *Maurice*, *ibid.* The Diſputes there concerning *Excommunication*, 428. The Government reſtored there, 429. The People of St. *James*'s Church petition the Magiſtrates, 433. The Magiſtrates diſcharge the Miniſters of the *Conſiſtory*, *ibid.* Who hold ſeparate Meetings, *ibid.* Which are prohibited, *ibid.* Articles for Church-Government eſtabliſhed by the Magiſtrates, 434. An Account of the Tranſactions there relating to *Eccleſiaſtical Differences*, 445.

WAldenſes, their Riſe in *France*, *Page* 11. Their Doctrine, *ibid.* Flight into the *Low-Countries*, *ibid.* Perſecuted at *Cologn*, *ibid.* In *Flanders*. 12, 13. Tranſlate the Bible, 14. Perſecuted at *Doway* and *Arras*, 26.

Walloon Flanders ſubmits to the King, *Page* 362.

Weſop, diſcontents there, *Page* 361.

Weſſel, Doctor of *Groningen*, oppoſeth the Papacy, *Page* 32.

Wickliff, his Doctrines ſpread in the *Low-Countries*, *Page* 17.

Wiggertſon, Cornelius, ſuſpended by the Synod at *Alkmaer*, *Page* 450. Which is confirmed by the Synod at *Hattem*, *ibid.* Holds a private Meeting, 451. Is Excommunicated, *ibid.* His Anſwer to the Magiſtrates of *Horn*, *ibid.*

William, Count of *Holland*, oppoſeth the Encroachments of the Clergy, *Page* 18.

William, Biſhop of *Utrecht*, excommunicated for oppoſing the Pope, *Page* 7.

William III. Count of *Holland*, his Placard concerning the Clergy, *Page* 16.

Winifred ſent to *Germany*, *Page* 3. An Account of his Miſſion, *ibid.* Made Archbiſhop of *Freeſland*, 4. Murthered, *ibid.*

ZEal, Raſh, of an *Anabaptiſt*, *Page* 92. Of a Tapiſtry Weaver in *Eaſt-Freſland*, 95. Of a Velvet Weaver at *Weſel*, 96. Of a Perſon at *Utrecht*, 357.

Zierickſee, Monks of, their Irregularity and Ruin, *Page* 17.

Zwinglius promotes the Reformation, *Page* 39. His Diſpute with *Luther* concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 55. His ſevere Sentence of four Words pronounced againſt the *Anabaptiſts*, 57.

ERRA-

ERRATA.

In the HISTORY.

PAge 1, Line 43. *dele* the. P. 13. l. 37. r. into. P. 15. l. 17. for Pint, r. Quart. P. 18. l. 26. r. So dear, as ſome think, did his oppoſing the Papal Ambition coſt this brave Prince. P. 19. l. 38. for was, r. were. P. 20. l. 4. for ſhould, r. would. Ibid, l. 39. for to, r. concerning. P. 22. l. 8. r. Heaven. Ibid, l. 44. for their, r. his. P. 24. l. 11. after themſelves, add by. Ibid, l. 13. for by, r. at. P. 30. l. 20. *dele* to. P. 31. l. 40. after and, add he. P. 33. l. 32. r. Chimerical. P. 35. l. 2. for XIV. r. XVI. P. 71. l. 26. r. to Generoſity. P. 72. l. 27. r. Intention. P. 86. l. 28. r. Shank-Screws. P. 106. l. 19. r. our Thoughts. P. 133. l. 39. for Secretaries, r. Sectaries. P. 140. l. 38. for *William Dirkson*, r. *Willam Bardes*. P. 161. l. 7. r. all his printed Treatiſes. P. 170. l. 33. for where, r. were. P. 181. l. 19. for XXVI. r. XXXVI. P. 193. l. 40. r. and Javelins. P. 201. l. 10. r. they ſhould ſuffer every one, *&c.* P. 203. l. 26. after reaſſembled, blot out, again. P. 216. l. 1. r. and thereupon. P. 219. l. 43. before which, add to. P. 225. l. 30. *dele* but in vain. P. 265. l. 40. for who, r. that. P. 266. l. 51. r. Rights. P. 319. l. 10. for, or cannot, r. nor cannot. P. 343. l. 45. r. moſt of all. P. 347. l. 57. before Treaty, blot out, the. P. 428. l. 18. for *Koornbert's*, r. *Koornbert*. P. 443. l. 37. for here, r. there. P. 447. l. 1. *dele* and. P. 476. l. 16. *dele* and.

In the ANNOTATIONS.

PAge 12. Col. 2. Line *ult.* r. without any Grounds.